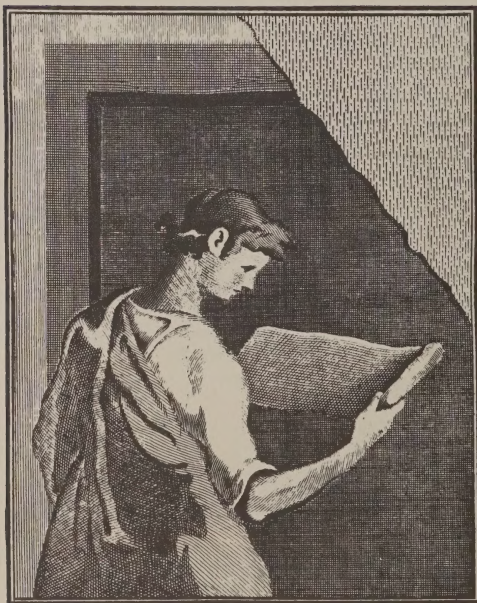


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THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

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THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

JANUARY 1908

ON THE NAMES OF AELIVS CAESAR, ADOPTED SON OF HADRIAN.¹

HISTORIANS of the Roman Empire have been nearly unanimous in giving the ill-fated Caesar whom Hadrian designated as his successor the cognomen Verus ascribed to him by Spartianus.² Following the same biographer Annalists have given the names Aurelius and Annius to his father and grandfather. Noris in his *Epistola Consularis*³ maintained against Pagi that the original names of this prince were Lucius Ceionius Commodus, that neither he nor any of his family bore the names Aurelius, Annius, or Verus ascribed to them in the *Historia Augusta*, but that the name Verus has been mistakenly reflected upon him from his more famous son L. Verus Augustus the colleague of M. Aurelius Antoninus. De Tillemont⁴ rejected Noris' opinion on purely literary grounds, saying, 'il est bien difficile de croire qu'un auteur ait esté assez ignorant et assez malheureux pour nommer toujours un prince, mesme en faisant exprès son histoire, d'un nom qu'il n'a jamais eu.' By consequence the mistake, if mistake it be, is become inveterate and is repeated⁵ down to our own day. Klebs⁶ alone rejects the name, and the error is not corrected in Dr. Bury's edition of Gibbon.

The question of name connects itself with Hadrian's reasons for adoption first of Commodus, then of Pius and of Marcus Annius Verus, and generally

¹ A Paper originally communicated to the Oxford Philological Society.

² *Hist. Aug.* i. 23. 10, ii. 2.

³ Graevius, *Thesaurus Ant. Rom.* Tom. xi. p. 424 C *et seq.*

⁴ *Hist. des Empereurs* (1691), Tom. ii. p. 592; cf. p. 273.

⁵ *E.g.* by Gibbon, Merivale, Duruy, Gregorovius, Schiller.

⁶ *Prosopographia Imp. Rom.* i. p. 327 'Reiiciendum est testimonium biographorum, qui nomina priuati et Caesaris, patris et filii, Veri et Marci foede confarunt.' Also Dr. Routh tacitly: *Introduction, Golden Book*, p. x.

with the interrelation of these princes. Considerable confusion in minor points¹ disappears, if this be cleared up.

I shall try first to show that the true view can be discovered in the literary sources, and then confirm this from the epigraphic evidence; incidentally, I hope to explain the origin of the biographers' confusion. Xiphilinus says,² 'ἀρξάμενος δὲ νοσεῖν . . . [Ἀδριανὸς] ἀπεγνώσθη μὲν βιώσεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Κόμμοδον μὲν Λούκιον . . . Καίσαρα Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέδειξε, Σερουιανὸν δὲ καὶ Φούσκον τὸν ἑγγονον αὐτοῦ ἐφόνευσε'; and again³ 'ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέβη τὸν Λούκιον τὸν Κόμμοδον ἐξαίφνης ἐγκαταλειφθῆναι' calling together his council Hadrian declared his purpose of choosing Aurelius Antoninus to succeed him.⁴ 'οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος αὐτοκράτωρ ἐγένετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν ἄπαις ἀρρένων παίδων, τὸν τε Κομμόδου υἱὸν Κόμμοδον ἐσεποίησεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτῳ Μάρκον Ἀννιον Οὐῆρον . . . ἦν δὲ οὗτος ὁ Ἀννιος ὁ Μάρκος, ὁ Κατίλιος πρότερον ὀνομαζόμενος, Ἀννίου Οὐῆρου τοῦ τρις ὑπατεύσαντος καὶ χιλιάρχσαντος ἑγγonos. καὶ ἀμφοτέρους μὲν ἐσποίησασθαι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ (sic Dind.) ἐκέλευε, προετίμησε δὲ τὸν Οὐῆρον διὰ τε τὴν συγγένειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, καὶ . . .' Dion's history of Pius was lost when Xiphilinus made his abridgment but in the fragmentary epitome we read⁵ 'οὐ σφάζεται δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦ μετὰ τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον ἄρξαντος Μάρκου Οὐῆρου τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἱστορουμένων, ὅσα περὶ τὸν Λούκιον τὸν τοῦ Κομμόδου υἱόν, ὃν ὁ Μάρκος γαμβρὸν ἐποίησατο, ἔπραξεν αὐτός . . .' Then, in the beginning of the epitome of Marcus' reign we are told⁶ 'Μάρκος Ἀντωνῖνος . . . προσειλήφει ἐς κοινωνίαν τοῦ κράτους εὐθὺς τὸν τοῦ Λουκίου τοῦ Κομμόδου υἱὸν Λούκιον Οὐῆρον.'

The account, then, derived from Dion, an almost contemporary source, never applies the name Verus to the elder Lucius, and first ascribes that name to the younger when, *after the death of Pius*, he is taken as son of Lucius Commodus to be colleague of Marcus. On the other hand the name of Marcus, hitherto Marcus Verus or Marcus Annii Verus, changes with his accession to Marcus Antoninus. Nothing is said of any relationship between Hadrian and Lucius the elder, in fact we are expressly told that Servianus (a natural claimant on behalf of his own grandson) was indignant and that Lucius was chosen 'out of all' as a man after Hadrian's own heart. It is an error that Pius was without male issue,⁷ and that Marcus was related to Hadrian (if that is what the historian means), but this mistake seems to be due to the abridgment; probably what Dion said was that Pius preferred to honour his own kinsman, for such an account would agree with what is elsewhere stated of the prejudice he bore towards the young Lucius.

In the *Historia Augusta* (especially in Spartianus) there is grave confusion as to the names of Lucius the elder. Undoubtedly he is called repeatedly Helius

¹ E.g. the mistakes in Dr. Bigg's introduction to the Clarendon Press translation (1907) of M. Aurelius' *Meditations*, pp. 5, 6.

² Xiph. *Epit. Dion.* (Dindorf 1864) lxxix. 17; cf. lxx. i. 1.

³ *l.c.* 20.

⁴ *l.c.* 21. Zonaras, (ed. Par.) i. 591.

⁵ Xiph. lxx. 2 § 2.

⁶ Xiph. lxxi. 1 § 1. Zonaras, i. 594.

⁷ *Hist. Aug.* iii. 1. 7; cf. Orelli et Henzen, *Insc. Lat. Sel. Collectio*, 852, 853; Cohen, *M. sous l'Empire Rom.* ii. p. 443.

Verus, but there is reason, from the contradictions in these writers alone, to doubt whether he ever in fact so styled himself. Spartianus says,¹ in regard to Hadrian's choice: 'Tunc Ceionium Commodum . . . adoptare constituit. Adoptavit ergo Ceionium Commodum Verum inuitis omnibus eumque Helium Verum Caesarem appellavit.' In what follows he is called Commodus thrice, Helius Verus Caesar once. In the same writer's life of Helius² we find the following confusions: 'Ceionius Commodus qui et Helius Verus appellatus est,' 'primum Lucius Aurelius Verus est dictus'³ (this is the well known name of his son), though here we are told that his father's name was Ceionius Commodus. Capitolinus too (a better authority than Spartianus) writing of the younger Lucius, says⁴ 'huic naturalis pater fuit L. Helius Verus.'

It is thus stated not only that his cognomen was Verus, or Commodus Verus, but that his nomen was Aurelius, though his father's was Ceionius, and that his title as heir apparent was Helius Verus Caesar. It may be noted that these biographers are peculiarly confused whenever they have to give names (see for example their confusion as to the names of Pius) and that they nearly always give the late form *Helius*, though they quite correctly term Hadrian *Aelius*.⁵ Further, unless a confusion between the two Lucii is acknowledged, we are obliged to give the name Aurelius to the elder before his adoption by Hadrian.

The Epigraphic evidence proves that he was not named Verus, much less Aurelius. He was consul for the first time A.D. 136. In two inscriptions⁶ of that year the names of the consuls are given in full 'L. *Ceionio*. Commodus. Sex. Vetuleno. Civica. Pompeiano. cos.' In the next year Lucius is again consul, and Caesar. Here coins and inscriptions are fatal to the biographers. His style⁷ is consistently 'L. Aelius Caesar,' never 'Aelius Verus Caesar,' as it should be to confirm the *Historia Augusta*. He is never termed 'Aurelius,' though it might be held that 'Aelius' had supplanted that name after his adoption.

In Spartianus⁸ he is called, by way of summary, 'L. Ceionius Commodus Verus Helius Caesar, with the suspicious addition 'nam his omnibus nominibus appellatus est.' This passage should be compared with one in the life of his son,⁹ where Lucius the younger is styled 'Lucius Ceionius Aelius Commodus Verus Antoninus.' Each group combines in an unreal title different stages of nomenclature: neither is evidence of the names borne at any definite time. Both give the names in what is approximately the historical order of acquisition, but in both groups the omission of Aurelius is remarkable, since it is elsewhere stated to be a family name of the older Lucius, and was the principal name of the younger when Emperor. This prince was called by Dion's epitomist Commodus the son of Ceionius Commodus, and the name Verus significantly attaches itself to him only

¹ *Hist. Aug.* i. 23. 10.

² *Hist. Aug.* ii. 2.

³ *l.c.* § 6.

⁴ *Hist. Aug.* v. 1 § 6.

⁵ *E.g. Hist. Aug.* i. 1. 2.

⁶ Orelli, 6086; cf. 1681, 4354 and *C.I.L.* i. 581 =

C.I.L. iii. 720.

⁷ Orelli, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 5461. Cohen, ii. pp. 257 *et seq.*

⁸ *Hist. Aug.* ii. 6. 6.

⁹ *Hist. Aug.* v. 1. 3.

at the moment of his accession. That Dion was unconscious of the reason for the change makes the coincidence more remarkable.

Capitolinus'¹ account is: 'L. Ceionius Aelius Commodus Verus Antoninus qui ex Hadriani uoluntate Aelius appellatus est, ex Antonini coniunctione Verus et Antoninus.' He here states explicitly (though he had called his father L. Helius Verus) that the names Verus and Antoninus belong to his later history. It is possible that by the phrase *Antonini coniunctio* he also intended the truth, that the two names arose from his association with Marcus in the purple, though the phrase has been carelessly interpreted to mean that he got the names through adoption by Pius. At least the order Verus Antoninus is important: the latter is very rarely borne by him. Capitolinus continues² 'post vii annum in familiam Aureliam traductus . . . fuitque priuatus in domo imperatoria xxiii annis,' and again³ 'diu autem priuatus . . . Augusti filius appellatus est.' This is confirmed by the absence of Lucius' name from all coins of this period, and by the mention of him in Justin Martyr's earlier Apology. There Marcus is addressed as Verissimus the philosopher, Lucius as the son of Caesar and adopted son of Pius. Inscriptions⁴ and coins alike confirm this account. Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus is the son of Pius or son of Augustus, while the name 'Verus,'⁵ or its playful form 'Verissimus,'⁶ is attached to Marcus. The usual style of the latter is 'M. [Aelius] Aurelius Caesar,'⁷ though the name 'Verus' occurs in inscriptions and upon not a few Greek coins, and is a favourite with him and his tutor in letters⁸ of this date. Lucius was consul A.D. 154. In a Greek inscription⁹ of that date he is called ΔΟΤ. ΑΤΡΗ-ΛΙΟΥ ΚΟΜΜΟΔΟΥ.

On March 7, A.D. 161 Marcus succeeded and according to Capitolinus¹⁰ 'fratrem sibi participem in imperio designauit, quem L. Aurelium Verum Commodum appellauit Caesaremque atque Augustum dixit.'¹¹—'Antonini mox ipse nomen recepit, et quasi pater Lucii Commodi esset, et Verum appellauit addito Antonini nomine,' and more precisely perhaps in another place¹² 'Verum uocari praecepit, suum in eum transferens nomen, cum ante Commodus uocaretur.' The phrase *quasi pater* is to be noted: it represents an explanation (not, I think, strictly correct) of the grant of his own cognomen to his brother, shows at least that there was something unusual in this act, and gives the clue to a later confusion. These statements, as well as the remarkable one that Marcus, at this date, took the name Antoninus, agree exactly both with coins and inscriptions. Further, Marcus is never, after this date, called Verus in any monument, or any literature,¹³

¹ *Hist. Aug.* v. 1. 3; n.b. the omission of Aurelius.

² *I.c.* v. 2. 9.

³ *I.c.* v. 3. 5.

⁴ *E.g.* Orelli et al. Henzen, 5482, 5200, but especially *C.I.L.* ii. 47. 1643.

⁵ *E.g.* Orelli et al. Henzen, 857, 5468, 7277. Cohen, iii. p. 134 (this also gives his mother's name Lucilla; cf. O. et H. 5467. 856).

⁶ Eckhel *Doctr. Numm. Vet.* vii. 69, *Hist. Aug.* iv. 1. 10, xvi. 6. 5; Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 12 (Leipzig

1903), p. 326.

⁷ *E.g.* O. et H. 6315. 3422. Cohen, iii. Coins of Marcus, 235, 237, 386, 394, 450, 580, 1043, etc.

⁸ *E.g.* *Epistulae Frontonis* (ed. Naber) ii. 5.

⁹ Gruter, p. 1021; cf. Noris, Graevius Tom. xi. p. 451, *I.G.I.* 1052, *C.I.L.* v. 8110¹⁷².

¹⁰ *Hist. Aug.* iv. 7. 5.

¹¹ *Hist. Aug.* iv. 7. 6 and 7.

¹² *Hist. Aug.* v. 4. 1.

¹³ Euseb. v. 1. refers to Lucius, *vide* v. 5.

while precisely at this moment Lucius begins to be called Verus, and continues to bear that name as his commonest title down to and after his death. Of minor corroborations we have the evidence of Fronto's letters.¹ Of the brothers Augusti he invariably addresses Marcus after his accession as 'Antonine' or 'M. Aureli,' never as 'Vere,' and that although he and Marcus had hitherto played upon the name; Lucius on the contrary he addresses as 'Vere,' and in one letter² at least that prince seems to allude punningly to the name he had received. The evidence of the physician Galen is the more significant that it is unconscious and partly incorrect. He says³ 'ἦρχε δὲ τότε Σεβήρος,⁴ ἑαυτὸν μὲν Ἀντωνίνον μετονομάσας, εἰς δὲ τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς κοινωνίαν προσλαβὼν Δούκιον καὶ μετονομάσας Σεβήρον,' and (when summoned to wait upon the emperors at Aquileia) he says,⁵ 'ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀντωνίνος ὁ μετὰ τὸν Ἀδριανὸν ἄρξας διάδοχον αὐτὸν ἔθετο τῆς ἀρχῆς, τὸν μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ὀνομαζόμενον Δούκιον κοινωνὸν ἐποιήσατο καλέσας Βήρον· ἑαυτὸν δὲ μετωνόμασεν Ἀντωνίνον.'

The inscriptions A.D. 161 are most instructive. By good chance the brothers were consuls in that year. We have evidence of their respective styles before and after the death of Pius. The earlier⁶ give 'M. Aelio Aurelio Vero Caesare III L. Aelio Aurelio Commodus II cos.'; the later⁷ 'Imp. Caes. M. Aurelio Antonino III Imp. Vero Augusto cos. II.' Similarly the column of Pius⁸ is inscribed 'Diuo Antonino Aug. Pio Antoninus Augustus et Verus Augustus filii.' The coins of this year⁹ agree with the inscriptions, some few Greek coins¹⁰ (date uncertain) having in the case of Lucius the addition of Antoninus. The evidence seems to show beyond reasonable doubt that Capitolinus' story is correct, nor is it difficult (considering the notoriety of Verus) to believe that later writers allowed the lustre of the imperial name to reflect itself upon the elder Lucius.

It may be asked why Marcus chose to give his own most distinctive name to Lucius. The reasons were, I think, partly consistency, partly policy and sentiment. Pius had dropped his principal family name, when he was adopted, but had retained the cognomen or nomen Antoninus. The arrangement of names in his two sons follows a consistent and a convenient principle. Pius dropped Aurelius for Aelius, and suppressed all his own cognomina except Antoninus, so Marcus soon after his accession dropped Aelius, and marked his legitimacy by keeping Aurelius. For cognomen he dropped Verus and assumed Antoninus. To mark the loyalty of the brothers Lucius is given Marcus' cognomen Verus, as Marcus had taken his adopted father's cognomen. The names are (according to a prevailing imperial tendency) ceasing to be family names and becoming dynastic. The stages are marked as follows:

¹ *Epist. Frontonis* pp. 94 *et seq.*

² Naber, p. 130.

³ Galen, *πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τύπου* (Kühn) vii. 478.

⁴ For Severus instead of Verus cf. *Hist. Aug.* vii. 1. 10.

⁵ *περὶ τῶν ἰδίων βιβλίων* xix. 18.

⁶ Gruter, p. 300. *C.I.L.* vi. 1984.

⁷ Orelli, 5472, 5483.

⁸ Orelli, 848.

⁹ Cohen, iii. M.A. pp. 12-26; cf. Cohen, iii. M.A. p. 1 (cf. 778 with 30). L.V. 1. 8 (pp. 130, 171, 173).

¹⁰ Given on Cohen's authority, iii. p. 170. I can find no other epigraphic evidence. The same question arises as to Geta.

PRIVATVS.		CAESAR or AVG. FIL.	AVGVSTVS.
(1)	(2)		
	T. AVRELIVS FVLVVS BOIONIVS ANTONINVS ⁵	IMP. T. AEL. CAES. HADRI ANTONINVS ³ .	T. AELIVS HADRIANVS ANTONINVS PIVS ⁴
(M. ANNIVS CATILIVS SEVERVS) ¹	(M. ANNIVS ¹ VERVS)	M. AELIVS AVRELIVS VERVS CAESAR ⁴	M. AVRELIVS ANTONINVS. ⁶
(L. CEIONIVS COMMODOVS) ¹	L. CEIONIVS COMMODOVS ²	L. AELIVS AVRELIVS COMMODOVS ⁵	L. AVRELIVS VERVS. ⁴ (once each) L. AELIVS AVRELIVS [VERVS]

It was policy, and convention well established is three parts of policy, to give Lucius this name. The selection of a colleague was contrary to the wish of both Pius and the Senate. By the gift of a popular name Marcus corroborated the gift of a daughter. The world, refined as vulgar, lends an ear to titles: this gave proof of the 'Concordia Augustorum' so constantly struck upon the coins. Disturbances were threatening in the East, and Marcus had perhaps already decided to send Lucius thither. The name Verus was popular especially with the Greek world. What more politic than to give, for these reasons also, a name which by accident had a connotation as well as a denotation. The emperor (with the practical common sense he so often showed) solved a difficult problem and avoided the situation which occurred under the sons of Septimius Severus.

To leave this hazardous ground for certain points in the biographers which are now plainer. Spartianus⁷ says that Lucius the elder was at first called L. Aurelius Verus, but that his father was Ceionius Commodus 'quem alii Verum, alii L. Aurelium, multi Annium prodiderunt.' This passage looks as if it had got into the elder Lucius' biography by mistake.⁸ It is an erroneous explanation of the Emperor Verus' name. Otherwise it is an unscientific genealogy⁹ offering several possible names for the Emperor's grandfather. That he was a consular we know from Spartianus: there is no inscription to fix his name. He was no doubt the consul of 106, the Commodus¹⁰ who in the Fasti is the colleague of Priscus.¹¹ This man's father was consul A.D. 78. Fortunately we have three¹² inscriptions for him, one from *Acta Arualium*. Like his grandson he is called L. Ceionius Commodus, and beyond doubt had not the cognomen Verus.

¹ Literary evidence only.

² *C.I.L.* xv. 732 (vide Mommsen's note) shows that *Hist. Aug.* ii. 7. 2 is incorrect.

³ Coins. *C.I.L.* vi. 998.

⁴ Many variants: coins and inscriptions.

⁵ Inscriptions only.

⁶ Once only with AELIVS, *C.I.L.* vi. 1021, 1012.

⁷ *Hist. Aug.* ii. 2. 6.

⁸ The mistake would be easier since the two biographies were together in the old order.

⁹ *E.g.* Aurelius Victor actually calls M. Aurelius,

M. Boionius, giving him for nomen one of his adoptive father's cognomina.

¹⁰ Clinton *Fasti Romani* i. 92 commits the blunder ascribed to Spartianus. As consul for A.D. 106 he gives L. C. C. Verus, citing as his authority Noris, the very author who had cleared up the confusion.

¹¹ Prosper *Commodo et Rufo*. Noris (Graevius xi. p. 287) *Commodo et Prisco*.

¹² *C.I.L.* vi. 1348, 1349, 2056 (A. A. p. 504). O. et H. 2260.

Spartianus¹ says that Hadrian adopted Pius on the condition 'ut ille duos adoptaret Annium² Verum et Marcum Antoninum.' In this passage Marcus is given his imperial title, Lucius a name he never bore. There is latent a confused tradition of which we find traces elsewhere. It was held that Marcus had actually adopted his colleague (giving him therefore his name Annius), though at what time is not stated. Marcus and Lucius were sons of Pius and it was as brothers, 'Pii diui filii,' that they ruled the Roman world. A later age was perplexed by Lucius' name Verus. Capitolinus says that Marcus gave him that name 'quasi pater.' Spartianus³, or Spartianus' authority, goes one step further, though with some dubiety. He says 'eius est filius Antoninus Verus, qui adoptatus est a Marco vel certe cum Marco.' Here is the ascription of the name Antoninus,⁴ which should be Aurelius, to Lucius, and the origin of the fable of his adoption. From this possibly by a corruption of Antoninus⁵ to Annius arises the story, otherwise unsubstantiated, of Lucius' blood relationship to Marcus, and a similar explanation makes clear the saying of Eutropius⁶ 'Post hunc imperavit M. Antoninus Verus . . . et cum eo L. Annius Antoninus Verus.' A parallel blunder is that of Aurelius Victor who calls Pius the son-in-law of Hadrian.

It seems almost impossible that such blood kinship should not have been noticed by either Spartianus or Capitolinus (or indeed by Dion), authors curious about niceties of descent. Finally, if the argument of this paper be just, the famous letter⁷ of Hadrian upon the foibles of the people of Alexandria is still further discredited. It has always been suspected for its anachronisms both as to the prevalence of Christianity and as to the adoption of Aelius Caesar. With it may also vanish the epigram⁸ of Hadrian, 'Habeat res publica quodcunque de Vero.'

Whatever the truth of the name Verus, History capricious in these matters, like the mortals whose 'crimes, follies, and misfortunes' she registers, has made the title the appanage of the inferior colleague of Marcus. This was the generous and philosophic ruler's own proper inherited cognomen. It was his name as it best expressed his character. He has come down to us with a name, itself colourless, to which he has given an aroma, almost a halo. The accident of death removed his son Annius Verus; Commodus has given an odious ring to Lucius' proper name; it was in this way that, if Lucius had been in any sense wronged, destiny avenged him. The name Severus, which Marcus first bore, has been perpetuated by the Emperor whose character it justly expressed, Marcus' son⁹ without his knowledge or consent. De Tillemont¹⁰ has remarked upon this subject 'la chose

¹ *Hist. Aug.* i. 24. 1.

² Bernhardt emends to Ceionium Verum; if it is to be emended, a simpler reading is Aurelium or Aelium—This would agree with the other confusions.

³ *Hist. Aug.* ii. 5. 12.

⁴ The error (possibly a clue to its origin) is well illustrated by Rufinus. Eusebius (iv. 14) says: 'Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Οὐδῆρος, ὁ καὶ Ἀντωνίνος, υἱὸς αὐτοῦ (i.e. Εὐσεβοῦς), σὺν καὶ Λουκίῳ ἀδελφῷ διαδέχεται.' Rufinus: 'M. Aurelius Verus et Antoninus filius eius

cum Lucio fratre succedunt;' cf. pp. 382, 383 (iv. 26).

⁵ We have the form Annianus of Marcus.

⁶ Eutropius, viii. 10. 1, viii. 9. 1.

⁷ *Hist. Aug.* xxix. 8 'in filium meum Verum multa dixerunt, et de Antonino (so the best MSS.) quae dixerint, comperisse te credo.'

⁸ *Hist. Aug.* ii. 7. 2.

⁹ Orelli, 904; cf. 917.

¹⁰ *Histoire des Empereurs*, l.c.

ne vaut pas la peine de l'examiner ;' if I have taken another view, it is because in this case the epigram of Ausonius upon an unknown Lucius is not justified, since the epigraphic evidence seems so clear.

Truncatis conuulsa iacent elementa figuris :

Omnia confusis interiere notis.

Miremur periisse homines : monumenta fatiscunt ;

Mors etiam saxis, nominibusque uenit.

A. S. L. FARQUHARSON.

PLATONICA VIII.

(Continued from THE CLASSICAL REVIEW, Vol. XX, p. 11.)

CLITOPHON.

406 A. ΣΩ. Κλειτοφῶντα τὸν Ἀριστωνύμου τις ἡμῖν διηγείτο ἑναγχος, ὅτι Λυσία διαλεγόμενος τὰς μὲν μετὰ Σωκράτους διατριβὰς ψέγοι, τὴν Θρασυμάχου δὲ συνουσίαν ὑπερεπαινοῖ.

ΚΛΕΙ. ὅστις, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπεμνημόνευσέ σοι τοὺς ἐμοὶ περὶ σοῦ γενομένους λόγους πρὸς Λυσίαν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔγωγε οὐκ ἐπῆνουν σε, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπῆνουν.

On ὅστις, which cannot be right, Mr. Burnet's note is 'ὅστις ἦν Hermann: ὅστις * * * Schanz.' Of the two I prefer Hermann's conjecture, but I would suggest a smaller change instead, namely to read the exclamation ὥς τις . . οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπεμνημόνευσε, *how wrongly he stated!* For this ὥς with a negative cf. Menander 555 K ὦ γῆρας βαρύ, ὥς οὐδὲν ἀγαθόν, δυσχερὴ δὲ πόλλ' ἔχεις, and other comic fragments.

408 C. Should we read προτρεπτικωτάτους δέ?

TIMAEUS.

20 E. ἦν μὲν οὖν οἰκέιος καὶ σφόδρα φίλος ἡμῖν Δρωπίδου τοῦ προπάππου.

Perhaps ἡμῶν, but the dative may be right.

23 B. τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ ἄριστον γένος ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ παρ' ὑμῖν οὐκ ἴστε γεγονός.

I have no change to propose with regard to ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους, but we ought to notice the great peculiarity of its use. This ἐπὶ of *extension over* is elsewhere in passages akin to this attached to a word expressive or suggestive of something that extends, such as *rumour*, *report*, etc. Mr. Archer-Hind for instance illustrates it in verse from *Il.* x. 213, μέγα κεν—κλέος εἶη πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους, and in prose from Plato's own *Critias* 112 E ἐπὶ πᾶσαν Εὐρώπην καὶ Ἀσίαν . . ἐλλόγιμοι ἦσαν. But it is one thing to say κλέος ἐπὶ, ἐλλόγιμος ἐπὶ, and quite another to say ἄριστος

ἐπί, because the latter phrase gives nothing that can be thought of as extending. I would not therefore exclude the possibility of a third epithet with a καί having been lost.

25 D. The island Atlantis was sunk in the sea by an earthquake, διὸ καὶ νῦν ἄπορον καὶ ἀδιερεύνητον γέγονε τὸ ἐκεῖ πέλαγος, πηλοῦ κάρτα βραχέος ἐμποδῶν ὄντος, ὃν ἢ νήσος ἰζομένη παρέσχετο.

It has of course been noticed that the mud can only be called βραχύς by a strange confusion of terms. It would be the water above the mud that was really shallow. Can Plato have used such an expression? Codex A indeed has βαθέος; but this gives an unsatisfactory sense, because the depth of the mud when reached is immaterial. <ἐκ> βραχέος would yield the sense we really require, *near the surface*, like ἐξ ὀλίγου, etc., and may be worth considering. ἐκ would of course fall out most easily between πηλοῦ and κάρτα, but an Attic writer would prefer κάρτα ἐκ βραχέος to ἐκ κάρτα βραχέος, if indeed the latter was admissible.

For the insertion of a preposition cf. on 80 E below.

29 B, C. τοὺς δὲ (λόγους) τοῦ πρὸς μὲν ἐκεῖνο ἀπεικασθέντος, ὄντος δὲ εἰκότος, εἰκότας ἀνὰ λόγον τε ἐκείνων ὄντας.

εἰκότας and ἀνὰ λόγον ὄντας are predicates, if the words are right, to some such phrase, not quite clearly shaped in Plato's sentence, as τοὺς λόγους εἶναι δεῖ. But can ὄντας stand as part of a predicate? I should have thought not, and that ἀνὰ λόγον, the real predicate, would repudiate an ὄντας. If this is so, read γε for τε. In the next words should γάρ be added after περ, where it would easily fall out?

33 D. χειρῶν δέ, . . μάτην οὐκ ᾔετο δεῖν αὐτῷ προσάπτειν οὐδὲ ποδῶν οὐδὲ ὅλως τῆς περὶ τὴν βάσιν ὑπηρεσίας.

A difficulty has been felt about the genitive χειρῶν. Mr. Archer-Hind supposes an anacoluthon: Stephanus suggested τὴν . . ὑπηρεσίαν to govern it: Stallbaum made it depend on an understood τι. In reality it depends on δεῖν, the infinitive προσάπτειν being thrown in extra, as in C of this very page οὐδ' αὖ τινος ἐπιδεῖς ἦν ὀργάνου σχεῖν: *Rep.* 459 B δεῖ ἄκρων εἶναι τῶν ἀρχόντων: *Xen. Oecon.* 21. 11 δεῖν φημι . . φύσεως ἀγαθῆς ὑπάρξαι: *Herod.* 1. 73. 1 γῆς ἡμέρῃ προσκλήσασθαι: *Thuc.* 5. 15 ἐμιθυμία τῶν ἀνδρῶν . . κομίσασθαι: *Eur. Med.* 1399 χρήζω στόματος παίδων . . προσπτύξασθαι.

46 E. ὅσαι δὲ <τῶν> ὑπ' ἄλλων μὲν κινουμένων, κ.τ.λ.

The partitive genitive seems to me to need the article.

48 B. προσήκον αὐτοῖς οὐδ' ἐν συλλαβῆς εἵδεσι μόνον εἰκότως . . ἀπεικασθῆναι.

The phrase is always ἐν—εἵδει (see Ast's lexicon *s.v.*), and the plural seems unsuitable. Cf. the common ἐν—μέρει.

Ib. D. πειράσομαι μηδενὸς ἦττον εἰκότα, μᾶλλον δέ, καὶ ἔμπροσθεν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς περὶ ἐκάστων καὶ ξυμπάντων λέγειν.

It is difficult to make any sense of καὶ ἔμπροσθεν, though Archer-Hind defends it and Burnet does not notice the suggestions for altering it. They are indeed not very satisfactory. I do not know whether my own is any better, but I think we might perhaps read μᾶλλον δέ καὶ <τῶν> ἔμπροσθεν, *more probable even than what went before*. Cf. on 46 E above.

49 E. Nothing which *becomes* (γίγνεται) has permanence enough to be spoken of as *this* or *that*: φεύγει γὰρ οὐχ ὑπομένον τὴν τοῦ τόδε καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν τῷδε καὶ πᾶσαν ὅση μόνιμα ὡς ὄντα αὐτὰ ἐνδείκνυται φάσις.

τῷδε is very unintelligible here, and Burnet cites Cook Wilson's conjecture, τὴν τοῦ ὧδε. I fear this is not good Attic, for ὧδε in Attic is *hither* not *here*. (It is in fact difficult to find it used for *here* without a verb of motion in any prae-Alexandrian Greek. Herodas furnishes an instance or two (2. 98: 3. 96) and Theocritus several.) Before seeing this conjecture in Burnet's note I had thought of τὴν τῇδε, and that might perhaps stand. Of course the thing, not the point of space, would be in question.

52 C. οὐδ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐφ' ᾧ γέγονεν ἑαυτῆς ἐστίν.

Archer-Hind is right, I think, in saying that the genitive ἑαυτῆς depends on the whole phrase αὐτό—γέγονεν, but why did he not illustrate the construction from the well-known *Rep.* 438 A foll. ὅσα γ' ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα οἷα εἶναί του? The genitive there is our genitive here.

53 E. τούτου γὰρ τυχόντες (they have not done it yet) ἔχομεν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. ἔχομεν, though not necessary, is very probable.

66 B. Burnet ignores Stallbaum's proposed introduction of ἀνάγκη to give accusative and infinitive some construction. Without binding myself to ἀνάγκη—συμβαίνει for instance is just as likely—I think something is certainly needed.

69 B. ταῦτα ἀτάκτως ἔχοντα ὁ θεὸς ἐν ἐκάστω τε αὐτῷ πρὸς αὐτὸ καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλα συμμετρίας ἐνεποίησεν.

Stallbaum calls ταῦτα—ἔχοντα 'absolute'; Archer-Hind governs it 'by the compound phrase συμμετρίας ἐνεποίησεν, as though Plato had written ξυνηρμόσατο'; Kühner-Gerth ii. 2. p. 90 calls it an anacoluthon. I should conjecture that the participle παραλαβόν is to be inserted, probably before or after ὁ θεός. So a few lines below, οἱ δὲ μιμούμενοι παραλαβόντες ἀρχὴν κ.τ.λ.: 30 A πᾶν ὅσον ἦν ὁρατὸν παραλαβόν: 68 E ταῦτα πάντα . . ὁ . . δημιουργός . . παρελάμβανεν.

80 C. I am surprised at Burnet's not noticing Stephanus' change of τὸ δέ . . τό τε to τῷ δέ . . τῷ τε, which seems absolutely necessary to give

construction and is a most easy correction. Cf. for instance the readings in *Rep.* 547 D τῷ μὲν τιμᾶν.

80 E. ἡ δ' ἐρυνθὰ πλείστη περὶ αὐτὸ χροά διαθεῖ, τῆς τοῦ πυρὸς τομῆς τε καὶ ἐξομόξεως ἐν ὑγρῷ δεδημιουργημένη φύσις.

Construction and meaning are very difficult until we read <διὰ> τῆς. Cf. on 25 D above.

86 D. καὶ σχεδὸν δὴ πάντα, ὅποσα ἡδονῶν ἀκράτεια καὶ ὄνειδος ὡς ἐκόντων λέγεται τῶν κακῶν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὀνειδίζεται.

Mr. Archer-Hind comments on the odd juxta-position of ἀκράτεια and ὄνειδος, for which however he can see 'no plausible correction.' If correction is needed, as I think it is, an easy means lies close at hand. Did not Plato write κατ' ὄνειδος? The confusion of καί and κατά is familiar. I have doubted whether ἀκρατεία might not be an improvement, but probably the nominative is right.

87 D. ἀξύμμετρον γὰρ ταῖς μεγίσταις ξυμμετρίαις.

It seems to me very questionable whether we ought not to substitute accusatives for datives here. Cf. the phrase immediately following, ἣ καὶ τινα ἄλλην ὑπέρεξιν ἄμετρον, which, to tell the truth, also gives me an uneasy feeling that ἀξύμμετρον . . . ἀξυμμετρίας (or ἀξυμμετρίαις, for the dative would be better in this phrase than in the other) was Plato's real expression.

88 A. σῶμα . . μέγα καὶ ὑπέρψυχον.

ὑπέρψυχον has been noticed as a strange compound, though there are parallels. Perhaps ὑπὲρ ψυχὴν ὄν may be worth considering.

Sufficient notice has perhaps not been taken of the remarkable discrepancy between the exordium of the *Timaeus* and the *Republic* of which (or part of which) it is a summary. Socrates in the *Timaeus* gives the chief points laid down in the *Republic* faithfully enough: it is the implication involved in his references to it that presents the peculiarity. Not only is there no explicit mention of the *Republic* having been a narrated dialogue, that is, of Timaeus and the others now present having only heard from Socrates the narration of a dialogue supposed to have taken place the day before (that is two days before the *Timaeus*); but his language would certainly imply according to any ordinary method of interpretation that they had been present and taken part in the dialogue itself. This would seem to be the natural meaning of the repeated first persons plural, διειλόμεθα, εἵπομεν, ἐλέγομεν. It is not natural, though of course possible, to understand the *we* contained in these words to be *I and the people I was talking with* rather than *you and I*. Anyone who read all this without knowing the *Republic* would certainly think Timaeus, Critias, and Hermocrates were then present.

The fiction of a fifth person who was to have been present at the *Timaeus* dialogue is no doubt only introduced as a little detail to give verisimilitude and reality to the scene. Similar, I suppose,—for there does not seem to be any other reason for it—is the pretence in the *Philebus*, another late dialogue, that Philebus has handed over to Protarchus the defence of his position, so that the dialogue is named after one who takes next to no share in it. We naturally ask why Philebus has done this: that is, we fall into Plato's trap and take the thing seriously. So here we want to know who the absent man is. The disturbance of the order of speeches in the *Symposium* by Aristophanes' hiccough is another such device.

CRITIAS.

107 E. ἐκ δὴ τοῦ παραχρήμα νῦν λεγόμενα, τὸ πρέπον ἂν μὴ δυνώμεθα πάντως ἀποδιδόναι, συγγιγνώσκειν χρεών.

The first words (ἐκ . . λεγόμενα) are curiously devoid of construction, much more so than the accusatives we occasionally find at the beginning of sentences, which the writer vaguely meant to provide with a construction as he went on, but finally left without one. In such a case we can usually see pretty clearly what he had in his mind. But here the turn of the sentence is so harsh and clumsy, that I cannot but suspect error. Did not Plato add to λεγόμενα some participle governing it and standing as a sort of subject to συγγιγνώσκειν, such as ἀκούοντας or σκοποῦντας? The omission of any τά with λεγόμενα (τὰ δὴ ἐκ—λεγόμενα) seems to make the case especially doubtful. Contrast the otherwise more or less parallel openings of sentences in 109 A and 110 B.

108 B. εἰ μέλλεις αὐτὰ δυνατός γενέσθαι παραλαβεῖν.

I hardly know what those who are satisfied with αὐτά suppose it to refer to. There is nothing definite in the context with which it can be associated, nor does it seem possible to make it mean vaguely *the speaking, the turn to speak* (παραδίδομεν . . τὸν ἐξῆς λόγον 106 B). Probably we should write αὐτό and refer it to θέατρον, the audience, whom Critias is about to take over from Timaeus.

109 C. ἄλλοι μὲν οὖν κατ' ἄλλους τόπους κληρουχήσαντες θεῶν ἐκείνα ἐκόσμων.

(1) Elsewhere κληρουχεῖν is transitive: (2) ἐκείνα is strange. We should get over both difficulties by reading <τὰ> κατ' ἄλλους τόπους. The dialogue contains many examples of this somewhat periphrastic use of the article, e.g. 114 B τὸ τῆς χώρας: 114 E τὰ περὶ τὰ ζῶα: 117 A τὸ τῆς ἐργασίας. Plato is indeed always fond of it.

110 A. I think τούτων περί needs a δέ or τε added.

111 C. χρόνος δ' οὐ πάμπολυς ὅτε δένδρων αὐτόθεν εἰς οἰκοδομήσεις τὰς μεγίστας ἐρεψίμων τμηθέντων στεγάσματ' ἔστιν ἔτι σᾶ.

Burnet marks this as wrong and gives in a note the words which Cobet proposed to insert after ὅτε. It does not seem to me, especially considering the involved order of words often adopted in the *Critias* and other late dialogues, that there is any real need for suspicion. In sense ὅτε and τμηθέντων should be taken closely together, as though Plato had said χρόνος οὐ πάμπολυς ὅτε (*since*) ἐτμήθη στεγάσμαθ' ἃ ἔστιν ἔτι σᾶ.

Ib. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὕδωρ ἐκαρποῦτ' ἐκ Διὸς (ἢ χώρα), οὐχ ὥς νῦν ἀπολλύσα ἀπὸ ψιλῆς τῆς γῆς εἰς θάλατταν, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν ἔχουσα καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν καταδεχομένη.

Stallbaum wished to read πολὺ for πολλήν, and Jowett in like manner understands it of abundance of water, reading I suppose also αὐτήν. But this is quite a mistake. πολλήν is *much soil*, into which the water is received. But what exactly is ἀπὸ ψιλῆς τῆς γῆς? If γῆ is *soil*, it surely cannot be called ψιλῆ. The rock, the land, the place can be called ψιλός, but not the soil itself. It would be an odd epithet for γῆ in almost any case; but, if γῆ is removable soil, as πολλήν seems to show, it becomes almost impossible. Perhaps then we may consider whether ψιλῆς does not agree with ἐαντῆς or χώρας implied in the subject of the sentence, so that τῆς γῆς would depend on ψιλῆς and not have ψιλῆς agreeing with it. This is the construction a little further on, 112 A γῆς αὐτὴν (*i.e.* τὴν ἀκρόπολιν) ψιλὴν περιτήξασα πεποίηκε.

112 A. σεισμῶν ἅμα καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος φθορᾶς τρίτου πρότερον ὕδατος ἔξαισίου γενομένου.

Scholars have to some extent boggled over τρίτου, but I do not find that any one has suggested, as I venture to do, that we should read τρίς.

Just below should ἀποβεβηκυῖα be καταβεβηκυῖα? Cf. 110 E, etc. No such use of ἀποβαίνειν is cited,

Ib. D. τὸ δυνατόν πολεμεῖν ἤδη καὶ τὸ ἔτι (*i.e.* δυνατόν πολεμεῖν) certainly seems right: *those who were old enough and those not too old.*

113 A. Should τὸ δ' ἔτι be τόδε δ' ἔτι?

116 B. τοῦ δ' ἐντός should be τὸν δ' ἐντός, like the τὸν δέ following.

117 A. ταῖς δὲ δὴ κρήναις, τῇ τοῦ ψυχροῦ καὶ τῇ τοῦ θερμοῦ νάματος, πλήθος μὲν ἄφθονον ἐχούσαις, ἡδονῇ δὲ καὶ ἀρετῇ τῶν ὑδάτων πρὸς ἑκατέρου τὴν χρῆσιν θαυμαστοῦ πεφυκότος, ἐχρῶντο κ.τ.λ.

Burnet indicates no doubt about this passage, but it is difficult to see what he makes the subject of πεφυκότος. If we put ἑκατέρου before or after πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν, we shall provide it with a proper subject. ἑκατέρου might either refer to νάματος or go with ὑδάτων, and it might either govern ὑδάτων or be added in an appositional way and determine the number of the participle (like *Rep.* 346 D αἱ ἄλλαι πᾶσαι τὸ αὐτῆς ἐκάστη ἔργον ἐργάζεται, and many other passages in verse and prose).

I cannot make out whether Stallbaum wishes to take *ἐκατέρου* in this way. His translation is against it.

118 B. ὕλην δὲ καὶ πλήθει καὶ γένεσι ποικίλην σύμπασιν τε τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστα ἄφθονον.

As the words stand, *πλήθει* must be constructed with *ποικίλην*, but what can *πλήθει ποικίλη* mean? Another slight transposition will help us. Read ὕλην δὲ καὶ γένεσι ποικίλην καὶ πλήθει . . ἄφθονον.

Ib. E. διάπλους ἐκ τῶν διωρύχων εἰς ἀλλήλας τε πλαγίας καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τεμόντες. The editors ceremoniously record a *v.l.* πλατείας, but what sense *πλαγίας* makes they fail to tell us. Read *πλαγίους*.

120 C. νόμοι δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἄλλοι . . ἦσαν ἴδιοι, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα μήτε ποτὲ ὅπλα ἐπ' ἀλλήλους οἴσειν βοηθήσειν τε πάντας . . . κοινῇ δέ, . . βουλευόμενοι τὰ δόξαντα περὶ πολέμου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πράξεων.

πράξειν is not, I think, to be added after *πράξεων*, as has been suggested, but to be substituted for it. *πράξεων* is quite superfluous. *βουλευόμενοι* should of course be *βουλευομένους*, unless Plato was confusing in his mind *νόμοι ἦσαν* and *ᾤμωσαν*, as the futures *οἴσειν* and *βοηθήσειν*, which are quite irregular after *νόμοι*, suggest. But the next sentence, *θανάτου δὲ κ.τ.λ.*, goes on properly from *νόμοι* with *μηδενὸς εἶναι κύριον*.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

PROFESSOR S. A. NABER ON APOLLONIUS RHODIUS.

IN the beginning of 1906 Professor S. A. Naber devoted a long paper in *Mnemosyne* to emendations and remarks upon Apollonius Rhodius. The Professor, following Buttmann, is of opinion that Apollonius was an ignorant imitator of Homer and rebukes him for the introduction of many 'barbarous forms.' This opinion, however, though it may contain some truth, is the result of much exaggeration, for Apollonius imitated Homer as a rival rather than as a servile flatterer, and naturally and deliberately introduced many late forms into his Epic poem. I have no wish to deny that the Professor's paper contains acute and learned remarks, but certainly it does not show that familiarity with his author which might have been expected from so eminent a scholar. For instance, where a particular form is objected to for any reason, it is of no use to propose an emendation for one passage only in which it occurs and to leave other passages unnoticed. Again—a thing which will surprise most scholars—Prof. Naber has taken as his standard the smaller edition by Merkel, first published in 1851, and since stereotyped as the Teubner text, and has neglected almost all that has been done since that date. He has even neglected Merkel himself who, in his larger critical edition of 1853–54, makes many corrections of his smaller edition, and naturally so, inasmuch as the earlier and smaller edition of 1851 professes to be a recension 'ad cod. ms. Laurentianum.' In fact, as regards the text of Apollonius, the Professor seems to have been asleep for above fifty years except for an occasional glance at Professor van Herwerden, who thirty years ago published some notes on Apollonius—also in *Mnemosyne*. Whether, writing under these self-imposed limitations, it was possible for any scholar to produce a paper worthy of very serious consideration may well be doubted. Whether the present paper is of that character the reader may judge for himself. I find it difficult to preserve the respect due to a veteran scholar when he regards his own reputation so lightly. It would be more agreeable and much more congenial to myself to bestow praise, but it would be cowardly to shrink from making a protest against this method of dealing with a respectable author. It is a comparatively easy task to go back fifty years—to make again emendations that have long since become common property, to put forth as corrections what are readings of good mss., and to suggest a number of turns of language which Apollonius might have used but which evidently he did not use, but I venture to say that few scholars would give their time to such a task. These words may seem somewhat

strong, but I proceed with an attempt to justify them, and if I fail I am aware that my criticism will abundantly recoil upon my own head. The paper of Prof. Naber (whom perhaps I may without irreverence be allowed to call 'N.') is a long one and I have by no means dealt with all the passages which he discusses.

i. 18. νῆα μὲν οὖν οἱ πρόσθεν ἐπικλείουσιν αἰδοῖ κ.τ.λ. Here ἐπικλείουσιν is an emendation of Brunck for ἔτι κλείουσιν and he has been followed by all subsequent editors except Merkel in the Teubner text. In his ed. mai. Merkel says 'Brunckii correctio ἐπικλείουσιν evitari vix posse videtur,' and takes the word into his text. On the other hand N. upholds the mss. reading, comparing i. 59 which is not to the point. He fails to explain how πρόσθεν is consistent with ἔτι.

ii. 344. μὴ τλήτ' οἶνοιο πάρεξ ἔτι νηὶ περῆσαι. Herwerden has proposed ἐνὶ for ἔτι. N. adopts this and would make the same change in i. 508. In neither passage however is ἐνὶ necessary and in the latter (ὄφρα Ζεὺς ἔτι κοῦρος, ἔτι φρεσὶ νήπια εἰδώς) the substitution of ἐνὶ spoils the epanaphora.

iv. 990. Δρεπάνη τόθεν ἐκλήσται | οὔνομα. N. objects to ἐκλήσται as 'barbara forma' comparing iv. 618 μετ' ἀνδράσι κεκλήσται. But, as we have ἐκλήστο in iv. 267 and 1202 the evil is more wide-spread than N. appears to think, and, to preserve uniformity, the better course is to read μετ' ἀνδράσιν ἐκλήσται in iv. 618, as in fact Rzach has suggested in his *Grammatische Studien zu Apollonios Rhodios* (p. 130). Apollonius seems to be following ἐκτῆσθαι in Hom. I. 402.

i. 149. οὐδ' ἀπίθησεν | νισσομένοις. The reference is to the Dioscuri and the subject is Leda. N. proposes λισσομένοις as something new, whereas it was long ago conjectured by Meineke, as I have noted in my edition (*Oxford Classical Texts*). Herwerden would read οὐδ' ἀπίθησαν | νισσόμενοι, but the text is fairly satisfactory.

i. 283. ἄλλα δὲ πάντα πάλαι θρεπτήρια πέσσω. Here N. unnecessarily conjectures θρεπτήρι' ὄπασσας—a commonplace phrase. The text is sufficiently supported by Hom. B. 237 γέρα πέσσεμεν and Pind. *Ol.* i. 55 καταπέψαι μέγαν ὄλβον.

i. 367. νῆα δ' . . . ἔζωσαν πάμπρωτον ἐυστρεφεῖ ἐνδοθεν ὄπλῳ | τεινόμενοι ἐκάτερθεν κ.τ.λ. The difficulty of this passage is well known. ὄπλῳ ἐυστρεφεῖ occurs Hom. ξ 346, but ἐνδοθεν appears to be meaningless. Various emendations, more or less plausible, have been made, such as ἐκτοθεν by Sanctamandus, ἔμπεδον or ἐνδυκές by Merkel, and now N. proposes ἐνδετον. Whatever our judgement may be about this word it may be gathered from the context that there is here no reference to ὑποζώματα, which were taken on board and used, as Wellauer remarks, 'nonnisi in summo periculo carina iam dissiliente et disrupta.'

i. 666. τοῦ γάρ τε καὶ εἵνεκα δεῦρο κάλεσσα and ii. 389 τῷ καὶ τε φίλα φρονέων ἀγορεύω | ἰσχύμεν. In both these passages N. proposes to read σφε for τε and to take σφε as = ὑμᾶς. It has escaped the Professor's notice that this pronoun, when used in the later Epic of the first or second person, is only used reflexively, never anaphorically. In Apollonius we find, for instance, εἶο first person (ii. 635) and εἰοῖ

second person (i. 893). This use is probably non-Homeric, for in Hom. K 398 the better reading is *βουλεύουσι* (not *βουλεύοιτε*) *μετὰ σφίσιν*. It is true that in these two places of Apollonius *τε* is otiose, but that is often the case with him, *e.g.* again i. 1105.

i. 696. *καὶ ἀγλαὸν ἄστν μέλεσθαι*. N. needlessly *νέμεσθαι*. The personal use of *μέλομαι* is quite common in Apollonius and other poets.

In i. 1105 N. conjectures *ἀγρομένοισιν* for *ἐγρομένοισιν*, but as Jason has just aroused his comrades from sleep the mss. reading is preferable. Still more needless is *ἔτειρεν* suggested for *ἐγειρεν* in iii. 752, where the point is that Medea is kept awake by her anxious thoughts (*μελεδήματα*).

i. 1342. *ἔολπα δέ τοι σὲ καὶ ἄλλῳ | ἀμφ' ἐμεῦ, εἰ τοιόνδε πέλοι ποτέ, δηρίσασθαι*. Here N. would keep the vulgate *δηρίσεσθαι* (which he appears to regard as a conjecture of his own) and no doubt in classical Greek the future or aorist with *ἄν* would be expected. Apollonius however uses the aor. infin. in a future sense not infrequently and sometimes where the future cannot be restored, *e.g.* ii. 293 *πελάσσαι* and ii. 1223 *μολεῖν*. It may be doubted therefore whether it is ever worth while to make the change to the future.

ii. 262 *τῷ μὲν ἔπειθ' ὅρκοισιν ἀλαλκόμεναι μενέαινον*. N. conjectures *ἀόρεσσιν* for *ὅρκοισιν* and even Merkel (ed. mai.) remarks 'mirum sane *ἔπειτα* cum dativo.' 'Mirum' indeed if that *were* the construction, but *ὅρκοισιν* is a causal dative. There is therefore no reason for any change.

ii. 1241. The phrase *ἀμοιβαίῃ . . . ἐννῇ* is certainly difficult, but how it is improved by N.'s substitution of *ἀνοικεῖν* for *ἀμοιβαίῃ* I fail to see. No epithet could be tamer.

ii. 591. *δὺς τόσον ἄψ ἀπόρουσεν* (said of Argo between the Cyanean rocks). N. proposes *ἄψ ἐπόρουσεν* which occurs Hom. Φ 33, but *ἀπόρουσεν* is necessary, the sense being, as Professor de la Ville de Mirmont translates, 'la violence des flots le faisait *reculer* deux fois plus loin qu'il n'avancait.'

iii. 321. *αὐτοὺς δ' ὑπὸ δούρασι πεπτηῶτας κ.τ.λ.* After Madvig (whom however he does not name), N. suggests *ἐπὶ* for *ὑπό*, but more probably *ὑπό* makes a tmesis with *πεπτηῶτας*. The phrase seems to be from Hom. ξ 474 *ὑπὸ τεύχεσι πεπτηῶτες*.

iii. 413. *οὐ σπόρον ὀλκοῖσιν Διοῦς ἐνὶβάλλομαι ἀκτὴν,
ἀλλ' ὄφις δεινὸς μεταλδήσκοντας ὀδόντας
ἀνδράσι τευχηστήσι δέμας.*

The sentence is difficult but the sense is fairly given by Mr. E. P. Coleridge in his translation, 'I sow for seed in the furrows not the corn of Demeter but the teeth of a dread serpent which grow into the form of armed men.' The dative apparently depends on *μεταλδήσκοντας* (which is *ἀπ. λεγ.*) and *δέμας* is an adverbial

accusative. In any case however N.'s view that δέμας is here combined with the dat. (as in Homer with the gen.) will not bear examination.

iv. 1133. ἀνέυρατο. N. rejects the form, but, as Rzach has pointed out (l.c. p. 144), it is probably an Alexandrianism.

iii. 1204. For θείοιο τέρεν δέμας N. asks us to substitute θείου σφέτερον δέμας, but the Homeric phrase which he quotes himself τέρενα χροά (Δ 237, Ξ 406) shows that no change is needed.

iv. 1007. σὺν Αἰήταο κελεύθῳ. N. interprets 'iussu' and, after mentioning Herwerden's κελευσμῶ himself, conjectures κελευθμῶ—a word of his own manufacture. But κελεύθῳ may very well mean 'expeditione' as in Aesch. Ag. 126.

iii. 1201. ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ἶδε χῶρον. Out of mere caprice, it seems, N. would substitute ἴκε for ἶδε. Unfortunately the ι in ἴκω is long. In Pind. Pyth. ii. 36 ἴκοντ' with ι has been variously emended.

iii. 1406. πορφύρων, ἣ κέ σφι θοώτερον ἀντιόρωτο. So Laur. while Guelph. has εἴ κέ σφι. Inferior mss. have ἦ κέ σφι, which has been rightly adopted by Brunck, Beck, and Wellauer. N. actually suggests τῇ κέ σφι!

i. 767. δ καὶ δηρόν περ ἐπ' ἐλπιδι θηήσαιο. N. conjectures κεν for καί, in which he has been anticipated by La Roche. But it is unnecessary, for Apollonius, like other Alexandrian writers, often uses the optative without ἄν (κεν) in a potential sense, e.g. i. 480, iii. 99, 355, iv. 1720. See also Nairn on Herodas iii. 75.

iv. 289. ἔνθα διχῇ τὸ μὲν ἔνθα μετ' †Ἰονίνην† ἄλλα βάλλει
τῇδ' ὕδωρ κ.τ.λ.

All modern editors rightly reject Ἰονίνην except Merkel, who perversely thought that a part of the Euxine was called by this name. N. suggests ῥοίνην, which, whether good or bad, was published by Gerhard in his *Lectiones Apollonianae* so long ago as 1816, when he proposed ῥώην. Wellauer commends Gerhard's conjecture but does not venture to adopt it. Lastly, at the suggestion of Prof. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Prof. Fitch has proposed ἡμετέρην. But this passage requires almost a dissertation to itself.

ii. 1050. εἴ κ' ἐπικέλσαι | μέλλετε. So all mss. N. would read, and no doubt rightly, εἴ γ', for μέλλετε cannot be subjunctive as Wellauer takes it. But Brunck long ago made this correction and I have adopted it in my edition. N., as usual, has his eyes fixed only on the Teubner text. Similarly in iii. 644 N. puts forward σβέσαι for σβέσαι (a solecism) omitting to mention that σβέσαι is a correction of Madvig, which I also have adopted and which is tolerably obvious.

iv. 673. ἄλλο δ' ἐπ' ἄλλων | συμμιγέες μελέων. N. reads ἀπ' for ἐπ' and is probably right. But ἀπ' has excellent mss. authority and has been already read by Wellauer and myself. N. also proposes ἀπ' for ἐπ' in ii. 1251 and iii. 202, perhaps rightly.

iv. 1034. N. reads *κείρατε* for *κείρετε* and certainly it is an improvement, but Wellauer has *κείρατε* from Guelph. and I have followed him.

iii. 1396. *πρὶν ὑπὸ χθονὸς ἔχνος ἀεῖραι*. N. suggests *ἀπό* for *ὑπό*, perhaps rightly, but it was suggested by Struve in 1822, as Merkel has remarked.

i. 335. *ὅτε μούνον ἐπιπνεύσουσιν ἀῆται*, N. conjectures *ἐπιπνεύσωσιν*. No doubt the form of the future is late but not on that account to be summarily rejected. The conjecture of N. is however the reading of one Paris ms. and has been adopted by Brunck and Beck.

ii. 30. *εύστιπτον θέτο φᾶρος | λεπταλέον*. For *εύστιπτον* N. conjectures *εύστικτον* on the ground that the epithets contradict one another; but surely that is not the case.

i. 253. *ἦ τέ οἱ ἦεν | βέλτερον, εἰ κ.τ.λ.* Here N. wishes to read *κε* for *τε*, likewise in iv. 916. But i. 253 follows the Homeric use, by which, if a notion of necessity or propriety is contained in the verb, the particle *ἄν* (*κεν*) is omitted. In iv. 916 this use is extended by Apollonius. The particle is also omitted with a past infin. in i. 197, iii. 585.

iii. 61. *εἰ καί περ ἐς Ἄϊδα ναυτίλληται*. For *καί* N. would read *κεν* following Brunck and Beck, though he does not name them. But it is unnecessary, compare i. 905, ii. 637, and elsewhere. The Homeric use of *εἰ* with subj. in a sentence of general meaning is extended by Apollonius.

iii. 1232. *ἔγχος τὸ μὲν οὐ κέ τις ἄλλος ὑπέστη
ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων, ὅτε κάλλιπον Ἡρακλῆα
τῆλε παρέξ, ὃ κεν οἶος ἐναντίβιον πολέμιξεν.*

For *πολέμιξε* (or *πτολ.*) N. conjectures *πελέμιξεν*. Quite wrongly in my judgement, for *ὃ* refers to Heracles and not to *ἔγχος* as N. apparently understands it.

iii. 1248. *ἀμφὶ δ' ἑταῖροι | πείρησαν τευχέων βεβημένοι*. N. needlessly *λελιγμένοι*. Although *βεβημένοι* does not seem to be found elsewhere as a perfect middle there is plenty of analogy for it, and who would change the easy *λελ.* into the difficult *βεβ.*?

iii. 1341. *καλέουσι δὲ κεκμηῶτες
ἐργατῖναι γλυκερόν σφιν ἄφαρ βουλυτὸν ἰκέσθαι.*

For *καλέουσι* N. proposes *χατέουσι*, which is one of the few of his original emendations that may be approved. It is true Apollonius nowhere else has *χατέουσι* followed by an infin., but it is so found in Hom. *ν* 280.

iv. 1045. οὐ νηούς, οὐ πύργον ἐπίρροθον, οὐκ ἄλεωρὴν
ἄλλην, οἷόθι δὲ προτιβάλλομαι ὑμέας αὐτούς.

The word *προτιβάλλομαι* is from Hom. E 879, where the meaning is 'attack.' Here it seems to mean 'fly for refuge to.' In each author the word is ἄπ. λεγ. N. suggests *προτιόσσομαι* which is not wanted.

Finally, Prof. Naber has in many passages proposed readings which might have proceeded from Apollonius, but which do not seem to me to be any improvement upon the accepted text. I will name some of them, i. 726 *καταβλέψειας* for *μεταβλέψειας*, i. 782 *ἔβαινευ* for *ἔβησαν*, i. 872 *ἕκαστος* for *ἕκαστοι*, i. 879 *περιβρομέωσι* (which is also the reading of Guelph.) for *περιβρομέουσι*, for although in similes the subjunctive with *ὅτε* is common in Epic, we also find the indic., e.g. i. 881, 882, so in iv. 1299 N. needlessly proposes *κλάζωσι* for *κλάζουσι*. Again, ii. 186 *πενσόμενοι* for *πενθόμενοι*, ii. 1020 *ἢ 'ν ἀγορῇ* for *ἢ ἀγορῇ*, iii. 347 *ὅττι* for *εἴ τι*, iii. 250 *δόλω* for *δόμω*, iv. 10 *τετελέσθαι* for *τελέεσθαι*, 166 *λείπον* for *λείπεν*, 513 *ἀφορμηθέντες* for *ἐφορμηθέντες*, 1022 *ἔπειγεν* for *ἔπεισεν*, etc., etc.

It is a common observation that some eminent K.C. is occasionally heard to make a speech—perhaps through not having mastered his brief or for other reasons—that would ruin the prospects of a Junior. May not a similar observation be sometimes applicable in the arena of scholarship?

R. C. SEATON.

NOTES AND EMENDATIONS TO SENECA'S LETTERS.¹

v. 2. 'Don't parade philosophy: avoid asperum cultum et intonsum caput et quidquid aliud ambitionem peruersa uia sequitur.' So the MSS. Hense adopts Gertz's ingenious conjecture *ambitio nempe*. I have before me a list containing some thirty examples of the use of *nempe* by Seneca. It is very definitely a dialogue particle and is used (1) to introduce the answer to a question, where it is implied that the answer is obvious ('*Why, to be sure*'), (2) to introduce a clause which shews that a statement just urged by the interlocutor though true in itself in no way weakens the original speaker's point '*Yes, but*' or '*After all said and done,*' and (3) to introduce a premiss the truth of which the interlocutor must grant '*I take it,*' '*You know.*' For examples I may refer to *Ira* 3.26.1 quare fers aegri rabiem . . . puerorum proteruas manus? *nempe* quia etc.; *Ep.* 4.9 'at uictor te duci iubebit?' eo *nempe* quo duceris (*sc.* to death); *Ep.* 124.6 *nempe* uos (the Stoics) . . . dicitis. There is absolutely no parallel in Seneca to the parenthetical use which Gertz assumes here, and for which I should expect rather the concessive *sine dubio* (which indeed is opposed to *nempe* in *Heluia* 9.7).

But this is not the only objection to the emendation. Even if *nempe* could stand here, the sentence would be meaningless. Seneca's point is that all these mannerisms of the philosophers were really signs of pride, not humility. Socrates saw Antisthenes with a gown as ostentatiously ragged as that of any raw undergraduate and said 'ὀρῶ σου διὰ τοῦ τρίβωνος τὴν φιλοδοξίαν.' To this 'love of show' *ambitio* clearly refers: this meaning of the word is of course common in silver Latin and especially so in Seneca. To talk of ostentation aiming at bad dress and an unkempt head, and setting about achieving this aim the wrong way seems to me to be talking nonsense, and the MSS. carefully avoid doing so (*si sic omnia!*). What they say is 'and the various other devices that have for their aim—little as one would at first sight guess it—the making of a display.' For the force of *ambitio* here assumed ('display,' instead of 'love of display') I would cp. *Ira* 3.34 'cibos, potiones, horumque causa in *ambitionem* munditias.' *Sequi* as e.g. in *Ep.* 65. 6 'Quid est "propositum"? quod inuitauit artificem, quod ille *secutus* fecit'—viz., as he goes on to explain, money or glory.

¹ These notes are at present confined to the letters which I propose to include in the selection which I am preparing for Messrs. Macmillan. I should like to call the attention of scholars to two passages which

seem to me to be in sore want of medicine, though I find myself unable to do anything for them. I mean *Ep.* 12. 6 (*est alter qui annos adulescentiae excludit*) and 15. 8.

vii. 3. 'Quid me existimas dicere? auarior redeo, ambitiosior, luxuriosior, immo uero crudelior' etc. Hense's comma after *luxuriosior* is very distracting. The passage is certainly not easy to punctuate. For the meaning cp. *Ep.* 54.3 'hilarem me putas haec tibi scribere? tam ridicule facio si hoc fine quasi bona ualetudine delector quam' etc., 57.7 'nunc me putas de Stoicis dicere . . . ego uero non facio;' 77.14 'exempla nunc uirorum me tibi iudicas relaturum? puerorum referam.' A mark of interrogation must certainly stand after *luxuriosior*, and on the whole I think *auarior—luxuriosior* should be put in inverted commas: it represents the speech implied by *dicere*.

§ 5. The *meridianum spectaculum* is as bloodthirsty an affair, Seneca finds, as the real gladiatorial show. 'Yes, but the men who fight are robbers and murderers.' 'Granted,' says Seneca, 'they deserve their fate, what have *you* done to deserve being condemned to look on such a sight?' The words that follow are printed thus by Hense:

'occide, uerbera, ure! quare tam timide incurrit in ferrum? quare parum audacter occidit? quare parum libenter moritur?' plagis agitur in uulnera: 'mutuos ictus nudis et obuiis pectoribus excipiant.' intermissum est spectaculum: 'interim iugulentur homines ne nihil agatur.'

He takes the sentences *plagis—uulnera, intermissum—spectaculum* as remarks by Seneca, the first one serving as a kind of stage direction. But no such direction is at all needed, as we have been told in § 4 'ferro et igne res geritur,' 'the whole business needs the swords and torches (of soldiers) to keep the combatants in the ring.' Moreover, if Seneca wishes us to understand that the spectator's desires are carried out at just this moment, why does the spectator continue with the 'mutuos ictus—pectorebus excipiant' clause, which, by the way, seems very abrupt.

I believe we can improve [matters by simply inserting *et* after *moritur*. Palaeographically this is not difficult, as p L, the MSS. with which we have here to deal, show a marked tendency to misread the punctuation mark as a pair of letters. Thus it is confused with *-ur* on p. 91.22 *adtemptatur* 94.26 *circumsonatur*, 96.2 *efficitur*, 101.6 *teneatur*, 104.16 *cadentur*, in all which cases p is the offender and the *-ur* is intruded before a full stop. L offends much less often; see however p. 1.19, 67.6, 167.9. And similarly often with *us* (two exx. on p. 92, lines 10 and 12). One would certainly expect it to be confused with *et*,¹ but I have not so far come across an example, though *ur*, and *or* are so confused (cp. p on p. 115. 19, 227. 19, 253. 3, 277. 16, where *et* is wrongly omitted or inserted after *ur* or *or*). Anyhow the change is a slight one.

The whole passage will then be spoken by the spectator. 'Kill him, flog him, burn him. What? Does the wretch object to dying *and want the lash before he can bear the thought of a wound?* Why, they ought to stand face to face and hack

¹ Cp. Hermes on *De Ira* p. 131 'alia manus siglum 7 addidit, quod et interpunctionis signum esse et *et* significare potest.'

at each other. I know 'tis the luncheon interval, and we can't have the real thing; still rather than waste the time let's have some throats cut.'

§ 8. recede in te ipse.

So the good MSS.; Hense adopts *ipsum* of ε. But cp. 25. 6, *in te ipse secede* and 40. 13 *te ipse non audias*.

xii. 3. Seneca visits his country house and finds much that reminds him he is getting old—the house he built falling into decay, the trees he planted losing sap. He comes across an old man who claims to be Felicio, the bailiff's son, *cui solebas sigillaria adferre . . . deliciolum tuum*. Then follow these words: 'perfecte' inquam 'iste delirat. pupulus etiam delicium meum factus est? prorsus potest fieri: dentes illi cum maxime cadunt.'

I believe we should read *profecto* at the outset, but that is a detail and read, e.g. by Ruhkopf, though Hense does not even mention it. The difficulty comes in the words *pupulus etiam et sqq.* Unfortunately *dentes—cadunt* which ought to make everything clear is a somewhat ambiguous phrase. The old man is losing his teeth. So was Seneca, who in *Ep.* 83. 4 speaks of a little seven-year-old boy who claims that both of them have 'eandem crism,' 'climacteric,' and the reason he assigns is that 'utriusque dentes cadunt.' The phrase regularly refers to the shedding of the milk-teeth (so in all the exx. in L. S.): could it be used of the second teeth, except by way of a joke as in *Ep.* 83. 1. c.? I think not, and if I am right, then we must reject the translation 'It's quite possible he is my old playmate: his teeth are going like mine,' and take the clause *prorsus—cadunt* as referring to *pupulus*:—'He really might well be a child: he's shedding his teeth.' I believe *etiam* ought to be read *et iam*: 'he thinks that he's a boy again, and, not content with that, must be my old playmate.'

In case anyone should doubt the genuineness of *pupulus*, found again practically only in Catullus it may be well to mention that Seneca's style is full of colloquial words, such as this doubtless was, and that in particular, one may quote the words *allocutio*, *capsula*, *lancino*, *pertundo*, *sacculus*, *ueterinus*, and *unguentatus* as Catullan and recurring either nowhere else or at any rate rarely elsewhere than in Seneca.

§ 7. Heraclitus said 'unus dies par omni (just below, *omnibus*) est.' This saying was differently interpreted, but the view that concerns us here, and was evidently Seneca's, is that one day was equal to another *similitudine* inasmuch as *longissimi temporis spatium* can give you nothing that you could not get in the twenty-four hours' day, viz. *lucem et noctem*. Then the MSS. proceed: 'et in alternas mundi uices plura facit ista, non alias contractior alias productior. itaque sic ordinandus est dies omnis tamquam cogat agmen' etc.

Alternas mundi uices means of course the alternations of night and day: so *uices* often in Seneca's prose, and in *Thyestes* 813 *mundi uices*.¹ Gronov saw that

¹ For the use of *in*, which means 'to go and swell the total of,' cp. *Vit. Beat.* 22. 3 'quaedam *in summam rei* parua sunt.'

the contrast suggested by *non* must be *alia* (cp. *Ep.* 47. 21 'mutatur *non* in melius sed in *aliud*'), which he accordingly supplied. Buecheler and Hense follow in supplying *alia*, but assume that more words than this have fallen out—thereby of course greatly endangering the palaeographical security of the emendation. Nor is their assumption at all necessary. *Alia* ends a clause: with *alias*, we enter on another, which serves as a bridge from Heraclitus' maxim to that of 'Treat each day as if it were your last.' Unfortunately the new clause has no subject in our MSS., owing to its having been omitted by haplography before the *itaque* of the next sentence. Read then 'alias contractior, alias productior <*uita*>: itaque' etc.

xv. 9. Seneca has proved to Lucilius that the exercise of his body need not take up a large part of his time. Then, about to close his letter, he wishes to quote (according to the regular rule observed in Books I–III of the letters) a passage which has struck him in his day's reading. He has all kinds of names for these quotations: generally he regards them as a daily payment due to Lucilius, in 6. 7 one is a *diurna mercedula*. Here he begins:

Detraxi tibi non pusillum negotii; una mercedula et unum graecum ad haec beneficia accedet.

Although Hense shews no suspicion of the passage beyond citing the conjecture *munus* for *unum*, it appears to me as it stands obviously corrupt. That *una* is really equivalent to the indefinite article is bad enough: the phrase *unum Graecum* is impossible. It could only mean 'one Greek kindness,' and *munus Graecum* is not much better: *munus Graecorum* would improve matters, but it is quite contrary to Seneca's custom in these quotations to emphasize the fact that they are from the Greek: the only point he ever makes in reference to their *origin* is that they are drawn from Epicurean, not Stoic, sources. Here the question of source is duly put later on, and all Seneca is at present thinking of is, that he has by his advice about exercise really paid the debt which he regards each daily letter as owing to Lucilius: cp. especially 9. 20 where after giving an apophthegm he says: 'Epicurus too made a similar remark (uocem), quam tu boni consule, *etiamsi hunc diem iam expunxi*' and 19. 10 where after citing Maecenas he goes on 'poteram tecum hac Maecenatis sententia parem facere rationem.' In our passage *una* calls loudly for a corresponding *alter*, and I believe Seneca wrote *alterum ad haec beneficia accedet*: the letters of *alterum* got transposed (transposition is not uncommon in these MSS., p writes *altare* for *altera* p. 203, 5) and (*g*)*raecum* of the MSS. represents the word. A slight emendation now becomes necessary after *mercedula*, so that the whole passage should read 'detraxi—negotii: una mercedula est. Nunc alterum ad haec beneficia accedet: ecce insigne praeceptum,' etc. The *g* of *graecum* probably represents the last letter of *nunc*: confusion of the two letters is extremely common in p L.

xv. 11. 'Don't be ambitious: reflect how much better off you are already than many people: finem constitue quem transire ne uelis quidem, si possis: away with delusive blessings

sperantibus meliora quam adsecutis. si quid in illis esset solidi, aliquando et implerent: nunc haurientium sitim concitant. mittantur speciosi adparatus.'

So Hense, after Madvig: the MSS. read *im(m)itantur* for *mittantur*. There are it is true several exx. of *mitto* being written as *mito* in these MSS., but I cannot believe that we ought to accept Madvig's conjecture, for (1) I know of no example of such a use of *mittantur* in Seneca, who would almost certainly have written *tollantur*; (2) the clause *nunc—concant* is so brief as to be positively abrupt, although of course *implerent* has to some extent prepared the way for the metaphor; (3) the meaning 'plans,' which I imagine we must attribute to *adparatus* with Madvig's reading, is hardly, I think, to be found in Seneca. The regular meaning of the word in Seneca is something very near to that of *pompa*, a series of articles spread out so as to appeal to the eye, and such, I imagine, is about the force of Horace's *Persici adparatus*. Cp. esp. *Ep.* 94. 70, 'quis posuit in auro secretam dapem? quis . . . luxuriae suae pompam solus explicuit? . . . *adparatum* uitiorum suorum pro modo turbae spectantis expandit.'

I propose: 'nunc haurientium sitis concitant, inritant, ut speciosi adparatus.' The rewards of ambition are like the fine array at a banquet: so far from allaying the appetite, they whet it. *Inritare* is of course a *uox propria* in Seneca in connexion with *cupiditates*, *famem*, etc. For the combination with *concitare* cp. *Ep.* 85. 11, where the two words run parallel. The assonance would attract Seneca (in spite of the difference in quantity: cp. *Vit. Beat.* 3. 4 'aut inritant aut territant') and cause him to prefer asyndeton. It would of course be easy to supply *et* (especially if the MSS. shew signs of punctuation after *concant*: see above on vii. 5), but, this kind of asyndeton is very common in Seneca: cp. 43. 3 'quaeritur, scitur,' 102. 26 'gemis, ploras,' 121. 8 'niti, quati se' (Hense is certainly wrong in bracketing *niti* there).

xxi. 10. Seneca is laying stress on the simplicity with which Epicurus lived. 'Cum adieris eius hortulos et inscriptum hortulis HOSPES, HIC BENE MANEBIS paratus erit istius domicilii custos,' etc.

This is another of the passages which Hense prints without implying that he is dissatisfied with it, although he has to devote nearly four lines to the emendations which others have proposed. *Adieris eius*, I may note, is itself Usener's improvement on Schweighauser's emendation of the *a(u)dierithis* of the MSS.: it seems likely to be right. The things that still disturb one are: (1) The substantival use of *inscriptum*, for which there is no other ex. in Seneca, perhaps none at all outside Gellius, (2) the dative *hortulis* after this verbal noun, (3) the awkwardness of the zeugma *adieris—inscriptum*, (4) the repetition of *hortulis* where there is really no emphasis.

All these difficulties vanish if we read *erit* (possibly *HOC erit, oc* falling out after *-os*) *inscriptum in postibus*: I do not see that any serious ones take their place. The only difficulty is the *p* of *postibus*. I believe this fell out, though such

a catastrophe does not often befall the letter. On p. 213, 7 p V have *neme* for *nempe* similarly. At 368, 21 indeed *posse* becomes *esse* in B without any obvious explanation: on p. 5, 1 A writes *miscent* for *pmiscent*.

xxxiii. 5. 'Don't imagine you can *summatim degustare ingenia maximorum uirorum* by means of an anthology of their apophthegms. *Tota tibi inspicienda sunt, tota tractanda. Res geritur et per lineamenta sua ingenii opus nectitur, ex quo nihil subduci sine ruina potest.*'

A difficult passage. *Lineamenta* of course generally means the outline framework of a drawing or building: here it seems to mean *parts* of a whole: he goes on to say 'I don't mean that you may not examine *singula membra*, but remember, she is not a beauty cuius crus laudatur aut brachium, *sed illa cuius VNIVERSA FACIES admirationem PARTIBVS SINGVLIS abstulit.*' The nearest parallel to such a use of the word that I can find is *Nat. Quaest.* 3. 29. 3 'legem barbae et canorum nondum, natus infans habet: totius enim corporis . . . in paruo occultoque *lineamenta* sunt,' where the corresponding passage of Cleanthes (Stob. *Ecl.* 1. 372, Ritter-Preller⁸ § 500) runs ὅσπερ γὰρ ἐνός τινος τὰ μέρη πάντα φύεται ἐκ σπερμάτων ἐν τοῖς καθήκουσι χρόνοις, κτλ.

A second difficulty is involved in the phrase *res geritur*. It is common enough in Seneca, but is always amplified into such phrases as *r. ferro g.*, *r. animo g.*, *r. intra eundem hominem g.*, and so forth. The only absolute use that I have found is in *Const.* 19. 4: 'the wise man is out of the battle, his victory is won: *uos rem geritis*, you are still fighting.' This sense will hardly do here. Various suggestions are quoted by Hense, but no one seems to have suggested an adjective for *res*. Palaeographically *magna* and *ardua* seem about equally balanced, but Seneca's usage and the rhythm are greatly in favour of the first. It is possible however that we should read *ingens* after *geritur*: cp. in any case *Ep.* 49. 9 'non uaco ad istas ineptias: *ingens negotium in manibus est.*'

A less necessary change, but to my mind one that is very desirable, is the substitution of *corpus* for *opus*. The words which follow the passage and were paraphrased above refer to bodily matters; and cp. 89. 1 'desideras . . . diuidi philosophiam et ingens *corpus* eius in membra disponi.'

xl. 2. Serapio speaks too rapidly. 'Solet magno cursu uerba conuellere, quae non effundit ima sed premit et urguet; plura enim ueniunt quam quibus uox una sufficiat.'

That *ima* is corrupt, all admit, but *una* of ζ, which is generally accepted, does not please me much better. The meaning is quite clear, the words come so thick and fast that Serapio can't get them out: they are blocked at the exit. The metaphor is of course that of a torrent, *effundere* meaning 'to carry off' the floodwaters: cp. e.g. Mart. 7. 36. 3 of tiles 'quae posset subitos *effundere* nimbos.' But what force are we to assign to *una*? Hardly 'altogether,' for the idea negatived is clearly the idea of something which Serapio ought to do, and no one can wish him

to pour out all he has to say in a single effort. The word then must mean 'along with,' and the question at once arises 'Along with what?' Now as a matter of fact Seneca's metaphor, like many metaphors, will not bear pressing. The words *are* the torrent, but he chooses to regard them as flotsam and jetsam in that torrent: *conuellere* shews this. Now the torrent flows on, whilst the trees it has uprooted get across stream and stick on rocks. Seneca then can certainly say that the river fails to carry off these trees *along with its flood-waters*, and it is just conceivable that he might write *una* instead of *una secum* or *una cum aquis suis*. But the moment we leave the metaphor and come to Serapio's delivery, we see that *una* can mean nothing: you cannot imagine a time when his words stopped but his speech went on! *Vna* then either gives an unsuitable meaning or exposes the weakness of the metaphor which Seneca is here developing: we may with confidence reject it. What is to take its place is not so easy to say, but as I and T are fairly commonly confused in these MSS., I propose to read *tamen* (*tañ* in the archetype).

§ 8. tantum festinet atque ingerat quantum aures pati possunt.

Seneca here gives rules for the right kind of delivery. If the text is correct, *tantum* is first adverbial or cognate, and then ordinary accusative. I have not noted anything like it in Seneca and believe we should change *ingerat* to *ingruat*. Cp. Quint. II. 3. 56 (in similar context): 'Some people pretend to be out of breath, tamquam inuentionis copia urgueantur, maiorque uis eloquentiae *ingruat* quam quae emitti faucibus possit' (which compare with § 2 above).

§ 9. recte ergo facies si . . . ipse malueris, si necesse est, uel P. Vinicius dicere. 'Qui itaque?' Cum quaereretur quomodo P. Vinicius diceret, Asellius ait etc.

So I read with the MSS., except that I adopt the capitals and punctuation of modern times. Something is obviously wrong: the editors content themselves with writing *Vinicius* in the first sentence and changing *uel* to *uelut* or *ut*. I must point out that this still leaves some serious difficulties. First, within a space of five lines of Teubner text we have the phrases *ut P. Vinicius dicere, quomodo P. Vinicius diceret*, and *dicere quomodo Vinicius*: all which is strangely monotonous for Senecan prose. Secondly, the question 'qui itaque?' is hardly needed alongside the clause 'cum quaereretur': which of the two is the more Senecan may be seen by comparing *Ep.* 29. 6 where a similar *dictum* is introduced by the words 'de cuius secta cum quaereretur, Scaurus ait' etc. Thirdly, the interrogative adverb *qui* does not occur elsewhere in Seneca.

Starting from the certainly corrupt *qui itaque*, and bearing in mind that the interchange of *c* and *qu* is remarkably frequent in these MSS., and that there are not wanting exx. of that of *t* and *qu* (as one would a priori expect, *c* and *t* being so frequently confused), I proposed at first to read *citare*. As however Seneca does not use the word, I prefer to write *concitare*, which is almost the same palaeo-

graphically (*ēcitare*: *con* omitted e.g. p. 86, 12; 123, 6; 125, 26). Cp. p. 245, 17 where P corrupts *aetate* into (*p*)*aetaque*, and, for the word, § 12 below, where Fabianus is named as a model, who 'disputabat expedite magis quam *concitare*.'

Vinicius now awaits its governing verb, and *malueris* its infinitive, for most certainly Seneca is not recommending Lucilius *dicere concitare*. Both desiderata are given and the threefold repetition of the name of Vinicius in connexion with the verb *dicere* disappears, if we read after *Vinicius* the words '*imitari quam*.' The whole passage then will run: 'et ipse malueris uel P. Vinicius <imitari quam> dicere concitare.' It may be thought that the resemblance between *-icium* and the *-i quam* is too slight to cause an error of the kind assumed, but the above mentioned confusion of *c* and *qu* should be borne in mind, and for *-um* = *-am* I may compare p. 203, 1, where nine words fell out in p through the identification of *illam* and *illum*.

§ 10. Seneca gives the witticisms of Asellius and Varius and then goes on:

'Quidni malis tu sic dicere quomodo Vinicius? Aliquis tam insulsus interuenit quam qui illi singula uerba uellent... ait: dic numquid dicas. Nam Q. Hateri cursum . . . longe abesse ab homine sano uolo.'

What does the *aliquis* clause mean? Hense shews no signs of dissatisfaction, but I can make nothing of it. *Interuenierit*, whatever the mood, must be like *Nat. Quaest.* 5.18.1 'inter cetera hoc quoque *aliquis suspexerit*: 'Someone might,' 'Someone could.' But this does not suit the preceding clause, one of the *quidni* ones so common in Seneca (ten in the first forty letters). These clauses regularly suggest a course, and are followed by another clause confirming or justifying the suggestion. Here it is suggested 'Better imitate Vinicius (than Serapio)': it is strange encouragement to add 'Some one will very likely come and jeer at you.'

A mark of interrogation will improve matters. 'Is anyone likely to make fun of you?' might imply 'No one will do so,' and does confirm the previous advice. But a question like this could not imply a negative: Lucilius would surely reply 'Of course some one will: some one did to Vinicius, anyhow.' And the *nam* of the next sentence, in which Seneca dismisses the lightning pace of Haterius (which wanted the break on continually, as Augustus said), is absolutely without any force so far.

We must then use the knife—but for a very slight and very common operation. Read *alius* for *aliquis* and cp. *Tranq.* 9.5 'Forty thousand books were destroyed at Alexandria. "Pulcherrimum regiae opulentiae monumentum *alius* laudauerit, sicut T. Liuius, . . . : non fuit elegantiae illud"' etc. The only difference between that passage and this is that Seneca has suppressed a clause corresponding to the one there beginning *non fuit* etc., a clause in which he stated that his own view would be different. He implies this by the epithet *insulsus*, and before we can give *nam* its proper force we must supply something like: 'I say if we are to have an extreme, let it be that of Vinicius: Haterius' is frenzy.'

xlvi. 8. A description of the hardships endured by slaves waiting at a banquet.

'Alius, cui conuiuarum censura permissa est, perstat infelix et *expectat* quos adulatio et intemperantia aut gulae aut linguae reuocet in crastinum.'

This is nonsense. If the slave has only to wait for those who are to come back next day, he is not so hard-worked after all. *Censura* implies that he has got to divide the guests, as the censors did the citizens, into classes: as the magistrates assigned people to the lists of those fit for service and those not fit, so this slave, after carefully watching their behaviour throughout the banquet, divides them into the two classes of those who deserve a second invitation and those who do not. *Spectat* then, not *expectat* is the verb required: the same mistake occurs in p or L on p. 27.3; 39.22; 75.21; 93.21, whilst at 261.19 conversely P is wrong with *spectas* for *expectas*. It seems unnecessary then to suppose that *ex* is a corruption of *ex eis*, especially as *et* immediately precedes.

§ 10. 'Treat your slave well: tam tu illum uidere ingenuum potes quam ille te seruum. Mariana clades multos splendidissime natos, senatorium per militiam auspicantes gradum, fortuna depressit: alium ex illis pastorem, alium custodem casae fecit.'

Lipsius proposed *Variana*: I am surprised that Hense keeps to the MSS., with no further comment than that Buecheler defends their reading. The references to Buecheler in Hense are very tantalizing: no work of his is mentioned in which the remarks are published, and one is left to infer that the statements are due to private correspondence and conversation between the two scholars: cp. what is said on p. xl of the preface. One would be only too glad to know on what grounds the text could be defended: to me everything suggests the Varus disaster. *Clades* surely suits this second Cannae better than anything connected with the name of Marius: besides, *militiam* points clearly to a battle, and those who escaped from the Mario-Sullan battles would be proscribed rather than sold into slavery—the fate to which the context here clearly refers, and the fate which would certainly befall any of Varus' troops whose lives the Germans spared. Lastly, so definite a mention of military service as a preliminary to senatorial rank suits an episode of Augustus' reign far better than one of the Republican period: see Mommsen, St-R.³ I.545 note.

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A PASSAGE OF PINDAR RECONSIDERED.

PINDAR *Ol.* ii. 63 ff.

θανόντων μὲν ἐνθάδ' αὐτίκ' ἀπάλαμνοι φρένες
ποινάς ἔτισαν, τὰ δ' ἐν τᾷδε Διὸς ἀρχᾷ
ἄλιτρά κατὰ γᾶς δικάζει τις ἐχθρᾷ
λόγον φράσαις ἀνάγκᾳ
ἴσαις δὲ νύκτεσσιν αἰεὶ,
ἴσαις δ' ἀμέραις ἄελιον ἔχοντες, ἀπονέστερον
ἐσλοὶ δέκονται βίοτον κτλ.

Mr. Garrod's interesting discussion (in the *Classical Quarterly* for July, 1907) of the first four lines of this famous passage raises a good many controversial points, but his central objection to what may be called the most obvious rendering (if we accept Rauchenstein's *αὔτις* for *αὐτίκ'* in the first line) is one that was certainly worth making, and in attempting to meet it the whole passage may perhaps be placed in a clearer light. I have put down a few more lines than Mr. Garrod did, because it seems to me that it is just the general connexion of thought (which the added lines give) that must first be considered, in order to see the different parts in due perspective. *Αὔτις* must of course wait for its justification until this has been done. Firstly, as to the contrast to which *μὲν* points: there is no reason to think that Mr. Garrod mistook this, or supposed it to lie in *τὰ δ' ἐν τᾷδε κτλ.*, since he translates this *δέ* by 'and': nevertheless it is a fact requiring cardinal emphasis that the contrast begins with *ἴσαις δὲ νύκτεσσιν κτλ.* Hence I conceive that a provisional outline of Pindar's meaning might be given thus: *τῶν θανόντων οἱ μὲν πονηροὶ . . . ποινάς τίνουσιν . . . οἱ δὲ ἐσθλοὶ ἀπονέστερον δέχονται βίοτον.* Now we come to Mr. Garrod's objection, which concerns the internal structure or arrangement of clauses in the *first* part alone of this antithesis. 'This involves an impossible inversion of the true order of ideas. It makes Pindar speak of the second punishment of guilty souls (in a new life on earth) before he says anything of their first punishment (in the world below).' For 'first punishment' it would, I think, be more accurate, as well as sufficient for the objector's purpose, to say 'judgment': for Pindar seems here to disregard the *τίσις ἐν Ἀϊδου* (Plato, *Laus* 870 D) so as to confine the penalty to the punishment received in a second life. Such variations of detail on a common groundwork of Orphic eschatology occur

here and there according to the writer's purpose or fancy, as may be seen by comparing the several Platonic versions among themselves and with Pindar's and Vergil's. Let us say, then, that Pindar speaks of the punishment before the judgment. True: but then this *hysteron proteron* may be justified on the same principle as in other cases (unless there are any due to mere carelessness or caprice), that is, the leading thought is placed first, and emphasis overrides chronology. Here the leading thought is supplied by the antithesis that forms the framework of the whole passage: that the bad are punished, while the good are rewarded. The manner in which the punishment is brought about, though not unimpressive, is yet secondary: thus the clause τὰ δ' ἐν τᾷδε . . . ἀνάγκη is subordinate in thought, and therefore placed second: it might almost be placed in brackets. And thus the chief difficulty disappears.

It remains to be seen whether the details of phraseology can be harmonized with this general view. The verbal points may be taken in order. The reasons in favour of αὐτίς for αὐτίκα are now plain enough: as Plato says (*l. c.*) καὶ πάλιν ἀφικομένοις δεῦρο ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὴν κατὰ φύσιν δίκην ἐκτίσαι (I quote this passage as the simplest and most concise exposition I know of the doctrines in question, referred to by him as generally accepted from οἱ ἐν ταῖς τελεταῖς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐσπουδακότες). As for ἀπάλαμνοι, the general meaning suggested for this by our antithesis is certainly 'the wicked.' Mr. Garrod questions whether this sense (or 'sinful') is Pindaric or anywhere well established. Such a derivative meaning is not without parallel. Terms denoting moral unsatisfactoriness are apt to be allusive and euphemistic in their origin: in the course of usage they gather vituperative energy: cf. σχέτλιος, πονηρός, ῥαδιουργός, froward, caitiff, etc., etc. When Mr. Pickwick called Mr. Tupman a 'fellow' he was unconsciously illustrating this linguistic tendency. And so ἀπάλαμνος, originally 'unhandy,' might acquire a sterner sense. In Solon *Fr.* 27 (3) 12 (man in the 'sixth age') οὐδ' ἔρδειν ἔθ' ὅμως ἔργ' ἀπάλαμνα θέλει, Theogn. 281 δειλῷ γάρ τ' ἀπάλαμνα βροτῷ πάρα πόλλ' ἀνελέσθαι | πὰρ ποδός, ἡγείσθαι θ' ὥς καλὰ πάντα τιθεῖ (quoted by Fennell) the meanings may be respectively 'reckless' and 'shameful,' 'dastardly' (orig.=sluggish), but that of 'wickedness' is not far off. To the next clause Mr. Garrod would give an entirely new turn by applying the verb to the defendant not the judge: δικάζει τις with acc., 'a man must plead his cause' for his misdeeds, cf. Eur. *Orest.* 580 φόνον δικάζων. The latter seems to be an isolated use for δικάζεσθαι with gen. On the other hand he questions δικάζειν τι for 'to judge an offence.' I would point out (1) that the verb is used for deciding a case, or point at issue (in the acc.) in Aesch. *Eum.* 471, 601; (2) δικάζειν (absolute) expresses the function of the judges in the underworld in several places: *Gorg.* 524 A οὗτοι οὖν—δικάσουσιν ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι, *Rep.* 614 C ἐπειδὴ διαδικάσειαν (cf. the mid. διαδικασαμένους, of the judged, *Phaedo* 107 D); (3) but the most obvious and tempting parallel is Aesch. *Supp.* 230

κακέϊ δικάζει τὰμπλακῆμαθ', ὥς λόγος,
Ζεὺς ἄλλος ἐν καμοῦσιν ὑστάτας δίκας—

because here the same word is used in the same connexion by a poet under the same Orphic or Pythagorean influences. The proposal to waive this analogy on the ground that (*a*) the true construction is perhaps *δικάζειν . . δίκας*, (*b*) the reading (of *τὰμπλακήμαθ'*) is uncertain, surely makes too much of accidents. At any rate the verb means 'to judge': and, granted that it has a cognate acc. *δίκας*, the probabilities are greatly in favour of its having also a direct object *τὰμπλακήματα*, which is a fairly convincing correction of the jumble in M. The same passage suggests that our *τις* is practically equivalent to *Ζεὺς ἄλλος* (*i.e.* *χθόνιος*), though more indefinite. The idea of 'dread indefiniteness' I should be prepared, with others, to accept, though one may suspect that two collateral influences are here at work: the need of reticence in alluding to chthonian powers (cf. *ἄς τρέμομεν λέγειν κτλ.* Soph. *O.C.* 129) and the divergences of tradition respecting the judge or judges in Hades, divergences of which *τις* is perhaps a stately avoidance (cf. the anonymous *δικασταί* in the Myth of Er). Lastly, the question of *ἐχθρᾷ λόγον φράσαις ἀνάγκη* is already largely prejudged by the foregoing considerations, and although these words are no doubt quite capable of Mr. Garrod's interpretation, they hardly offer difficulty from the other point of view. *Λόγον φράσαι* might mean 'to pronounce sentence,' cf. the *λόγος Ἀνάγκης* in the final scene of the Myth of Er, but more probably 'to enjoin, or demand, a reckoning,' as the converse of *λόγον διδόναι*—a sense of the verb arising out of that of 'declaring authoritatively' and found with the inf., and perhaps with an acc. object in Aesch. *Persae* 173 *μή σε δὲς φράσαι μήτ' ἔπος μήτ' ἔργον*. Putting these results together, and reading *ἀδτις* in the first line, we may render the whole not too preposterously: 'After death the souls of the unrighteous do penance here once more—the wrongs done in this realm of Zeus one judgeth in the world below who demandeth a reckoning under bitter constraint—but the righteous, where their sun ever maketh day tally with night and night with day, reap a life untroubled, etc.'

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AD SENECAE DIALOGOS.

Dial. I (De provid.) 3 14 p. 9 29 Hermes: 'inimicitiae potentium graues sunt: opponatur (Cato) simul Pompeio, Caesari, Crasso; graue est a deterioribus honore anteiri: Vatinio postponatur; graue est ciuilibus bellis interesse: toto terrarum orbe pro causa bona tam infeliciter quam pertinaciter militet; graue est manus sibi afferre: faciat'.

Omnibus malis, in quibus Fortunam expertus est Cato, *grauissimis* perfunctus est: qui non uni sed tribus simul potentissimis obiectus est, quem non deterior sed pessimus omnium honore anteit, cui maiores aliquanto partes in armis ciuilibus datae sunt quam ut interesset tantummodo. Vide nunc, quo minae Fortunae exeant:—'faciat'! Nonne quantocius, recordati qualem Catonis mortem descripserit Seneca (*Ep.* 24 8, 67 7 et 13, 70 19, 71 17, *Dial.* IX 16 4), restituemus '<bis> faciat'? Conferantur imprimis huius dialogi 2 11 et 12 p. 5 17: 'liquet mihi cum magno spectasse gaudio deos, dum ille uir—gladium sacro pectori infigit—. inde crediderim fuisse parum certum et efficax uulnus: non fuit diis immortalibus satis spectare Catonem semel; retenta ac reuocata uirtus est, ut in difficiliore parte se ostenderet; non enim tam magno animo mors initur quam repetitur'. *bis* propter antecedens *sibi* in *sibi* abiit ('manus sibi afferre sibi, faciat'), deinde omisum est.

Dial. III (De ira lib. I) 2 4 p. 49 1: '<' * * * tamquam aut curam nostram deserentibus aut auctoritatem contemnentibus. quid? gladiatoribus quare populus irascitur et tam inique, ut iniuriam putet, quod non libenter pereunt? contemni se iudicat et uultu, gestu, ardore a spectatore in aduersarium uertitur <'>. quicquid est tale, non est ira, sed quasi ira, eqs.

Ficto aduersario suum reddidi ('—'). In iis quae perierunt irae finitio fuit: 'iram esse cupiditatem ulciscendae iniuriae', cui finitioni tria obiciuntur: 'iram moueri interdum aut *non* accepta iniuria (horum prior pars aequae interiit), aut *nondum* (3 1), interdum uindictae cupiditate carere' (3 2).

Dial. III (De ira lib. I) 12 1 p. 59 1: 'Quid ergo?' inquit 'uir bonus non irascitur si caedi patrem suum uiderit, si rapi matrem?' Non irascetur, sed uindicabit, sed tuebitur. quid autem times, ne parum magnus illi stimulus etiam sine ira pietas sit? aut dic eodem modo: 'quid ergo? cum uideat *se c a r i* patrem suum filiumue, uir bonus non flebit nec linquetur animo?' quae accidere feminis uidemus, quotiens illas leuis periculi suspicio perculit.

Pro 'secari' infelicitèr 'necari' coniecerunt Wolters et editor. Hoc enim uult Seneca: ob caedem irasci aequè infirmitatis (§ 4) indicium esse atque flere ob factam medicinam (*Dial.* XII 2 2 p. 341 25: 'urere ac secare').

Dial. III (*De ira* lib. I) 16 5 p. 63 22: et cum ceruicem noxio imperabo praecidi et cum parricidas (—am *edd. ueteres*) insuam culleo et cum mittam in supplicium militare et cum Tarpeio proditorem hostemue publicum inponam, sine ira eo uultu animoque ero, quo serpentes et animalia uenenata percutio.

Lipsius, quamuis recte obiectum desiderans, tamen dum 'militarem' proponit, rem non absoluit, cum desideretur etiam culpae indicatio; itaque fortiore remedio utendum esse puto et scribendum 'latronem'. (*Dial.* VII 19 3 p. 217 4 'ad supplicium acti' = in crucem sublatis).¹

Dial. III (*De ira* lib. I) 16 6 p. 64 4: nam si bono uiro ob mala facinora irasci conuenit, et ob secundas res malorum hominum inuidere conueniet. quid enim est indignius quam florere *improbos* quosdam et eos indulgentia fortunae abuti, quibus nulla potest satis mala inueniri fortuna?

W. Gemollio 'improbos' inserenti potius adstipularer, quam Gertzio aut 'eos' tollenti, aut 'quos damnes' corrigenti: in ipsis enim quae traduntur uerbis nihil esse uidetur quod suspicionem moueat; sed uerisimilius est ante 'florere' excidissee 'illorum' (per compendium, cf. Gertzii excurs. crit. pp. 412 *sqq.* in editione dialogorum, Hauniae 1886).

Dial. III (*De ira* lib. II) 5 3 p. 76 8:—et uoluptate multa perfruuntur plurimumque ab iratorum uultu absunt, per otium saeui.

Gertzii coniecturae 'per iocum' fauet *Ep.* p. 432 14 Hense: 'homo, sacra res homini, iam per lusum ac iocum occiditur'.

Dial. IV (*De ira* lib. II) 10 1 p. 80 3: Illud potius cogitabis, non esse irascendum erroribus. quid enim, si quis irascatur in tenebris parum uestigia certa ponentibus? quid, si quis surdis imperia non exaudientibus? quid, si pueris, quod neglecto dispectu officiorum ad lusus et ineptos aequalium iocos spectent? quid, si illis irasci uelis, *qui*, quod aegrotant senescunt, fatigantur?

In loco uarie temptato asyndeton trimembre 'aegrotant senescunt fatigantur' non est tollendum, cf. *Dial.* V 9 3 p. 118 17: 'debemus—cauere lassitudinem corporis: consumit enim quidquid in nobis mite placidumque est et acria concitat.—ob eandem causam iracundiores sunt ualetudine aut aetate fessi'. Quem locum respiciens et alterum qui legitur IV 19 4 p. 89 12: 'senes difficiles et queruli sunt, ut aegri et conualescentes et quorum aut

¹ V. cl. Postgate quem offendit inaequalis quodammodo atque sibi impar sententiarum enuntiatio—cur enim, rogat, cum in prioribus particulis unus tantum ob admissum facinus poenas capite pendat, in ultimo duos *proditorem—hostem* pendere uidemus?—pro-

ponit: 'et cum mittam in supplicium <proditorem rei> militaris et cum Tarpeio hostem publicum inponam', coll. *Liv.* ii 59: 'inuectus haud falso in proditorem exercitum militaris disciplinae' (mox sequitur supplicium).

lassitudine aut detractio sanguinis exhaustus est calor', ita suppleuerim: 'quid si <quer>ulis irasci uelis, quod aegrotant senescunt fatigantur?' 'quod' non sicuti in antecedentibus (irasci pueris quod—spectent) ad 'irasci' referendum est, quod uetat modus indicatiuus, sed ad 'querulis'; neque aliter fieri potest: quis enim sanus ob hoc solum homini irascatur quod aegrotet uel senescat uel fatigetur? Postquam 'querulis' in 'illis' deprauatum est, ortum est — neque causa latet—quod in *L* legitur: 'qui aegrotant—'.

Dial. IV (*De ira* lib. II) 27 2 p. 96 7: non enim nos causa mundo sumus hiemem aestatemque referendi: suas ista leges habent, quibus diuina exercentur.

Gertz, qui in Studiis suis criticis p. 93 'diuina' incluserat, in editione proposuit 'diuina <omnia>'; Madvig '<ui> diuina' supplens aut tautologiam induxit, si 'leges' et 'uis diuina' idem sunt, aut, si minus, tenebris omnia inuoluit. Nisi cum editore auctoris neglegentiam suspicari malis, uide ne satius sit scribere 'quibus deuincta exercentur'; cf. *Dial.* VI 18 1 p. 176 18: puta nascenti me tibi uenire in consilium: 'intraturus es urbem dis, hominibus communem, omnia complexam, certis legibus aeternisque deuinctam'¹, indefatigata caelestium officia uoluentem'.

Dial. IV (*De ira* lib. II) 36 6 p. 107 20: maximum enim illos malum cepit et omnia exsuperans uitia. alia paulatim intrant, repentina et uniuersa uis huius est.

Gertzii coniecturam 'illa' uel 'alia: illa' iure non recepit editor: 'alia' enim significat 'cetera', cf. quae subsequuntur 'omnes alios affectus', *Dial.* V 4 5 p. 112 28: 'alia animi mala' (opp.: iracundia), *de Ben.* III 11 3 p. 61 22: 'omnium parentium unum erat beneficium—; alia diuersa sunt'.

Dial. V (*De ira* lib. III) 4 4 p. 112 22: non uis ergo admoneam eos, qui iram <in> summa potentia exercent et argumentum uirium existumant et in magnis magnae fortunae bonis ponunt paratam ultionem, quam non sit potens, immo ne liber quidem dici possit irae suae captiuus? non uis admoneam, quo diligentior quisque sit et ipse se circumspectat, alia animi mala ad pessimos quosque pertinere, iracundiam etiam eruditis hominibus et in alia sanis inrepere?

<in> ex *L* restituendum uidetur: nam re uera homines praepotentes (reges, tyrannos) indicasse Senecam tam e uerbis 'magnae fortunae' colligas quam uel praecipue ex exemplis quae et praepotentium et disertorum irae sequuntur c. 16 3, c. 17 1 sqq. (p. 126 7 sqq. et 24 sqq.): 'atqui plerique sic iram quasi insigne regium exercuerunt, sicut Darius—. at quanto Xerses facilior! eqs'. 'Haec barbaris regibus feritas in ira fuit, quos nulla eruditio, nullus litterarum cultus inbuerat: dabo tibi ex Aristotelis sinu Alexandrum—'). De locutione 'iram exercere' cf. locum laudatum (p. 126 7) et V 8 3 p. 117 6: 'causas irascendi non

¹ Ne editoris annotatione 'deuincta Gertz et Madvig' in errorem inducatur, monendus est lector Madvigium probauisse quidem Gertzii coniecturam (Gertz. Studd. Critt. p. 113: 'omnia complexam, certis legibus aeternisque deuincta indefatigata c.o.u.'),

ipsum tamen (Aduu. Critt. II p. 356) sic uerba citauisse: '—omnia complexam, certis legibus... deuincta'; ut appareat illum, dum ad Gertzii interpolationem parum attendit, aliud probauisse, aliud prorsus ipsum uoluisse.

inuenit nec uitium suum exercet.' 'In potentia' = dum potentes sunt (cf. VII 22 1 p. 220 8: 'in diuitiis'). De toto cf. *de Clem.* I 1 3: 'In hac tanta facultate rerum non ira me ad iniqua supplicia conpulit,—non ipsa ostentandae per terrores potentiae dira, sed frequens magnis imperiis gloria'.

Dial. V (*De ira* lib. III) 5 6 p. 114 1: nihil est simultatibus grauius: has ira conciliat; nihil est bello funestius; in hoc potentium ira prorumpit; ceterum etiam illa plebeia inerme et sine uiribus bellum est.

Bentleio 'sine uiris' scribenti de corruptela consentiendum est: quis enim simultatibus, quas tamquam grauissimas denotauerit, uires deroget? Sed requiritur quo designetur hoc tantum a bello distare simultates, quod funestae non sint, quam ob rem praestare uidetur 'sine uulneribus'.

Dial. V (*De ira* lib. III) 14 3 p. 123 27: controuersiam illi facere de gloria debuit et reuocare iactum eqs.

Lipsii coniecturam 'ictum' tantum non receperunt Gertz et Hermes ('rectius ut uidetur de sagitta'). Conferatur tamen *Verg. Georg.* ii 123: 'aera uincere summum Arboris haud ullae iactu potuere sagittae', qui locus quamquam diuersus est, cum illic de spatio transacto agatur, hic de mittentis certa manu (cf. *Sen. Herc. Oet.* 161: 'Parthus Cnossiacis certior ictibus'), tamen de uerbi ipsius legitimo usu dubitari non potest. Ceterum tota haec apostropha us. 23–33: 'dii illum male perdant — laudatum est quam missum' interlocutori danda esse uidetur: aliena est a mente Senecae, in hoc solum nitentis ut iram inhiberi et *debere* persuadeat, et *posse* demonstret exemplis.

Dial. V *De ira* lib. III 18 4 p. 128 13: (C. Caesar) adeo impatiens fuit differendae uoluptatis,—ut in xysto—quosdam ex illis (senatoribus et equitibus) cum matronis atque aliis senatoribus ad lucernam decollaret.

'cum' = 'coram' cf. *Ep.* 25 6 (p. 78 20 Hense): 'dum te efficis eum, cum quo peccare non audeas'.

Dial. V (*De ira* lib. III) 28 5 p. 138 11: quidam uero non tantum iustas causas standi contra nos, sed etiam honestas habent: alius patrem tuetur, alius fratrem, alius patriam, alius amicum; his tamen non ignoscimus id facientibus, quod nisi facerent improbaremus.

Suspectum uidetur 'patriam' (*A*, uulgo inepte 'patruum'), cum et minus apte inter officia, quae singulis hominibus praestantur, etiam patriae mentio fiat, neque qui patriam tuetur 'contra nos stet', neque ei quisquam (ciuis ciui) non ignoscat: nam de hoste aliquo suae patriae defensore cogitare nos uetant sequentia: 'at me hercules uir magnus ac iustus fortissimum quemque ex hostibus suis et pro libertate ac salute patriae pertinacissimum suspicit'. Itaque restituendum uidetur 'patruum', sed una littera adiecta: 'patrōnum'.

Dial. VI (*ad Marc.*) 7 1 p. 159 20: 'At enim naturale desiderium suorum est'. quis negat, quam diu modicum est? nam discessu, non solum amissione carissimorum necessarius morsus est eqs.

'ex' quod ante 'discessu' seruant codd. dett., ex 'et' ortum esse suspicor.

Dial. VI (*ad Marc.*) 16 1 p. 172 1: par illis (feminis), mihi crede, uigor, par ad honesta, libeat, facultas est.

'libera', quod pro 'libeat' in dett. traditur, si uera est lectio, pro asyndeto habendum est 'ad honesta libera', uidetur tamen ex 'libeat' esse quasi emendatum, quod quamquam negant uiri docti sic nude poni posse pro 'si libeat' uel 'libeat modo' similibus, coniecturis non temptare praestat; cf. X 15 1 p. 302 2: 'per illos non stabit, quominus plurimum quantum, coeperis, haurias'.

Dial. VI 17 p. 174 10-18 p. 176 15: Huius capitis ordinem qui uiri docti praeceunte Madvigio per ultimae partis transpositionem—quamquam alius aliter—restituisse sibi uisi sunt, non satis ut opinor ipsarum partium iustam successionem et quasi aequabilitatem attenderunt:

(a)

17 2: 'si quis *Syracusas petenti* diceret: "omnia incommoda—ante cognosce, deinde ita nauiga eqs."'

(b)

17 6: 'dicit *omnibus nobis* natura: "neminem decipio. tu si filios sustuleris, poteris habere formosos, et deformes poteris eqs."'

(a)

17 6: 'post hanc denuntiationem si quis dixisset intrare se *Syracusas* uelle, satisne iustam querellam de ullo nisi de se habere posset, qui non incidisset in illa, sed prudens sciensque uenisset?'

(b)

17 7: 'post has leges si liberos tollis, omni deos inuidia liberas, qui tibi nihil certi spoponderunt.'

Apparet nullo modo quae sub (b) notata sunt alio relegari posse quin pereat mutua relatio quae est inter (a) et (b), pereat manifesta conexio quae est inter uerba 'neminem decipio' et ea quae praecedunt 'qui non incidisset in illa sed prudens sciensque uenisset', pereat quoque duplex imaginis usus, qua primum filios generandi tollendi educandi aleam cum dubia peregrinatione comparans hanc parentum uitae partem tractat Seneca, tum ad totius uitae condicionem illustrandam pergit (18 1: 'Ad hanc imaginem agedum totius uitae introitum refer eqs.'). ut demonstret neque in uita liberorum amissiones neque ipsam uitam esse recusandam: nam ut in illis procreandis ipse consultus es a natura, uitae condiciones tibi proponenti, ita de ipsa uita tua consulti sunt parentes, 'qui cum condicionem uitae nossent, in hanc nos sustulerunt (18 fin.)'.

In errorem inducti non essent uiri docti, si ex more suo scripsisset Seneca (17 6) '*nunc* (= nunc autem) dicit nobis natura' (cf. VI 20 4 p. 182 8: 'at nunc', 20

6 p. 183 3: 'nunc', item IX 10 7, XII 5 2, 15 3 (=pp. 262 25, 344 3, 362 25), sed 'nunc' omittitur¹ etiam III (= *De ira* I) 16 4 p. 63 12: 'si intrassem ualetudinarium, non idem inperassem omnibus per diuersa aegrotantibus; (*interpunge*): uaria in tot animis uitia uideo et ciuitati curandae adhibitus sum: pro cuiusque morbo medicina quaeratur.'

Dial. VI (*ad Marc.*) 23 5 p. 188 23: Fabianus ait—puerum Romae fuisse statura ingentis uiri † ante; sed hic cito decessit, et moriturum breui nemo *non* prudens dixit.

'ante' transponendum uidetur: 'et m. b. nemo prudens <*non ante*> dixit'.

Dial. IX (*De tranq. animi*) 11 6 p. 266 18: morbus est, captiuitas, ruina, ignis: nihil horum repentinum est; sciebam, in quam tumultuosum me contubernium natura clusisset. totiens in uicinia mea conclamatum est;—multos ex iis, quos forum, curia, sermo mecum contraxerat, nox abstulit et † iunctas sodalium manus copulatas interscidit.

'est' (post 'morbus') aut radicitus euellendum est,—de nominatiuis in enumeratione cf. ex. gr. *Ep.* 77 6 p. 271 10: 'cibus, somnus, libido, per hunc circulum curritur'—, aut in 'exilium' corrigendum (uulgo 'enim' legitur, non 'est'), quamuis audaci coniectura id adsequemur ut 'nox' non tempus moriendi indicet—de morte enim iam satis superque in antecedentibus—sed quo in exilium abierint amici (*Ovid. Trist.* i 3): neque iam, quod editori, cui Schultessii coniectura 'abstulit; *tot lictor* s. manus' placebat, uidebatur, uocula illa 'tot' necessaria erit, ne apta quidem; nam quamuis multos ille exules uiderit ex eorum numero cum quibus laxiore alicuius commercii (fori, sermonis, similium) uinculo continebatur, ex artiore familiaritate sodalium si unum et alterum desiderauit, sat multi sunt.² Ceterum ultima uerba distinxerim 'et iunctas sodalium manus, copulatas, interscidit'. De asyndeti forma simul et gradatione cf. V 5 3 p. 113 19: 'accusanda est aput nos, damnanda'; 'iungi copularique' e *Cic. de Or.* I § 222 citauit Wesenberg.

Dial. X (*De breu. uitae*) 15 3 p. 302 8: solemus dicere non fuisse in nostra potestate, quos sortiremur parentes, forte hominibus datos: nobis uero ad nostrum arbitrium nasci licet. nobilissimorum ingeniorum familiae sunt: elige in quam adscisci uelis.

Nescio cur editor 'hominibus' pro 'nobis' scripserit: nolo suspicari ut esset cui opponeretur sequens 'nobis uero'; nam primum quidem non recte haec inter se

¹ I. Mueller *Kritische Studien* iii p. 24 '—nicht selten unterlässt es Seneca dem Verständnisse des Lesers durch Partikeln entgegen zu kommen, und besonders sind es die Adversativpartikeln, die er gerne erübrigt, auch wo sie nicht ersetzt werden durch einigermassen scharf hervortretende Antithesen.'

² *Ep.* 66 36 p. 207 5: 'morbum magnum, exilium' (quamquam propter sequens 'tormentis' (us. 13) non

spernenda uidetur Michaelis coniectura (*Mnem. N.S.* XVII p. 172) 'eculeum'), 82 14 p. 304 21: 'morti, exilio, malae ualetudini', 91 8 p. 384 21, quem locum sic lego: 'exilia, tormenta, morbi, bella, naufragia: <haec> meditare'; interpungendum est inter 'tormenta' et 'morbi', cf. 71 5 p. 229 22: 'et torqueri—et aegrotare—'; de nominatiuis cf. locum laudatum (*Ep.* p. 271 10).

opponuntur, et 'nobis uero licet' significat: 'sed non ita est; nobis licet—', cf. XII 10 10 p. 355 15 (de Apicio, ueneno uitam finienti, cum in sestertio centies egenum se putaret): 'sestertium centies aliquis extimuit et, quod alii uoto petunt, ueneno fugit! illi uero tam prauae mentis homini ultima potio saluberrima fuit: tunc uenena edebat bibebatque, cum immensis epulis non delectaretur tantum, sed gloriaretur', *de Ben.* I 14 2 p. 19 11: 'Nemo haec ita interpretetur, tamquam reducam liberalitatem—; illa uero (=immo), in quantum libeat, exeat', IV 2 3 p. 86 24: '—ordinis tantum existimas mutationem? Ista uero confusio est—' *Ep.* 98 6 p. 451 18: 'nec ideo praecipio tibi negligentiam: tu uero (=immo) metuenda declina'.

Dial. XI (*Ad Polyb. de cons.*) 4 1 p. 315 11: nihil umquam ulli parcut (fata) nec remittunt; facilius enim nos inferis dolor iste adiciet quam illos nobis reducet.

Neque 'inferis' (pro 'illis') recta emendatio est, cum nemo inferos, sed carissimos tantum suos desideret, neque 'fletis' (Schultess) necessaria: qui sint 'illi' facile ex antecedentibus 'nihil ulli parcut' intellegitur et, ut in re tristi, humanius tecte significatur. Notandus etiam chiasmus 'nos illis—illos nobis.'

Dial. XI (*Ad Polyb.*) 14 3 p. 330 22 (Claudius loquens inducitur:) 'uides omnes has imagines, quae impleuere Caesarum atrium? nulla non harum aliquo suorum incommodo insignis est; nemo non ex istis in ornamentum saeculorum refulgentibus uiris aut desiderio suorum tortus est aut a suis cum maximo animi cruciatu desideratus est. quid tibi referam Scipionem—?' (post alios nonnullos reuertitur ad suos p. 331 25:) 'sed contentus nostrae domus exemplis ero'.

Tam propter antecedens 'tortus est', quam quo melius digressio notetur, praestare uidetur: '—desideratus. et quid tibi r. Scipionem?'

Dial. XII (*Ad Heluiam de cons.*) 10 3 p. 353 23: ista (*sc.* epulas) si quis despicit, quid illi paupertas nocet? si quis concupiscit, illi paupertas etiam prodest: inuitus enim sanatur et, si remedia ne coactus quidem recipit, interim certe, dum non potest uelle, nolenti similis est.

Pro 'illa' Madvigium secutus 'uelle' scripsit Hermes, quod cum obscurius uisum esset Gertzio, is dederat 'dum non potest illa (*i.e.* remedia) nolle, uolenti similis est'. Sed, ni fallor, pura puta sunt omnia, dum 'illa' non ad remedia referas sed ad 'ista' (= epulas): de uerbo 'posse' cum obiecto cf. *Apulei Apol.* c. XVIII (p. 21 Helm): '(paupertas) delicias uentris et inguinum neque uult ullas neque potest' et c. XX (p. 23 H.): 'neminem nostrum pauperem esse qui superuacua nolit, possit (*Casaub.* pro 'poscit') necessaria.' Cf. quae adnotauimus ad *Ep.* 26 2 (*C.Q.* I p. 205).

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PERICLES AND CLEON IN THUCYDIDES.¹

NOT the least pleasure in reading a book so vital and imaginative as Mr. Cornford's lies in the vitalising effect it has on the imagination of the reader. The results may or may not be correct: Mr. Cornford may or may not agree with them: but it is perhaps the best of compliments to a writer that he should produce such an effect at all. In the present instance his masterly analysis of the character and significance of Cleon as an actor in Thucydides' historic drama has suggested an interpretation of Pericles' position in the tragedy, which, though somewhat different from Mr. Cornford's own estimate of that great figure, is yet in accordance with his general conception of the work as a whole, designed to show Retribution following on overbearing Ambition and overweening Desire. From the time of Grote this conception has been familiar enough in outline, but Mr. Cornford fills it in with a wonderful richness of detail and illustration, and in particular draws a striking parallel with the vast scheme of Retribution in the *Oresteia*.

But throughout he seems to discredit such a conception of history from the point of view of truth and accuracy. He calls it 'mythical'; 'imaginative' it undoubtedly is; but does imagination always imply inaccuracy? Is it not true as a matter of fact that Athens *was* led to the ruinous war with Sparta by her desire for larger empire and greater wealth? Such questions, already raised by Dr. Postgate in the October number of this Review, must be pressed home. And if Athens was so led, is not this the most important fact in the whole affair? Mr. Cornford would admit that however much the modern way of speaking about 'causes' in history may differ from the Thucydidean, yet the modern historian, as the ancient, must deal at bottom, if he goes to the bottom, with the desires and passions of actual men. Now it seems to me that the modern method runs the risk of obscuring these behind the talk of 'laws' and 'forces,' though such laws are, and are even known to be, nothing but shorthand symbols for them and their results. The Greek way of putting it stands clear of this danger and reaches, as the Greek genius usually did, instinctively to the root of the matter. Solon's 'acute observation of the habits of merchants' (p. 66), viz., 'that they are not accustomed to bring their wares to places where they can get nothing in exchange,' is really far clearer than any statement of ours about the 'necessity that imports should

¹ See *Thucydides Mythistoricus*, F. M. Cornford.

balance exports.' So with the question here. What was the cause of the Peloponnesian war? Mr. Cornford answers in effect: 'Not the alarm of Sparta, and not the policy of Pericles, but simply the trade-necessities of Athens. Megara was the centre of strife, because Megara was on the trade-route to Sicily, and therefore a necessity for Athens.' But why, we ask further, was it a necessity for Athens to take by force what was not hers, however rich and tempting? Has Mr. Cornford any answer to this, the deepest question of all? We believe Thucydides had one. It was a necessity for Athens because she had set her heart on an ideal of culture, leisure, and beauty for herself, based on the wealth and toil of others. And this ideal was the ideal of Pericles. The necessary basis might be kept in the background, but the man who took the tribute of the allies for the building of the Parthenon, the man who went on his way unmoved when the scrupulous cried aloud that Athens was not an adventuress to be tricked out in stolen jewels (Plut. *Per.* c. 12), the man who called Aegina the eyesore of the Peiraeus (*ibid.* c. 8) and never rested till the rich commercial centre was made a tributary, that man knew well enough what he was about, he knew what were the sinews of culture as well as of war, he knew the needs of his State when he laid hands on Megara for her growing population. His own words may furnish illustration. The increase in empire has gone hand in hand with the furnishing of the city (Thuc. ii. 37. 4, and again c. 64. 4). It is the power of the city that has made it the market for the world's goods (ii. 38). It does not seem necessary, therefore, to take the paradoxical view that the statesman's hand was forced in the matter of Megara by the trading mob, and that Aristophanes and Thucydides were misled when they pointed to him as the man 'who drove the Athenians to the war.' Mr. Cornford has really nothing to bring forward in defence of this except that Pericles speaks of the Megarian decree as possibly 'seeming a little thing.' And even if it did seem so to him as well as to his critics (a thing he does not say), that may well have been in view of the many resources in his fertile brain: if he could not have carried his point about Megara then and there, we may be sure he would have found other ways for Athens to strike at foreign wealth.

Undoubtedly such a stroke was justified in his own eyes. Athens was the school of Hellas, and the tributaries should be proud to contribute. Was it justified in the eyes of Thucydides? He lets Pericles state his own case, he gives the Periclean ideal in all its ineffaceable splendour; but, and this is our great contention, he is careful to set down also the violence that the Periclean policy involved, the selfishness and the tyranny, the hatred on the side of the subjects, and the contempt of ordinary morality in the hearts of the sovereigns. Further, he sets side by side, very quietly, but, once we realise it, with startling effect, the two stages of that policy: the first embodied in a man of supreme ability and refinement, the second in a brutal nature, where the evil and the danger, not easily to be discerned before, appear at last in their naked deformity. Cleon is the successor of Pericles, and the succession, once grasped, is significant enough to arouse and alarm the historic conscience. Thucydides, I believe, did not intend

this effect to jump to our eyes from the first. His history, a possession for ever, was to do its full work slowly. Like Plato, he wished not to impose his opinion ready-made upon his readers, but so to present the facts that, after due meditation, the true view should grow up, as it were with its own life, in a mind that was active itself. Hence, as here, he works for the most part indirectly and unobtrusively, refraining too from all comment of his own. Yet his own preliminary statement about the rise of the Athenian empire is very strong, and should not be minimised. Speaking of the revolt of Naxos (i. 98 fin.) he says: 'This was the first allied city that was *enslaved contrary to the terms*, and the rest followed one after another, each in its turn.' (παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐδουλώθη.)

Now let us turn to the protagonists themselves. At the outset Pericles is given a curious double introduction, and Cleon has exactly the same. In each case the second introduction is an insistent echo of the first, and yet, far from seeming a mere repetition, it is calculated to strike us as the first direct mention of the man. This is noticed by Mr. Cornford for Cleon (p. 118), and it is just as noteworthy for Pericles. The effect, each time, is gained partly by the lapse of chapters between the two passages, partly by the turn of phrase in the second, and the net result is a singularly deep and clear 'first impression,' made on us, we hardly know how, just as it is made in life.

And these double descriptions, worked out with this subtle care, will be found to correspond in a striking way.

Pericles. (a) (Thuc. i. 127.) Sparta, we are told, tried to undermine the position of '*Pericles, the son of Xanthippus*,' 'because, *being the most powerful man of his time, and the leader of the State*, he opposed the Lacedaemonians at every point, and would not allow the Athenians to give in, but drove them to the war.' (. . . Περικλέα τὸν Ξανθίππου . . . ὦν γὰρ δυνατώτατος τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἄγων τὴν πολιτείαν ἠγαντιοῦτο πάντα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ οὐκ εἶα ὑπείκειν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὄρμα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.)

(b) Then, after twelve chapters (i. 139 fin.), and in direct connection with the proposal to rescind the Megarian decree:

'Various speakers came forward and spoke in favour of either view, some advising war, others urging that the decree ought to be rescinded, and not allowed to stand in the way of peace. *And Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, at that time the first man in Athens, the most powerful as a speaker and a leader, stood forward* and gave the following advice.' (καὶ παριόντες ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ ἔλεγον, ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα γιγνόμενοι ταῖς γνώμαις, . . . καὶ παρελθὼν Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου, ἀνὴρ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον πρῶτος Ἀθηναίων, λέγειν τε καὶ πράσσειν δυνατώτατος, παρήγει τοιάδε.)

Now let us turn to Cleon. The first mention of him is put in direct connection with the proposal to rescind the Mytilenean decree.

Cleon. (a) (iii. 36 fin.) 'Various views were expressed by individual speakers, *and Cleon, the son of Cleainetus* (who had carried his proposal for death in the previous assembly), *always the most violent man in the city, and at that time far the most influential with the democracy, stood forward* once more and spoke as follows.'

(ἄλλαι τε γινώμαι ἀφ' ἐκάστων ἐλέγοντο καὶ Κλέων ὁ Κλεαινέτου, ὅσπερ καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἐνενικήκει ὥστε ἀποκτείνειν, ὧν καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα βιαιότατος τῶν πολιτῶν τῷ τε δήμῳ παρὰ πολὺ ἐν τῷ τότε πιθανώτατος, παρελθὼν αὖθις ἔλεγε τοιάδε.)

(b) Then, a long while after (iv. 21), in connection with the refusal of the Athenians to make peace after Sphacteria because 'they coveted something more' (Mr. Cornford's version):

'They were urged forward above all by *Cleon, the son of Cleainetus, a man who was the popular leader at that time, and the most influential with the multitude.*' (μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνήγε Κλέων ὁ Κλεαινέτου, ἀνὴρ δημαγωγὸς κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ὧν καὶ τῷ πλήθει πιθανώτατος.)

Once put these passages side by side, and the significant likenesses should not escape attention, nor yet, no doubt, the significant changes:—βιαιότατος and πιθανώτατος for λέγειν καὶ πρᾶσσειν δυνατώτατος, δημαγωγός for ἄγων τὴν πολιτείαν. Cleon has succeeded in a sense to the position of Pericles: how far has he succeeded to his policy? It will also be observed that the first mention of Cleon corresponds most closely with the second mention of Pericles. This, I take it, is because Thucydides wishes to emphasise the parallel between the two assemblies. Each meeting is for reconsideration: Pericles will not allow the rescinding of the harsh decree against Megara: Cleon tries to prevent the cancelling of the barbarous one against Mytilene. Megara is the first great instance of attack on a neighbour city for her wealth: Mytilene the first of murderous cruelty towards a coveted island. It may also be worthy of note that just as Pericles breaks off the negotiations about Megara by extravagant counter-demands which he knows the Spartans will not accept, so Cleon stops the bargainings for peace after Pylos by demanding Troezen, Achaëa, and the key-ports of Megara again. Each speaker asserts that to yield on the disputed point will be taken as a fatal sign of weakness: the Peloponnesians will dictate their own terms (i. 140 fin.): the allies will revolt with one accord (iii. 39. 7).

But there are deeper correspondences than these, strange correspondences of spirit, even of phrase, and here the parallels are between the one speech of Cleon and the great three in which Pericles reveals himself.

Both leaders stand up to defy the popular mood. In Cleon's speech 'there is not a touch of the gross or cringing flatterer; it is not the Cleon of Aristophanes. He breaks out at once in violent denunciation of the sovereign people' (Mr. Cornford, p. 114). Does not Thucydides mean us to think of the 'lightnings' of former days wielded by a coarser hand?

The first words of Pericles are these (i. 140):

'I still keep to the opinion I have always held: that we must not yield to the Peloponnesians' (Τῆς μὲν γνώμης . . . ἀεὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἔχομαι, κτλ.).

This unwavering purpose is then contrasted with the vacillation of others, and both notes are struck again in the closing speech (ii. 61):

'I am the same, and I have not moved: but you have altered, because you

could be convinced when no harm had touched you, but you change your minds when you have to suffer.' (*καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ αὐτός εἰμι κτλ.*)

So we have Cleon's sharp attack in the very front of his speech on the democracy's change of mind in the matter of Mytilene, set in contrast to his own steadfastness (iii. 37 init.); and in iii. 38 init. the Periclean phrase:—

'I am still of the same opinion as I was, and I am amazed at the proposal to reopen the discussion.' (*Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὁ αὐτός εἰμι τῇ γνώμῃ κτλ.*)

And why is Athens not to draw back from war and suffering in the one case, from massacre in the other? Because the empire is in danger, and its wealth is the source of strength. (Pericles: *τὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων, ὅθεν ἰσχύομεν*. i. 143. 6. Cleon: *τῆς προσόδου δι' ἣν ἰσχύομεν*. iii. 39. 8.)

And the bonds of that empire are 'force and fear' (Mr. Cornford, p. 114); not for Pericles, it may well be, the only bonds, as they are for Cleon, but still for him, as for Cleon, indispensable. 'Your empire is a tyranny,' he tells the Athenians in so many words, and Cleon echoes the phrase to the letter. (Pericles: *ὡς τυραννίδα γὰρ ἤδη ἔχετε αὐτήν, i.e. τὴν ἀρχήν*. ii. 63. Cleon: *τυραννίδα ἔχετε τὴν ἀρχήν*. iii. 37. 2.) The repetition is noticed by Mr. Cornford. 'You have become hated in your empire' (Pericles ii. 63. 1). 'You hold an empire over unwilling subjects' (Cleon iii. 37. 2). Pericles accepts the hatred, one might almost say with complacency, as the lot of all who have ever claimed empire (*ὅσοι ἕτεροι ἐτέρων ἡξίωσαν ἄρχειν* ii. 64. 5.) Cleon complains that the democracy shows its incapacity for that very thing (*ἐτέρων ἄρχειν*) by the mere attempt to rule through a union of hearts (iii. 37). It is utterly foolish, he adds, the hope of extending to others the mutual confidence and security of the daily life at Athens; and surely we ought to recall here the Periclean pride in that same daily trust and freedom. (Pericles: *ἐλευθέρως . . . ἐς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὑποψίαν κτλ.* ii. 37. 2. Cleon: *τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀδεῆς καὶ ἀνεπιβούλευτον πρὸς ἀλλήλους*. iii. 37. 2.)

Once more Cleon scoffs at the trifling sentimental pleasure of yielding to 'rhetorical' appeals for pity compared with the great and solid benefits of power (iii. 40. 2 and 3: *ἐν ᾧ ἡ μὲν πόλις βραχεία ἡσθεῖσα μεγάλα ζημιώσεται*). Pericles lays it down that he is wise 'who chooses envy as the price of greatness' (*ἐπὶ μεγίστοις τὸ ἐπίφθονον λαμβάνει* ii. 64. 6, 7). 'For the hatred does not last long, while the splendour of the present and the glory of the future will remain in the minds of men for ever.' So Plutarch tells us of his offer to bear the expense of decorating the Acropolis on condition that the monuments were inscribed as his. (*Per. c. 14*).

Finally we have from Cleon and Pericles alike, clear, merciless, and bold, the acceptance of an iniquitous basis for their rule with all its consequences.

'The empire may be thought unjust (Pericles ii. 63. 2). The armchair moralist (ii. 64) may blame it, the timid may want to sit at home in quiet and play the honest man, but Athens has gone too far on the path of hatred and of glory to turn back without risk.' What is the cynicism of Cleon but an echo of this?

‘Mytilene may have done right to revolt, and the Athenian empire is then unjustifiable ; but if the Athenians claim to keep it, right or wrong, as claim they will, then they must go through with the means, just or unjust : otherwise let them give it all up and play the honest man in safety’ (iii. 40. 4). *Mutatis mutandis*, this might be a paraphrase of Pericles down to the bitter sneer at ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι, so pitiful on Pericles’ lips after the noble place it took in the speech on the fallen citizens (ii. 42. 4).

The ideal of that speech, it is most true, has nothing corresponding to it in Cleon. Pericles has not only a caution and a sobriety utterly unknown to his successor (and to which Thucydides gives full weight, ii. 65) ; he has also a standard of life for his own city which does much to redeem its narrowness. To the last he is a noble figure : Cleon, at the best, but a vigorous one. He has not succeeded to the Periclean policy in its fulness ; he has only the lust of empire for empire’s sake. Yet the selfishness which is the evil seed of lust was already present in Pericles and Periclean Athens, and Thucydides saw it there, just as Aeschylus saw it in the glory of other conquerors and kings (*Ag.* 374 foll., 460 foll., 750 foll.). Of the three figures that dominate the three stages of his history (one might almost say his trilogy)—Pericles, Cleon, and Alcibiades—the first presents the moment when the great house, as yet unshaken, is full of the peril that comes from pride and domination. Thucydides saw this, and what he saw he would not pretend to overlook. So he condemns Pericles, and out of his own mouth, but yet as a great soul condemns, giving full credit to all nobility, yet in no way sparing guilt ; nothing extenuating, yet setting down naught in malice ; silent, generous, and stern ; as Velasquez condemns Pope Innocent and Michael Angelo condemns the Medici.

F. MELIAN STAWELL.

DOROTHEVS OF SIDON.

THE 86 verses of Dorotheus printed at the end of Koechly's *Manetho*, 33 of which had already been published by Salmasius in his *exercitationes Plinianae* or his *diatribae de annis climactericis*, were edited by Iriarte from a scrap of manuscript at Madrid, into which they had been copied, as we now know, from the first book of the astrological treatise of Hephaestion of Thebes, who took Dorotheus for his chief authority. To these 86 verses nearly 300 more, by far the most of which are preserved in the second and third books, still unpublished, of Hephaestion's work, have now been added, in the *catalogus codicum astrologorum Graecorum* vol. vi (1903) pp. 67 and 91-113, by Mr W. Kroll, the best editor they could have found; a scholar who combines critical talent, knowledge of Greek, and knowledge of astrology, more happily than any of his associates, and who has emended much of the very corrupt text with conspicuous ability and success. A good many additional corrections, chiefly grammatical and metrical, have been made by Mr Ludwich in the *Rheinisches Museum* for 1904, pp. 42-54.

The text of Hephaestion depends at present upon two Parisian MSS employed by Mr A. Engelbrecht in the edition of the first book which he published in 1887 and by Mr Kroll in his collection of the fragments of Dorotheus: Par. gr. 2417 (P) of the 14th century and Par. gr. 2841 (A) of the 13th, from the latter of which the Madrid MS appears to have been copied. Of these two, P is the more complete but also the more corrupt: A, which is less negligently written, omits large portions of the text. What those portions are, is a question which the reader naturally and immediately asks, but which neither Mr Kroll nor Mr Engelbrecht answers. Mr Kroll says on p. 91 'in libri tertii capite quinto deficit', and you infer that it contains i 1-iii 5: Mr Engelbrecht on p. 8 of his preface reveals that this is not so, and that it omits the greater part of the second book; but at what chapter of that book it breaks off he does not reveal. However, by combining the inadequate information of Mr Engelbrecht's preface with the obscure indications of Mr Kroll's apparatus criticus, I have come to the conclusion (which may be wrong) that A contains those verses of Dorotheus which Mr Kroll numbers 1-90 and 121-127, and omits those which he numbers 91-120 and 128-358. Mr Kroll again conceals the fact, which Mr Engelbrecht divulges,

that P too omits a portion of the text, comprising Heph. i 3–19 and therefore comprising those verses of Dorotheus which Mr Kroll numbers 63–86. The following table gives, so far as I can ascertain it, the MS authority on which the text of the citations from Dorotheus reposes; and it may enable a reader to determine, what he will never find out from Mr Kroll's apparatus, whether Mr Kroll's text, when it differs from the lection of the one MS recorded in his note, presents the lection of the other MS, or is merely conjectural:

1–62 AP. 63–86 A. 87–90 AP. 91–120 P. 121–127 AP. 128–358 P.

Apart from these defects Mr Kroll's apparatus criticus has several smaller inaccuracies, whether its dissensions from Engelbrecht deserve that name or no.¹ p. 91 l. 4, text ἐπὴν . . . εὖρη, note 'ἐπεὶ . . . εὖροι codd.': from *cat. cod. astr. Graec.* iv p. 105 and *Rhein. Mus.* 1900 p. 332 we learn that both ἐπὴν and εὖρη are in most of the MSS. p. 91 footnote 'A (Paris. 2841) . . . et P (Paris. gr. 2417)', as if P belonged to the Greek series and A did not. p. 92 u. 13, text δέ <θ'> ἐξ, no note: the addition is Ludwig's. p. 92 u. 15, text ἔλαχεν Κρόνος, no note; though Engelbrecht records that A has ἔλαχε, which may well be right. p. 92 u. 20, note 'μετ' Ludwig': the emendation is not Ludwig's but Koechly's. p. 92 u. 21, text πυμάτας δύο δ' ἔλλαχε Φαίνων, no note: Engelbrecht says that AP omit δ. p. 92 u. 24, note '24 λαχαινα P': according to Engelbrecht it is in u. 25 that P has this lection. p. 92 u. 33, text ἐπὶ τὰ δὲ τὰς, no note: according to Engelbrecht δὲ is omitted by the MSS and was added by Iriarte. p. 93, '37 μοίρας om. A ut uid.': 37 should be 39, as a reference to Engelbrecht will show. p. 94 u. 66, text καὶ, no note: Engelbrecht and Koechly record that the MSS have τε καὶ. p. 95 u. 76, text Ὑδροχοῆϊ, note 'ὕδρηχώ A': nothing to say that Ὑδροχοῆϊ is a conjecture of Ludwig's. p. 96 l. 5, text καὶν (which is ungrammatical), no note: Engelbrecht p. 38 prints καὶ and mentions no variant. p. 107 footnote: 'cod. 3' should be 'cod. 1'. p. 108 l. 26, text βεβαῶς, note '26 βεβαῶς P': probably 26 should be 27, where we have βεβῶς.

The spelling and accentuation of his text are also rather careless. Some errors have been corrected explicitly or tacitly by Mr Ludwig,—u. 45 ἡ δὲ (for ἡδὲ), 158 εἰ γέ μιν, 212 γέ μιν, 220 and 221 ὅτε (for ὅτῃ), 236 δὲ ἐ, 280 φάεσσι (for φαέεσσι),—but others remain: 32 δὲ ὑπολειπομένας, 50 τῇ δ' ὕπο (but 48 and 62 τῷ δ' ὑπὸ), 74 ἡματίη, 94 δὲ ἐν, 142 φανλοῖσι, 192 εὔτε, 243 ὑπέρθ', 302 ζωοῖς (for ζώοις), 317 δὲ ὁμοία, 341 κίχησι. No such veneration is due to our late and corrupt MSS as would justify the retention of the forms μοίραςατο (already corrected by Koechly) in u. 72 or φιλίας (gen. sing.) in u. 192. In u. 30 Mr Kroll prints τρίτατος Στίλβων μετὰ τούσδε | τέσσαρας Ἑρμείας ἔλαχεν where Koechly rightly has the adjective στίλβων, and on the other hand in u. 145 he prints Παφίην ὁπότεν βροτολοιγὸς ἴδῃσι | ἡ Φαίνων κρυόεις where the sense requires the name

¹ I omit those places where Mr Kroll plainly contradicts Mr Engelbrecht's statements about P; for he tells us that he has himself collated this MS,

and therefore when at p. 93 u. 43 he says 'ὑστατος P' I assume that he is deliberately correcting the 'ὑστατον P' of Mr Engelbrecht.

Βροτολοιγός. Here I will turn aside for a moment to correct a similar mistake in the texts of Manetho iii 277–80 :

Ἀφρογενεὶ δὲ συνῶν Φαίνων ἡδ' ἀντιπέρθηεν
 πρεσβυτέρας στείρας τ' ἀλόχους καὶ ἀεικέας αἰνῶς
 δῶκεν. καὶ τετράγωνος ἀεὶ χαλεπὸς κυθερείη. 279
 δεινούς γάρ τε γάμους καὶ εὐφροσύνης ἄτερ ἔρδει.

The Latin version in the Firmin-Didot edition renders u. 279 'et quadratus semper grauis est ueneri': Manetho however is not talking about *uenus* or *κυθήρεια* but about *coniubiū* or *γάμος*. *κυθερείη* should be *Κυθερείη*, and the dative depends on *τετράγωνος*, 'quadratus Veneri': so vi 278 ἀλλήλαις . . . τετράγωνοι, i 341 Ἡελίφ τετράγωνος Ἄρης.

Is it a rule of etiquette, or pure vanity, or irrepressible originality of genius, which ordains that each successive editor of a collection of fragments shall complicate our studies by changing the sequence and numeration established by his predecessor? The first 62 verses of Dorotheus deal with the *χῶραι* and the *ῥρια* of the twelve zodiacal signs, and in Koechly's edition the 21 verses about the *χῶραι* were placed before the 41 verses about the *ῥρια*; which was not indeed the order observed by Hephaestion, who quotes *χῶραι* and *ῥρια* alternately, but yet so far agreed with it that the *χῶραι* came first and the *ῥρια* second. Mr Kroll has not recurred to Hephaestion's arrangement, but he has inverted Koechly's, and has placed the *ῥρια* before the *χῶραι*; so that all the first 62 lines have now a double reckoning, and whenever I refer to any of these verses I must use two numbers instead of one.

5 Kroll (= 26 Koechly).

ὀκτῶ δ' ἔλαχε πρώτας ὀρίων μοίρας Κυθήρεια.

To repair the metre of this verse Mr Ludwich formerly proposed *ὀκτῶ ἔχει*; but every one of these twelve excerpts touching the *ῥρια* of the constellations is introduced by the conjunction *δέ*. He now, *Rhein. Mus.* 1904 p. 43, ejects *ὀρίων* and transposes *ἔλαχε*: *ὀκτῶ δὲ πρώτας ἔλαχεν μοίρας Κυθήρεια*. But it suffices simply to strike *ἔλαχε* out. Perhaps the reader thinks that the verb cannot be spared: the scribe thought so too, and that is why he inserted it. The sentence however is completed as follows,

ὀκτῶ δὲ πρώτας ὀρίων μοίρας Κυθήρεια
 ἐν τούτῳ, Στίλβων δὲ μετ' αὐτὴν ἔλλαχε μοίρας
 δις τρεῖς,

and *ἔλλαχε* is to be supplied from the second clause. Just as Dorotheus here postpones the verb, so in 36 (= 57) sq. does he postpone the object: *ἐπτα δὲ τὰς προτέρας Ἑρμῆς λάχεν, εἴτα μετ' αὐτὸν | ἐξ μοίρας Κύπρις*; and there is a similar distribution of words in 76 sq. *μᾶλλον Κρόνος Ὑδροχοῆϊ, | Ζεὺς δ' ἐνὶ Τοξευτῇ, καὶ Σκορπίῳ ἥδεται Ἄρης* and 98 *Σκορπίου εἰσαφίκεται ἢ ἐς δέμας Ἀρνειοῖο*. The construction *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* often gives editors more trouble than it ought: thus in Maximus 127, *εἰ δὲ τε δεύτερον ἡμαρ ἢ ἐς τρίτον ἰθύσειεν*, Mr Ludwich alters *εἰ δὲ*

τε το εἰ δ' ἐς and all the other editors alter ἡ ἐς to ἡἐ; yet the MS text is quite right and means ἐς δεύτερον ἡ τρίτον ἡμαρ.

28 (=49).

πέντε Ζεὺς φαέθων, πυμάτας δ' ἐξ ἔλλαχε Φαίνων.

It is the only dark blot on Dorotheus' fair fame as a metrist that he habitually allows a short final vowel to remain short before an initial ζ; not, like Homer, in words which must enjoy this licence if they are to be used at all, Ζάκυνθος and Ζέλεια, but, like Opp. *cyn.* i 92 μεσσοῖθι ζώνης and Maneth. i 16 Ἑρμέα Ζήνα, in words which can easily be brought into the verse without it, Ζεὺς, Ζυγός, and ζῶον. Three examples are presented by his MSS, 24 (45) ἐπτὰ δὲ Ζεὺς φαέθων, 185 ἐν τινι ζῶφ, 246 ἀμφὶ Ζυγῷ δέ, and five more have been added by emendations which are practically certain, 70 ἐν Διδύμοισι Ζυγῷ τε, 82 εἰκοστῇ δὲ μῇ τε Ζυγοῦ, 189 ἀκούντων ἐπὶ ζῶων, 259 εἰ δ' ἐνὶ ζῶφ, 304 εἰν ἐνὶ ζῶφ. Mr Ludwich does not believe that the author of these verses would have allowed the ε of πέντε in 28 (49) to be lengthened ἐν ἄρσει, in the second half of the foot, before the ζ of Ζεὺς; and he proposes to write πέντε <δὲ> Ζεὺς as in 24 (45).

The change is easy, for δέ has again disappeared from the MSS and was restored by Iriarte in 33 (54) ἐπτὰ <δὲ> τὰς πρώτας; but I do not admit that it is necessary or even probable, and surely it is rather wanting in charity. When the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness that he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, it seems hard that he should have no better welcome than ἀλλά μοι ἔρρε δόμοιο καὶ εἰς Ἑλένην ἀφίκανε. Let us reason from analogy. Dorotheus, like Homer himself, often lets a short final vowel remain short before an initial mute followed by ρ; not only in words which render the licence necessary, τρίγωνος, τριγωνίζων, προσώποις (261, 305, 357, p. 91 ll. 18, 19), but in 84 ἐννέα τρισάκι, p. 91 l. 3 σχήμασι τριπλεύροις, u. 38 (59) πυμάτας δὲ Κρόνος (65, 269, 315, 357), 316 ἔκ τε χρόνοις, 326 εὔτε δὲ βρυχητήρος, 170 πλησιφέεσσα δρόμον. Yet this does not prevent him from lengthening a short vowel before χρ in 124,

καὶ λάθρη πρήσσονται καὶ ὅσσα χρῆζε σιωπῆς,

even ἐν ἄρσει and even at the bucolic diaeresis. Again, Maximus ends u. 342 of his περὶ καταρχῶν with ἄλσει δμῶα, which is hardly less reprehensible than the ἐν τινι ζῶφ of Dorotheus; yet he mends his ways and begins u. 434 with καί τε δμῶς προφύγησιν, and Mr Ludwich does not send him back to his sins. The truth seems to be that Dorotheus, in this long and dull enumeration of the ὅρια, has caught at every change of phrase which occurred to him; and I willingly trust the MSS when they offer these three variations: 24 (45) ἐπτὰ δὲ Ζεὺς φαέθων, 28 (49) πέντε Ζεὺς φαέθων, 34 (55) ἐπτὰ δέ τοι Φαέθων.

48 (=7).

τῷ δ' ὑπὸ Θρηϊκίων καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν κλίμα κεῖται.

Examples of καί thus left unshortened ἐν ἄρσει when a vowel follows are pretty common in Mr Kroll's text of Dorotheus, and also in Mr Olivieri's text of

the fragments of Antiochus of Athens, *C.C.A.G.* i pp. 108-113. The examples in Antiochus are the following.

p. 109 l. 2 ζώης σῆμα δύνει καὶ ἄγρια πῆματ' ἔδωκεν.

An hexameter which has a cretic for its second foot may well have a trochee for its third; here however it is not the MS that gives bad metre, but the editor. These are the native wood-notes wild of Mr Olivieri: instead of ζώης σῆμα δύνει (which by the way is pure nonsense) the MS has ζωήσημα δύνει, whence there instantly emerges

καὶ χρόνον ὠκύν
ζωήης ἡ μάλα δύνει καὶ ἄγρια πῆματ' ἔδωκεν.

Next comes

p. 112 l. 1 εὐδήλους τοκέας καὶ εὐπρεπέας φίλους τε.

Here the remedy is obvious, τοκέας καὶ εὐπρεπέας. There remains

p. 112 l. 9 ἦν δ' Ἀρης νεύση καὶ ἐς δρόμον ὠκύν ἐλαύνη,
where the irregularity of metre and the inequality of tense would both be removed by writing νεύησι: the form δώησι occurs p. 112 l. 4 in the same position, πλουτὸν ὑπερδώησι καὶ ἐκ χθονὸς εὐρυχόροιο.

And now for Dorotheus. Apart from καί, he allows a long final vowel or diphthong to remain long ἐν ᾄρσει before an initial vowel only where Homer allows it, at the bucolic diaeresis: 56 (15) αὐτῷ ἔπλετο πᾶσα, 173 ἐλαφρὴ ἔσσεται ὠνή; for in 99 Ἄρεως ἡ ἀστέρος (ῆ'), as in 209 καὶ οἱ (ῑ) and 273 καὶ ἐλπίδες (ῑ), there is properly speaking no hiatus, and the scansion is strictly Homeric. But in the case of καί Mr Kroll's text exhibits five violations of the rule, u. 48 (7 already quoted and the following four:

66 Ταύρου Παρθενικῆς καὶ Αἰγόκερω κρατέουσιν.
208 διὰ Σεληναίῃ καὶ Ἰχθύσιν ἀμφὶς ἐοῦσα.
322 ὕστερον αὖ φυλακὴν καὶ ἄλγεα φεύζεται αὐτός.
336 αὐτὰρ ἐν Ἑδροχόφ καὶ Ἰχθύσι δὴν μενέουσι.

This same Dorotheus, be it remembered, has nearly 40 places where καί in similar circumstances is shortened, and he writes 262 ἡ καὶ ἄντικρυς (not ῆ), 310 ἐτέροιο καὶ εἰς ὁδόν (not ἐτέρου), 356 δεσμοῖο καὶ ἦν (not δεσμοῦ), p. 67 l. 11 τοῖσι καὶ αἰθέρος (not τοῖς).

One of the exceptions, u. 66, is not merely bad metre but nonsense. There is no such sign in the zodiac as the Bull's Virgin or the Virgin's Bull; and if this sign existed, and Capricorn were added to it, the sum would be two, not three, which is the sum required. The second Trigon, of which Dorotheus is here speaking, consists of Taurus, Virgo, and Capricorn,

Ταύρου Παρθενικῆς τε καὶ Αἰγόκερω,

and to restore the sense restores the metre. And from Engelbrecht and Koechly we learn that this is the reading of the MSS.

Next I will take u. 322, for here again Mr Kroll has deserted the tradition.

The MS, instead of ὕστερον αὖ φυλακὴν, has ὕστερον δ' αὖ φυλακτηκὴν, and φυλακτηκὴν might just as easily be altered to φυλακὴν τε. But there is more than metre to think about, for the whole sentence runs thus,

ἐν Ταύρῳ μενέει δὲ πολὺν χρόνον· εἵνεκα δ' αὖτε
κτήσιος ἦν ἄρα τοῦτο πάθη, ταύτην μὲν ὀλέσσει,
ὕστερον δ' αὖ φυλακτηκὴν καὶ ἄλγεα φεύξεται αὐτός· 322

and the sense and the preceding μέν require the δέ which Mr Kroll, seeking metre yet not obtaining it, has banished from the text. The prisoner, if the Moon is in Taurus at the time of his imprisonment, will lie long in durance and will forfeit any property which may have been the cause of his incarceration; but he himself in the end will escape safe and sound. Now in the first of these lines the MS has δὲ μενέει δέ, corrected by Mr Kroll: the scribe, not content to wait for the coming δέ, inserted it before its time. Similarly in 322 I believe that Dorotheus wrote

ὕστερον αὖ φυλακὴν δὲ καὶ ἄλγεα φεύξεται αὐτός,

and that the copyist transferred the conjunction to its usual place. δέ is postponed till the middle of the verse is reached not only in 320 but in 183 τετρατὴν πλευρῇ δέ (so Manetho ii 425, iii 409, vi 528, iv 77; and τε in 55 (14) Ἰταλὴ χώρα τε, 58 (17) Ἀμμωνος Λιβύη τε.

At u. 208 I will also quote the context:

λώϊον Ὑδροχόφ καὶ Σκορπίφ καὶ Λέοντι
διὰ Σεληναίη καὶ Ἰχθύσιν ἀμφὶς ἐοῦσα. 208

Mr Kroll does not tolerate the metre of 207 but writes ἡδὲ Λέοντι: the exchange of synonyms is a common form of error. I make the same correction in 208,

διὰ Σεληναίη ἡδ' Ἰχθύσιν ἀμφὶς ἐοῦσα.

The legitimate hiatus at the caesura recurs in 27 (48), 51 (10), 143, 167: what should induce Dorotheus to prefer a scansion which was illegitimate?

The verse from which I started, 48 (7), may be amended in the same way,

τῷ δ' ὑπὸ Θρηϊκίων ἡδ' Αἰθιοπῶν κλίμα κεῖται

though the τε καὶ of Koechly (and seemingly also of the cod. Matr.), ignored by Messrs Kroll and Engelbrecht, may just as well be right. And finally in u. 336 the parallel of Manetho v 155 Ὑδροχόφ ἡδ' Ἰχθύσι (if that is the true reading) suggests that we should write

αὐτὰρ ἐν Ὑδροχόφ ἡδ' Ἰχθύσι δὴν μενέουσι.

Here however there is yet another possibility. In 76 ἐκ δ' ἄρα τοι τούτων μᾶλλον Κρόνος Ὑδροχοῆι the MSS, instead of the last word, give ὕδρηχόω and ὕδροχόφ; and in 336 the metre may again be corrected by restoring the longer form,

αὐτὰρ ἐν Ὑδροχοῆι καὶ Ἰχθύσι δὴν μενέουσι.

I IO.

Ἄρης δ' εὐτέ κεν <ῆ> καθυπέρτερος Ἑρμείας.

This is Mr Kroll's text, and his note is 'κεν ῆ] καὶ P'; and I wonder what it means. Is κεν a conjecture or a MS reading? It is not in A, for A, though Mr Kroll never says so, omits this portion of Hephaestion. But I notice in *C.C.A.C.* i p. 9 that a Florentine MS, Laur. xxviii 13, contains a transcript or paraphrase of this chapter ii 22, and Mr Kroll, for aught I know, may here be using it: the same taciturnity which conceals the absence of A would conceal the presence of Laur. xxviii 13.

Be that as it may, I demur to the addition of ῆ, for Dorotheus, who has *συνέωσι* at 284, nowhere employs any form of the verb εἰμί which Homer does not employ, and the contraction cannot safely be ascribed to him by conjecture. If κεν is the reading of the Florentine MS, then I should write εὐτέ κ' ῆ; but if καὶ is the sole tradition, then εὐτε κίῃ or κίοι would be equally probable: see 182 *θεῆς σύνοδόνδε κιοῦσης* and 305 *ἐρχόμενοι*.

The next sentences of Hephaestion's prose require correction as follows. ἀκούει δὲ ἀλλήλων τὰ ἴσον ἀπέχοντα τῶν ἰσημερινῶν ζῳδίων, οἷον Ταῦρος (Σκορπίος P) καὶ Ἰχθύες, Δίδυμοι καὶ Ἑδροχόος, καὶ ἐφεξῆς τὰ ἄλλα ζῳδία. Κριὸς δὲ καὶ Ζυγὸς, φησὶν ἀκολουθῶν Θρασύλλω, οὐκ ἀκούει ἀλλήλων. βλέποντα δὲ ζῳδία τὰ ἴσον ἀπέχοντα τῶν τροπικῶν ζῳδίων. Κριὸς δὲ ἐπιτάττει τῷ Ζυγῷ διὰ τὸ ἐν μὲν Κριῷ αὔξειν τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν δὲ Ζυγῷ μειοῦν. ὁμοίως καὶ Καρκίνος (Σκορπίω καὶ P) Αἰγόκερῳ ἐπιτάττει, τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα. 'Iam braccia contrahit ardens Scorpius et caeli iusta plus parte relinquit'. That sign must have been in the ascendant when the scribe was copying this paragraph, for a few lines lower down it has even usurped the place of the preposition ἀπό.

I II.

Φαίνων καὶ Πυρόεις νυκτὸς ἡματι δ' Ἄρης.

'lacuna sex litterarum in P.' These six letters can be recovered without any uncertainty: Ἄρης is another name for Πυρόεις, and the lost word was another name for Φαίνων.

Φαίνων καὶ Πυρόεις, νυκτὸς <Κρόνος>, ἡματι δ' Ἄρης.

I 12–I 16.

ἄλλοι δ' ἐκ Μήνης εἰς ὄγδοον ὠρονόμοιο
ζῳὸν ἀριθμήσαντες ἀπὸ Κρόνου αὐθις ἔδωκαν.
εἰς ὃν δὴ λήξειε τόπον καὶ ἄνακτα τόποιον,
σκέπτονται τούτων ἐπιμάρτυρες οἵτινές εἰσι·
τῶν ἄπο δὴ φράσαντο τέλος αἰσχροῦ τε καὶ ἐσθλόν.

I 14

A conjunction is wanted in I 14, εἰς ὃν δὲ λήξειε τόπον. For the metre see 178 καὶ πρῆγμα λῶον καταθήσεται, 236 Ταύρῳ δὲ μέγα χεῖμα. And δὲ, though Mr Kroll

forgets to record it, is actually the reading of a Venetian MS, Marc. 334, which preserves verses 112 and 114 in a chapter printed in *C.C.A.G.* ii p. 159.

135-137.

ἄνδρα μὲν Ἥελιον καὶ ἀνερχόμενον σκοπὸν ὥρης,
αὐτὴν δ' ἐκ ζώου θ' ἡμερόφρονα δυομένοιο
κούρην ἂν φράσσαιο καὶ ἡϋκόμου Κυθερείης.

Mr Kroll, who believes the MSS when they impute to Dorotheus the scansion *Zūgō* and *Zūgoū*, and even proposes to thrust upon him by conjecture the hiatus *τῇ δ' ἴσα* 'Ερμείας, here prints *ἡμερόφρονα* in u. 136 and says 'uocalem longam pro breui usurpatam poeta haud indignam putauī'. Mr Ludwich, remarking that he does not know what *ἡμερόφρονα* *κούρην* would mean, himself proposes *ἱερόφρονα*, which is downright comical. Meanwhile the altogether superfluous *θ'* is reverentially preserved. Dorotheus wrote *θεμερόφρονα*: Hesych. *θεμερόφρονας* *συνετοὺς*, *σώφρονας*.

142.

Ἥελιος φαύλοισι βεβλαμμένος Ἀφρογενής τε.

If once we turn our eyes away from his pertinacious misconception of the properties of initial ζ (which after all is not more heinous in itself than Hesiod's *πετραίη τε σκινή*), Dorotheus is a good metrist and strict in his observance of position: stricter than Homer, incomparably stricter than the rest of the astrologers. Even at the contact of two words he never neglects it unless the second letter is ρ, and only twice does he allow the first letter to be a medial 170 *πλησιφάεσσα δρόμον*, 326 *εὐτε δὲ βρυχητήρος*. Within the body of a word he disregards it only in a single instance, and the exception proves the rule: it is the astrological term *τετράγωνος* (181, 196, 261), which cannot without this licence be brought into hexameter verse. True, at 190 there is one example of *ἀριθμός* against six (96, 97, 113, 129, 170, 210) of *ἀριθμός* and *ἀριθμήσαι*; but the passage is unintelligible and corrupt, and the context rather suggests *ἀρθμός*. The *τετράπλευρον* of 175, as we shall soon see, is merely a conjecture.

Maximus and the genuine Manetho of books ii iii vi are much less scrupulous than Dorotheus, and neglect internal position in such words as *πότμον*, *λυγρή*, *γενέλλη*, *ἀθρήσαι*, *κύκλος*, *ἄχρι*, *κύπριν*, *δίφρω*, *τέκνα*. But even they, in grafting Attic scansion on epic verse, do not transgress all limits; and though Maximus disregards initial γλ and δμ in 11 *ἐνὶ γλήγεσιν* and 342 *ἄλσει δμῶα*, and Manetho initial βλ in ii 418 *παντοίαις τε βλαβαῖς* (which the editors print as *βλάβαις*), they never make light of βλ or any such weighty combination of letters within the body of a word. When we reach the so-called 4th book of Manetho, then indeed we enter another world, where not only *ἀκτῖνᾱ βλέπη* but also *θρασὺγλωσσέας* and *διᾱβλήτορας* and *ἔβλαστέν* and *μετᾱβλήμασι* and *ὑπὸβλητα* may be encountered; but this is a world even further removed from Dorotheus than from the Manetho of the genuine books.

And the author of this verse 142 is also the author of 324,

ἡμασι τοῖς πρώτοις τετρύσεται ἐν κακότητι.

He might have written πρώτοισι τετρύσεται with no fear of censure, but he would not. Yet Mr Kroll, without any protest from Mr Ludwich, supposes that he wrote φαύλοισι βέβλαμμένος; wrote it in a verse where he was so mindful of his principles that he did not give the planet Venus her proper name and say ἡδ' Ἀφροδίτη, but called her Ἀφρογενής instead.

And now, what of the MSS? A is absent, P has φαῦλος, and φαύλοισι, unless Mr Kroll has surreptitiously imported it from Laur. xxviii 13, is his own conjecture Write φαύλοισ βεβλαμμένος.

150, 151.

ἐσθλοὶ δ' αὖ μβίοις ὠκὺν γόνον εἰσορόωντες
παίδων τέκμαρ ἔχουσιν ἐτήτυμον.

Mr Kroll proposes ἐσθλοὶ δ' ἀμφοῖν¹; Mr Ludwich makes a groundless objection to the lengthening of the final syllable and conjectures αὐξιβίοις or αὐξιβίοι τ'. What meaning they assign to ὠκὺν γόνον I cannot tell.

Cobet *nou. lect.* p. 281, in disparagement of a remark of Elmsley's at Eur *Heracl.* 38, that δ and ρ are sometimes confused, has these sentences: 'non est ea utilis obseruatio, quoniam ii errores non orti sunt ex similitudine formae oculos scribarum fallente, sed ex mera oscitantia eorum, qui aliud agentes quiduis pro quouis describebant. fieri potest ut α in β transierit et in γ et in ε, sed nihil prodest id saepe notare et sunt hae obseruationes steriles'. But the change of α into β, at any rate, is neither difficult nor uncommon: Bast *comm. pal.* p. 707 'si Alpha . . . sic scribitur, ut ductus calami superne interruptus hiet, forma eius ad Beta accedit: . . . itaque non mirum, scribas legisse . . . ἀρβιοῦσθαι pro ἀραιοῦσθαι' In the verse of Antiochus printed *C.C.A.G.* i p. 112 l. 21 we have the converse error, δλαῖον for δλβιον, and here the true reading is

ἐσθλοὶ δ' αὖ Μαίης ὠκὺν γόνον εἰσορόωντες,

'the benefics (Sun Moon Jupiter Venus) when they aspect Mercury', who is not ἐσθλός but ἐπῖκοινος. Mercury is Μαίης κοῦρος in 69 and Μαίης πάϊς in 340, and ὠκύς is one of this planet's stock epithets, *C.C.A.G.* ii p. 82.

156, 157.

τοῦνεκεν ἐν Κριῶ μὲν ἀναίνεο πάμπαν εἰούσης
νύμφεσιν.

νυμφεύσειν Kroll: it must be either νυμφεύειν or νυμφεῦσαι.

¹ Mr Ludwich says that this ought to be proparoxytone: it ought to be properispomenon.

158-162.

εἴ γε μὲν ἐμ πόσιός τις ἔχει δάμαρ ἢ δάμαρτος
 ἀνὴρ ἐν ζῳῷ Μήνην κακοδαιμονέοντι,
 τούτων ἀμφοτέρων κράτος οἴσεται, ὅς κεν ἔχῃσι
 δωδέκατον μετὰ χῶρον ἀφ' ὠρονόμοιο Σελήνην
 εἰν ἑτέρου γενέσει, καὶ δεσπότη εἵκελος ἔσται.

Mr Kroll prefixes an obelus to the ἐμ of 158 and Mr Ludwich alters it to ἢ, but it is quite sound. The construction is εἴ τις δάμαρ ἔχει Μήνην ἐμ πόσιος ζῳῷ κακοδαιμονέοντι ἢ τις ἀνὴρ Μήνην ἐν δάμαρτος ζῳῷ κακοδαιμονέοντι. If, in the wife's geniture, the Moon is situate in that sign of the zodiac which, in the husband's geniture, occupies the twelfth house (the κακὸς δαίμων), or vice versa, then that one of the pair will be master in whose geniture the Moon is not so situate, but is found in a sign of the zodiac which, in the other party's geniture, comes after the twelfth house. δωδέκατον μετὰ χῶρον means in the first house (the ὠροσκόπος itself), or the second, or any other down to the eleventh; for Manetho vi 35 sqq. speaks of the twelfth house in these terms, ἦν δὲ Σεληναίη μὲν ἐφ' ὠρονόμῳ ἐπιτέλλη | ἐν προτέρῳ δ' ὥρης ζῳῷ Φαίνων προθέσιν, | δαίμονα τόν τε κακὸν πρότεροι φῶτες κατέσαντο.

What I have said above will, I hope, enable a reader to understand the similar passage in Manetho vi 216-221, and to correct the blunders of the Latin version in the Firmin-Didot edition :

δαίμονι δ' ἦν χαλεπῷ κείνης Μήνη πέλη ἀνδρὶ,
 αἰὲν ἀτασθαλίῃσι γυνὴ ἀθερίζει ἀκοίτην
 οὐδὲν ὀπιζομένη λεχέων θεσμῶν τε γάμοιο.
 ταῦτα δ' ἄρ' ἐκ ποσίων τελέθει δειλῇσι γυναιξίν,
 εὔτε Σεληναίη ἀλόχοις ἐν δαίμονι λυγρῷ
 ἀνδρῶν φαίνεται· δίχα γὰρ νόον αἰὲν ἔχουσιν.

Here δαίμονι χαλεπῷ and λυγρῷ mean the same as ζῳῷ κακοδαιμονέοντι in Dorotheus.

174-176.

καὶ δὲ Σεληναίης φάσαι λεύσσης κεν ἰούσης
 ἐκ συνόδου πρῶτον μετὰ τετράπλευρον
 αἴθοπος Ἡελίοιο, δικαιότεροισιν ἄμεινον.

Mr Kroll amends the φάσαι of 174 to φάσιν αἰ; but we ought not to violate by conjecture the rule which forbids αἰ κεν to be thus separated: besides, αἰ is not found in Dorotheus any more than in Manetho or Maximus, though both Mr Kroll and Mr Ludwich introduce it at 242¹. The metre of 175 Mr Kroll attempts to restore by writing πρῶτον μετα<νισσομένης> τετράπλευρον; but what he builds up with one hand he breaks down with the other. Dorotheus, as I explained at u. 142, did not scan τετράπλευρον as — — —: his scansion is seen in 271 Ζεὺς δ' ὅτε τετράπλευρος

¹ καὶ καδὲ βλοσυροῖο cod., καὶ δ' αἰ κεν βλ. Ludwich: probably καὶ δ' εἴ κε βλ.

ἄνω χθονὸς οὖσαν ἴδεται, 92 τριπλεύρου κρατέοντας ἐν ᾧ θεὸς Ἡλιός ἐστιν, p. 91 l. 3 σχήμασι τριπλέροις κακοεργεῖς ἀμβλύνονται. Moreover, if a second participle is added to *ιούσης ἐκ συνόδου μετὰ τετράπλευρον*, a conjunction must be added as well. The following gives at any rate the form of the verse and the sentence :

Σεληναῖης φάσιν εἰ λεύσσης κεν ιούσης
ἐκ συνόδου <πρώτην> πρῶτον μετὰ τετράπλευρον
αἰθοπος Ἡελίοιο.

179, 180.

ἕως δέ κεν εἰς διάμετρον,
ἐσθλή πιπράσκοντι καὶ ἐγκαλέοντι συνοίσει.

The subject of the sentence is the Moon. 'κεν εἰς] possis *κίη* uel *κίχη*' says Mr Kroll ; but there is a much easier way :

ἕως δέ κεν εἰς διάμετρον
ἔ λ θ η, πιπράσκοντι καὶ ἐγκαλέοντι συνοίσει.

182.

ᾠνεῖσθαι τότε καλὸν ὃ βούλεται ἢ διακόψαι.

Throughout this passage the man to whom the Moon portends profit or loss in his buying and selling is addressed in the second person : 171 ᾠνήσει, δώσεις, 174 λεύσσης, 177 δώσεις, 178 καταθήσει, 184 δοίης. βούλεται therefore should be β ο ύ λ ε α ι.

185-190.

Heph. iii 20 (πῶς δεῖ ἄρχοντι καὶ δυνάστη συντυχεῖν) . . . εἰ δὲ ἴδης καὶ τὰς γενέσεις τούτων οἷς συντυχεῖν θέλεις,

καὶ δ' ὅταν ἐξ ὥρης κεκλωμένον ἐν τινι ζῳῳ 185
κείμενον εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν, ἔχει δ' ἐν τῷδε Σελήνῃ
ᾧ τινι συμβαλέεις, μάλα κεν πεφιλῆσαι αὐτῷ.

185 'nil mutare ausus sum nisi ζῳοις' Kroll. Mr Ludwich, apparently preoccupied with the solecism ὅταν ἔχει and heeding little else, removes it by the following conjecture, καὶ δ' ὅταν ἐξ ε ύ ρ η κ υ κ λ ο ύ μ ε ν ο ν ἐν τινι ζῳῳ | κ ε ί μ ε ν ο ς εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν, ἔ χ η δ' ἐν τῷδε etc., 'was einen erträglichen Sinn giebt' says he. I wish he had explained this sense, for I can discover none, nor even a construction. The subject of *ἐξεύρη* can only be the antecedent of *ᾧ τινι*, the great man with whom you are seeking an interview ; how does this personage perform the feat of lying in a sign of the zodiac for a revolving year ? and where are we to find an object for *ἐξεύρη* ? and with what intent does Mr Ludwich add 'Vgl. S. 91 V. 2 ἀστήρ δ' οὐκέτι φαῦλος, ἐπὴν ἀγαθὸν τόπον εὔρη' ? This is not the only place where Mr Ludwich's proposals leave me much in doubt whether he comprehends the astrological requirements of the context.

I adopt however his *κυκλούμενον* (see *Eur. Or.* 1645 and *Phoen.* 477 *ἐνιαυτοῦ κύκλον*, *Phoen.* 544 *τὸν ἐνιαύσιον κύκλον*) and I conjecture

καὶ δ' ὅ τ' ἄναξ ὥρης κυκλούμενον ἔν τινι ζώῳ
 κείμενος ἦν ἐνιαυτὸν, ἔχει δ' ἐν τῷδε Σελήνῃ
 ᾧ τινι συμβαλέεις, μάλα κεν πεφιλήσῃ αὐτῷ.

κείμενος ἦν for *κείμενον εἰς* is no more than a metathesis of the two final letters. The *ἄναξ ὥρης* is the *οἰκοδεσπότης ὠροσκόπου*, called *ἄναξ ὠρονόμου* in 226 sq. and *ὥρης βασιλεύς* in 304 sq.,—the planet who is lord of that house in which the horoscope chances to be. The sense therefore is this: if the lord of the house of your horoscope remained in one sign of the zodiac for a whole year (this might easily happen if the *οἰκοδεσπότης* were Jupiter and usually happens when the *οἰκοδεσπότης* is Saturn), and if, in the geniture of the potentate whose presence you are about to enter, the Moon is found to have been situate in that same sign, then you will gain his favour.

We proceed :

ἦν δ' ἔτος ἀμφοτέροισιν ὁμοῦ πέσῃ εἰς ἓνα χῶρον,
 σύμφωνον· τὸ δ' ὅμοιον ἀκουόντων ἐπὶ ζώων
 ἦεν ἢ δερκομένων.

190

The first year of a man's life, I must premise, falls under that sign of the zodiac in which his horoscope was situate, the second under the next sign, and so on till the 12 signs are exhausted; the 13th year belongs to the same sign as the first, and the circle revolves anew. If now both you and the great personage to whom you present your petition are passing a year of your life which falls under the same sign, that circumstance is *σύμφωνον*, conducive to harmony. Suppose for example that you were born nearly 26 years ago under the sign of Aries, and he was born nearly 30 years ago under the sign of Sagittarius, then the current year of both your lives falls under the sign of Taurus, and your petition is likely to succeed. *τὸ δ' ὅμοιον*, the case is similar, *ἐπ' ἀκουόντων ἢ δερκομένων ζώων*; that is, if the year of his life and the year of yours, instead of falling under one sign, fall under two signs which hear one another (i.e. are equidistant from the equinoctial signs), such as Taurus and Pisces, or which see one another (i.e. are equidistant from the tropical signs), such as Taurus and Virgo.

Mr Kroll corrects the metre of 190 by writing *ἦν* for *ἦεν*; but the tense is wrong and no verb is needed. I write *ἦ ἐν νυ δερκομένων*, comparing 294 sq. *παρέστων | ἦ ἐν νυ λευσσόντων*.

205-210.

Heph. iii 28 φυλάττου δὲ δανείζων τὴν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ μετὰ Κρόνου στάσιν καὶ ἔτι τῆς Σελήνης ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ Λέοντος καὶ τῶν Διδύμων καὶ τοῦ Τοξότου, καὶ ὅτε τούτων αἱ ἀρχαὶ τῶν ζφδίων

γαίης ὑπερ ἀντέλλουσιν.¹

205

εἰ δὲ λαβεῖν ἐθέλεις αὐτὸς χρέος, ὧδέ τοι ἔστω
 λῶϊον· Ὑδροχόω καὶ Σκορπίω ἡδὲ Λέοντι
 δία Σεληναίῃ ἡδ' Ἰχθύσιν ἀμφὶς ἐοῦσα
 ἡ ἐνὶ Τοξευτῇ καὶ οἱ φάος ἐνδεὲς ἔστω,
 ὥς δ' αὐτως καὶ ἀριθμός.

210

I do not understand. What can be the meaning of ὧδέ τοι ἔστω λῶϊον? The three words ὧδέ τοι ἔστω, 'let the celestial position be as follows,' might be sense; and the prose paraphrase quoted by Mr Kroll from cod. Vind. phil. gr. 108 (not 179 as he says), *ἐὰν δανείσασθαι θέλῃς, ἔστω ἡ Σελήνη Ὑδροχόω ἢ Σκορπίω ἢ Λέοντι ἢ Ἰχθύσιν ἢ Τοξότη λειψιφωτοῦσα καὶ τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς ἀφαιροῦσα*, is also sense; and so are 129 sq. *προσθετικὴ φάεσιν* . . . ἔστω τοι Κερόεσσα, 151 sq. *ἐν τροπικῷ δὲ | ζῳῷ μηδὲ νυ Κύπρις ἔοι τότε μηδὲ Σελήνη*, 294 sq. *Ζεὺς δὲ καὶ Ἀφρογενὴς ὥρῃ Μῆνι τε παρέστων | ἡ ἐν νυ λευσσόντων*; but add λῶϊον to any of these imperatives or optatives and it will turn them into nonsense. And what can be the grammar of 207-9? Who will construe me the words *Σεληναίῃ ἐοῦσα ἐνὶ Τοξευτῇ καὶ οἱ φάος ἐνδεὲς ἔστω*?

Structure and sense may both be obtained in this way:

εἰ δὲ λαβεῖν ἐθέλεις αὐτὸς χρέος, ὧδέ τοι ἔστω
 λῶϊον Ὑδροχόω καὶ Σκορπίω ἡδὲ Λέοντι
 δία Σεληναίῃ ἡδ' Ἰχθύσιν ἀμφὶς ἐοῦσα
 ἡ ἐνὶ Τοξευτῇ καὶ οἱ φάος ἐνδεὲς ἔστω,
 ὥς δ' αὐτως καὶ ἀριθμός.

The ὧδε of 206 now means not 'as follows' but 'in that case,' *εἰ δανείσασθαι ἐθέλεις καὶ μὴ δανεῖσαι*. Perhaps λῶϊον should be λῶων (the form λῶον occurs at 178), but I doubt if the change is necessary: the neuter will mean 'a better sign.' Then is added the caution *καὶ οἱ φάος ἐνδεὲς ἔστω*, like *κακὸς δὲ ἔμῃ τις ὁράτω* in 236.

211-215.

εἰ δὲ νύ τις πάτρηθεν ἐπ' ἀλλοδαπὴν χθόνα βαίνοι,
 αὐτὸν ἀφ' ὠρονόμου, χῶρόν γε μὲν, εἰς δν ἄπεισιν, 212
 ἐκ δυτικοῦ κέντρου, πρῆξιν δέ τοι ἐκ μεσάτοιο
 ὕψους εὖ φράσσαιο, τί δ' αὖ τέλος ἔσσεται αὐτῇ 214
 ζῳῷ ὑποχθονίῳ σάφα κεν μάλα τεκμήριο.

Verse 212 must be punctuated as above, or else the two last commas must be omitted: *ὠρονόμου, χῶρόν γε μὲν εἰς δν ἄπεισιν | ἐκ*. Mr Kroll's punctuation (*ὠρονόμου, χῶρόν γε μὲν εἰς δν ἄπεισιν, | ἐκ*) destroys both sense and grammar, and so does Mr Ludwich's (*ὠρονόμου χῶρόν γε μὲν, εἰς δν ἄπεισιν, | ἐκ*). It is probable that Mr Kroll, despite the perversity of his stops, understands the passage; but

¹ So I write: *ὑπὲρ ἀνατέλλουσιν* cod., *ὑπεραντέλλουσι* Kroll.

Mr Ludwich, by proposing τί δὴ (τί δὲ cod., τί δ' αὖ Kroll) in 214, makes it plain that he does not. Its meaning is this: if a man takes a journey to a foreign country, consult the horoscope or ascendant about the man himself, the occident about the land whither he is bound, the zenith about the business he has in hand, and the nadir about its final issue. Compare Heph. iii 26 (Doroth. 204) εἴ τις οὖν χρήζων προσενέγκαι αἵρεσιν περὶ οἰουδήποτε πράγματος, 'κείνον ἀφ' ὠρονόμοιο λογίξω, σὸν δὲ τὸ δύνων,' ἢ πράξις τὸ μεσουράνημα, τὸ τέλος τὸ ὑπόγειον, cod. Vind. 108 fol. 278 ἐὰν δανείσασθαι θέλῃς, ἔστω ὁ μὲν ὠροσκόπος ὁ δανειστής, τὸ δὲ δύνων ὁ δανειζόμενος, τὸ διδόμενον τὸ μεσουράνημα· τὸ δὲ ὑπόγειον μηνύσει τὴν ἔκβασιν τοῦ χρόνου.

In 214 I have written αὐτῇ for the αὐτῇ of the MS, which is really the same thing. Mr Kroll's αὐτῷ is unnecessary and undesirable: αὐτῇ is τῇ πρήξει, see 237 ἔργου τέλος.

226-228.

ναὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄνακτα <τόπου> τεκμαίρεο Μήνης
ἡδὲ καὶ ὠρονόμου, μή που κεκρυμμένοι ἦ
φθέγγεα μαρμαρυγῇ δεδασμένοι Ἡελίοιο.

When Mr Kroll writes κεκρυμμένος εἴη | φέγγει μαρμαρυγῇ <τε> δεδασμένος Ἡελίοιο, he retains just the one word which must at all cost be got rid of. The οἰκοδεσπότης Σελήνης and the οἰκοδεσπότης ὠροσκόπου are planets, and it is impossible for a planet to be δεδασμένος, divided or distributed, by the brilliancy of the sun. This too is poor diction, κεκρυμμένος φέγγει μαρμαρυγῇ τε δεδασμένος; nor do I see why the participles should be changed from plural to singular, for there are two ἄνακτες, not one. The following is easier and more effectual:

μή που κεκρυμμένοι εἶεν,
φέγγεα μαρμαρυγῇ δεδ<αμ>ασμένοι Ἡελίοιο.

For the accusative compare 78 Κύπρις δ' ἐν Ταύρῳ γάννται νόον.

283-285.

ἡνίκα δ' ὠρονόμῳ κακομήτιες ἐγγεγάωσιν
ἀστέρες, εὐρύκται δὲ θοῇ συνέωσι Σελήνῃ,
ἢ καὶ ἐναλλάγδην, σκαιὴν ποιοῦσι θάλασσαν.

'latet εὐεργεῖς uel sim.' says Mr Kroll (εὐεργοί rather); Mr Ludwich proposes εὐρέκται. The same amount of change, the omission of one letter and the transposition of another, will furnish a more natural and better authenticated word, εὐρύκται. This contracted form of εὐεργέτης is used by Antipater of Thessalonica in *anth. Pal.* ix 92 3 sq. ὥς καὶ ἀοιδὸς ἀνὴρ ξενίων χάριν ἀνταποδοῦναι | ὕμνους εὐέρκταις οἶδε παθὼν ὀλίγα.

326-328.

εὔτε δὲ βρυχητῆρος ὑπερφορέοιτο Λέοντος,
 ἀνδρὸς ἐρισθενέος καὶ μείζονος ἄλγε' ἔκητι
 ἔπεται, οὐδὲ μίνυνθα συνέσσεται ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δηρόν.

If the Moon is in Leo τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦ εἶργεσθαι, at the time when the man is cast into prison, then — what? 'fort. nil latet nisi ἔσσεται' Kroll. That cannot be, for the sense would require ἔστι. This is a chapter περὶ τῶν εἰργομένων, and the ἄλγεα are no future troubles but the present ills of imprisonment. Mr Ludwich conjectures ἔψεται: the verb ἔπεσθαι, 'come upon him', 'attach themselves to him', is appropriate, but again the tense is wrong; so I should propose ἔσπεται, for the likeness of σ to the first half of π often causes its omission or insertion when π follows.

Under the same misapprehension Mr Kroll completes the imperfect verse 334

Τοξευτὴρ ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἐν ἄλγεσιν ἀνέρα

by adding <θήσει>, which the sense of the passage will not admit, for the man is already ἐν ἄλγεσι κείμενος. Some such verb as <τρύσει> is wanted: compare 324 τετρύσεται ἐν κακότητι.

348-350.

κῆν συναφὴν ἀκτῖσιν ὑπ' Ἡελίοιο τυχούσῃ
 Κύπριδι ποιῆται, τότε γὰρ βροτὸν αἰνὰ παθόντα
 ἐκ συνοχῆς λύσειεν ἀεικελίων τ' ὀδυνάων.

γὰρ in 349 unknots the sentence, and Mr Kroll proposes τότε δ' ἄρ βροτόν, to which Mr Ludwich objects that Dorotheus never uses this apocope. Write τότε γ' ἄρ βροτόν: 238 sq. ἐν Διδύμοις εὐτ' ἄν τις ἀπ' ὀγδοάτης ἀνάγηται, | νόστος μὲν χρόνιος τότε γ' ἔσσεται.

p. 91 l. 5.

οὐδὲ τόπος δὲ κακὸς, χρηστὸν ὅπ' ἀσπάζοιτο.

ὅτε ἀσπάζεται L.

text and note are Mr Kroll's: the following are mine.

οὐδὲ τόπος δὲ κακὸς, χρηστὸν ὅταν ἀσπάζεται.

χρηστὸν ὅτ' ἂν Par. 454, χρηστότε Laur. xxviii 34, χρηστὸν Monac. 287. ἀσπάζεται Ludwich progr. Regiom. 1899 p. 4, ἀσπάζεται codd., ὅπ' ἀσπάζοιτο F. Boll C.C.A.G. i p. 146, nondum prolato cod. Par.

Mr Ludwich objects to the lengthening of the last syllable of χρηστόν, and declares in *Rhein. Mus.* 1904 p. 54 that it has no parallel among the remains of Dorotheus; but he has overlooked 116 τῶν ἄπο δὴ φράσσαντο τέλος αἰσχρόν τε καὶ ἐσθλόν.

The hexameter fragments of Antiochus of Athens, two or three of which I have corrected in discussing u. 48 (7) above, are preserved in cod. Angelic. 29 an.

1388, and were printed, I cannot say edited, in 1898 by Mr A. Olivieri, *C.C.A.G.* i pp. 108–113. Since the title of Antiochus' work was *θησαυροί*, Mr Kroll is of opinion that it was only an anthology; and he suggests in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1899 p. 746 that the verses may belong to Dorotheus. That they most certainly cannot: they are the production of a much inferior and quite dissimilar poet. Dorotheus, within the space of 370 lines, disregards internal position only thrice in *τετράγωνος* and perhaps once in *ἀριθμός*: Antiochus (to call him so), within the space of 115, disregards it in *πατρί*, *πατρίδος*, *πατρώϊα*, *τέτρατον*, *ἀλλοτρίων*, *Ἀφροδίτη*, *τέχναις*, *ἀθρήση*, *ἀμφικρατοῦσαν*, and *ἄχρηστος*. And much other proof could I adduce; but not to be tedious I content myself with one decisive fact: Dorotheus has *κεν* or *κε* in some thirty places, Antiochus nowhere.

Antiochus' text also is much worse than Dorotheus' text, and indeed its plight is often hopeless. But even the MS itself is not in all respects so vicious as the printed page of Mr Olivieri, whose metre and spelling and accentuation are a sight to dream of, not to tell. *σῆμα δύνει*, *ἐσῆμᾶνε πλοῦτον*, *μείων πάλιν πλὴν*, *πολυαλέγᾳς κύδιμος*, *ῆματα*, *ῆματι*, *ῆμάτιος*, *ὑπερδῶησι*, *ἀθρήσης*, *πολυάλγεα*, *πολυκέρδεα*, *πολυέργεα*, *χρυσοέργεα*, *πολυγήθεσιν*, *εὐχαρίτας*, *κτέατοισιν*, *νιφαδέσσι*, *μοίραν* (four times), *χερεῖον*, *χαριλάμπετις*, *ἐριτίμον*, *τεκεῶν*, *φιλοπαῖδα*, *ἡῖθεων*, *φαινομένοισι τε ἐν*, *πλοῦτον τε*, *Ζεὺς δε*, *οὐ ποτιφαίνοι*, *ἄντιος ἐστὶν Ἀρήη*: seldom does a Greek MS amass within this narrow compass so many blunders of this particular sort; and the notes inform us that some of them at any rate are Mr Olivieri's conjectures, and one or two of them, sad to say, Mr Kroll's. Mr Olivieri, according to Mr Ludwich, is 'einer der rührigsten und tüchtigsten unter den jungen Philologen Italiens', and I daresay this judgment is no less true than dismal: *πάλαι ποτ' ἦσαν ἄλκιμοι Μιλήσιοι*.

The conjectures of Mr Kroll and Mr Ludwich¹ are as numerous in Antiochus as in Dorotheus, but because of the intractable condition of the text they are much less happy and effective. I shall therefore add few to their number; indeed there now remains only a couple of passages which I think I can emend.

p. 109 ll. 6–10 (*Ἥλιος ὥρονομῶν*).

πολλοῖς φαινομένοις τέκεν ἀρσενικοῖσι μάλιστα
ὀφθεῖς ζωιδίοισιν ἐν πλοῦτον ἔχοντας
καὶ χρόνον ἐν ζωοῖσι τέλος πολύν· ἦν δὲ κακοῖσι
συμμίξῃ, δόξας μειοῖ πάλι, πλὴν καλός ἐστι
καὶ πατρί καὶ βίῳ καὶ ἀτάσθαλα πῆματα λύει.

7

This is what the Sun does when found in the horoscope at the hour of birth. The second of the two sentences, thanks chiefly to Mr Ludwich, has been satisfactorily amended as above: the first is still unintelligible, and the conjectures of Messrs Olivieri and Kroll and Ludwich are to me unintelligible also. To

¹ *Kritische Beiträge zu den poetischen Erzeugnissen griechischer Magie und Theosophie*, Königsberg 1899, pp. 4–11.

match the ἦν κακοῖσι συμμίξῃ, 'if he be conjoined with the bad planets' (see Doroth. 355 συμμίσγουσα=συμμισγομένη), of the second sentence, we want something like ἦν ἀγαθοῖς συμμίξῃ in the first; and when Mr Olivieri thus records the reading of the MS in l. 7, 'ἐν, posteaque compendium quod difficile explicatur,' I remember that there is a word which begins with ἐν, means ἀγαθοῖς, and suits the metre: Maxim. 262 εἰ μὲν συμφορέηται ἐν ηέ σιν ἄστρασι καλοῖς, 561 ἦν δὲ σὺν ἀστέρι Μήνῃ ἐν ηέ ἱ καλὰ φαείνῃ. So I propose to find a sense and construction for πολλοῖς φαινομένοις as follows:

πολλοῖς φαινομένοις τέκεν, ἀρσενικοῖσι μάλιστα
ὀφθεῖς ζωῖ δίοις, σὺν ἐν ηέ σιν πλοῦτον ἔχοντας
καὶ χρόνον ἐν ζωοῖσι τέλος πολύν.

πολλοῖς φαινομένοις σὺν ἐν ηέ σιν, accompanied with the appearance of many benefics.

In l. 8 they alter τέλος to ἵλεον, τελεῖν, τελεῖ, but it is quite sound and good. The construction is τέκεν ἔχοντας πλοῦτον καὶ τέλος: τέλος means *potestatem*, *magistratum*, and χρόνον πολύν means *dīu*.

p. 109 ll. 12, 13 (Κρόνος ὠρονομῶν).

ἦν δὲ Κρόνον λεύσσης κέντρον κατέχοντα μέγιστον
ὠρονομοῦν, κακός ἐστιν, χερειότερος δ' ἐπὶ νυκτί.

ἀχρειότερος Kroll; but write rather

κακός ἐστι, χερειότερος δ' ἐπὶ νυκτί,

for χερειότερος, not ἀχρειότερος, is the comparative of κακός, and at p. 112 l. 19 the word is again corrupted to χρειότερον.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

THE EPIC CYCLE.

ENOUGH and too much has been written about the Epic Cycle. Upon scanty quotations and a jejune epitome a tedious literature has been built.¹ The older writers, such as Welcker, tried to 'reconstruct'—as profitable and satisfying a task as inferring a burnt manor-house from its cellars; later scholars have gone out in tracing the tradition of the poems through the learned age of Greece—a scaffolding without ties, by which this or that conclusion is reached according to temperamental disposition to this or that fallacy. I do not intend to enter more than is needful into a controversy where so far as I can see everyone has gone beyond the evidence. If I add to the bulk of the literature, it is in the hope of putting things in their proper places and of presenting the data as they appear to a future editor.

I.

Our only direct evidence for the contents of the Cycle other than the quotations is the *Chrestomathia* of Proclus the Neoplatonist, who died A. D. 485 and whose life by his disciple Marinus remains to us as well as a biographical article in Suidas.² The latter's ascription of the Chrestomathy to the philosopher was doubted by the Frenchman Valois,³ who followed by Welcker, gave it to an earlier grammarian of the same name. The philosopher has been restored to his own by O. Immisch in an authoritative article (*Festschrift Th. Gomperz dargebracht* 1902, pp. 237-274 'Beiträge zur Chrestomathia des Proclus und zur Poetik des Alterthums'). Immisch's proof appears to be complete and does not need support from one who is far from at home in the Neoplatonic world. Marinus' life however while it is silent about the Manual, has some interesting accounts of Proclus' philological activity: his grammatical teacher was Orion (c. 8); another teacher Plutarch son of Nestorius urged him to compile a commentary on the *Phaedo*, *φάσκων ὅτι συμπληρωθέντων αὐτῷ τῶν σχολίων ἔσται καὶ Πρόκλου ὑπο-*

¹ Welcker, *Der epische Cyclus*, 1849-1865; Nitzsch, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der epischen Poesie der Griech.* 1862, pp. 206 sq.; D. B. Monro, *J.H.S.* 1883, 305 sq.; *Odyssey* xiii-xxiv, 1901, pp. 340 sq.; U. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Homerische Untersuchungen*, 1884, pp. 328 sq.; E. Bethe, *Hermes* xxvi (1891), pp. 593 sq.; R. Wagner, *N. Jahrb.* 1892, ff. 241 sq. (reply to Bethe); E. Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa, 'Apollodoros,' esp. 2883-6 (with other references).

² Πρόκλος ὁ Λύκιος, μαθητὴς Συριανοῦ, ἀκουστῆς δὲ καὶ Πλουτάρχου τοῦ Νεστορίου τοῦ φιλοσόφου, καὶ

αὐτὸς φιλόσοφος Πλατωνικός. οὗτος προέστη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις φιλοσόφου σχολῆς, καὶ αὐτοῦ μαθητῆς καὶ διάδοχος χρηματίζει Μαρίνος, ὁ Νεαπολίτης. ἔγραψε πᾶν πολλά, — φιλόσοφα καὶ γραμματικά. ὑπόμνημα εἰς ἕλον τὸν Ὅμηρον· ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὰ Ἡσιόδου Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέρας· περὶ χρηστομαθίας βιβλία γ'. περὶ ἀγωγῆς β'. εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν Πλάτωνος βιβλία δ'. εἰς τὴν Ὀρφείως θεολογίαν. Συμφωνίαν Ὀρφείως, Πυθαγόρου καὶ Πλάτωνος· περὶ τὰ λόγια βιβλία ι'. περὶ τῶν παρ' Ὀμήρῳ θεῶν ἐπιχειρήματα κατὰ Χριστιανῶν ιη'.

³ Valesius *de crit.* i. 20.

μνήματα φερόμενα εἰς τὸν Φαίδωνα. His commentaries on the Timaeus and the Republic remain to us, and have been recently edited ; that on Hesiod's Works and Days exists in scholiastic form (edited separately by Vollbehr, 1844). His research is described: *πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς τῶν παλαιότερων συγγράμμασιν ἐπεξιών, ὅσον μὲν ἦν παρ' αὐτοῖς γόνιμον, τοῦτο μετ' ἐπικρίσεως εἰσεποιεῖτο*: he wrote about 700 lines a day, and the total of his quires (τῶν τετράδων) corresponded with the seventy years of his life (c. 25). His affectionate disciple allured him into vouchsafing a comment upon Orpheus: *ἡξίωσα παραγράφειν αὐτὸν τὰ ἄρεσκοντα τοῖς τοῦ διδασκάλου βιβλίοις. πεισθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀγαθοειδεστάτου καὶ παραγράψαντος τοῖς μετωπίοις τῶν ὑπομνημάτων, ἔσχομεν συναγωγὴν εἰς ταῦτὸν ἀπάντων, καὶ ἐγένετο εἰς Ὀρφέα αὐτῷ σχόλια καὶ ὑπομνήματα στίχων οὐκ ὀλίγων*. It is not often that we are allowed such a view of the genesis of scholia. Proclus' procedure is characteristic of his period: the ὑπόμνημα was beginning to pass into the Catena. By Eustathius' century the process was complete, for when he quotes ὑπομνηματισταί it is plain he means scholiasts. Proclus' interests were philosophical and mystical, and before he died he said *κύριος εἰ ἦν, μόνον ἂν τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀπάντων βιβλίων ἐποιοῦν φέρεσθαι τὰ λόγια καὶ τὸν Τίμαιον*. Still it would not be alien to such a laborious and eclectic mind to throw off, perhaps, an early work, for self-preparation and the preparation of disciples, a manual of ancient verse-literature, in which authentic Hellenic mythology was embalmed. The handbook, partly theoretic and partly historical, appears to have dominated Byzantine education during the subsequent centuries. Photius (d. circ. 891 A.D.) found it in an epitome (ἐκλογαί), and gave an abstract of the epitome a place in his Library: traces are also found in a grammarian among the Anecdota Oxoniensia, in a commentary upon Gregory of Nazianzus, and in Tzetzes (Immisch p. 240). Selections were prefixed, from the tenth century onwards, to MSS. of Homer and Hesiod by way of introduction to the authors. A somewhat similar literary product of Neoplatonism is held to have been Menander's rhetorical work now to be found among the Rhetores Graeci (ib. p. 249); and if further evidence is needed for the attribution of philological work to Proclus, he is amply covered by the precedent of his predecessor Porphyrius, who two hundred years before devoted interpretation to the Iliad and Odyssey of which copious remains exist in our scholia.¹ The Chrestomathia consisted of four books.²

¹ The handsome Ammonianus, kinsman of Syrianus, Proclus' Master, chose the sedentary lot; *ἡγάπα τὴν ἐπὶ ποιητῶν ἐξηγήσει καὶ διορθώσει τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς λέξεως καθημένην τέχνην*: Agapius, a disciple of Marinus, his successor, *ἐθαυμάζετο ἐπὶ φιλομαθίᾳ* (Suidas in vv.).

² *Ἔστι δὲ τὸ βιβλίον εἰς δ' διηρημένον λόγους* Photius (τῶν εἰς δ' διηρημένων τὸ α' Ven. A), but at the end of his summary he remarks *οἱ μὲν δύο λόγοι τῆς Πρόκλου γραμματικῆς χρηστομαθείας ἐν τούτοις*. It might have been supposed that Proclus summarised only Books I and II as the more important, but his ample account of elegy and lyric makes it plain that he

included all four, especially as we see from Ven. A f. 6 r. that Book II opened only with the Aethiopis. Therefore instead of *δύο* in Photius I would read *δ'*.—Suidas in his article has *βιβλία γ'*. Immisch p. 240 explains these discrepancies as signs of different systems of division. I should be inclined to see in the numeral *γ'* a sign of attrition. In the time between Proclus and Suidas, or even between Photius and Suidas, under the influence of repeated epitomes and extracts, one book might well have fallen away. Between Suidas and 1453 all, of course, perished.

The portion of the Chrestomathy which dealt with Homeric Epos has come down to us in two states, A and B; and B actually from at least two sources. A is the epitome of the whole work made by Photius for his Bibliotheca, f. 318 B 21 Bekker. It is more highly compressed than the other versions, being apparently a précis of extracts. It opens *ἀνεγνώσθησαν ἐκ τῆς Πρόκλου χρηστομαθίας γραμματικῆς ἐκλογαί*. ἔστι δὲ τὸ βιβλίον εἰς δ' διηρημένον λόγους. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ α' λέγει κτλ. The first book began with principles, and a classification—narrative and imitative poetry: to the former belong epos, elegy, iambus, and melos. He then, f. 319 A 8, treats epos: the mythical inventor, Phemonoe, the meaning of the word ἔπος: then v. 17

γεγόνασι δὲ τοῦ ἔπους ποιηταὶ κράτιστοι μὲν Ὅμηρος, Ἡσίοδος
Πείσανδρος, Πανύσις, Ἀντίμαχος. διέρχεται δὲ τούτων ὡς οἶόν τε
καὶ γένος καὶ πατρίδας καὶ τινας ἐπὶ μέρους πράξεις. διαλαμβάνει
δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ λεγομένου ἐπικοῦ κύκλου, ὃς ἄρχεται μὲν ἐκ τῆς Οὐρανοῦ
5 καὶ Γῆς μυθολογουμένης μίξεως, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ καὶ τρεῖς παῖδας ἑκατόγ-
χειρας καὶ τρεῖς γεννῶσι Κύκλωπας, διαπορεύεται δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλως περὶ
θεῶν τοῖς Ἑλλησι μυθολογούμενα, καὶ εἴ ποῦ τι καὶ πρὸς ἱστορίαν ἐξαλη-
θίζεται. καὶ περατοῦται ὁ ἐπικὸς κύκλος, ἐκ διαφόρων ποιητῶν συμπλ-
ηρούμενος, μέχρι τῆς ἀποβάσεως Ὀδυσσεὺς τῆς εἰς Ἰθάκην, ἐν ᾗ καὶ
10 ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς Τηλεγόνου ἀγνοοῦντος κτείνεται· λέγει δὲ ὡς τοῦ ἐπικοῦ
κύκλου τὰ ποιήματα διασώζεται καὶ σπουδάζεται τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐχ οὕτω
διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὡς διὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πραγμάτων. λέγει
δὲ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τὰς πατρίδας τῶν πραγματευσαμένων τὸν
ἐπικὸν κύκλον· λέγει δὲ καὶ περὶ τινων Κυπρίων ποιημάτων, καὶ ὡς
15 οἱ μὲν ταῦτα εἰς Στασίνον ἀναφέρουσι Κύπριον, οἱ δὲ Ἑγησίνον
τὸν Σαλαμίνιον αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράφουσιν, οἱ δὲ Ὅμηρον· δοῦναι δὲ ὑπὲρ
τῆς θυγατρὸς Στασίμφ, καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ πατρίδα Κύπρια τὸν πόνον
ἐπικληθῆναι. ἀλλ' οὐ τίθεται ὁ συγγραφεὺς ταύτῃ τῇ αἰτίᾳ· μηδὲ
γὰρ Κύπρια προπαροξυτόνως ἐπιγράφεσθαι τὰ ποιήματα.

He then proceeds to Elegy. I have quoted this passage in extenso in order to be able to refer to it.

Our next survivals of the Chrestomathy are on a much larger scale, apparently ἐκλογαί of the first instance, but they are very fragmentary. The sources are the MSS. of Homer and Hesiod.

At some time earlier than the tenth century, the portion of books 1 and 2 relating to Homer and the Cyclic poets was excerpted, and the ἐκλογή prefixed by way of preface to Homer's works: at least we know from the surviving headings that a preface of this extent once stood at the beginning of the tenth century Venetian MS. of the Iliad (Marc. 454). The titles are f. 1 πρόκλου χρηστομαθίας γραμματικῆς τῶν εἰς δ' διηρημένων τὸ ᾱ. ὁμήρου χρόνοι βίος χαρακτήρ· ἀναγραφὴ ποιημάτων and f. 6 r. πρόκλου χρηστομαθίας γραμματικῆς τὸ δεύτερον. αἰθιοπίδος ἔ ἀρκτίνου. The first nine pages of the Ven. A are it is well known in a disturbed

state, and have been the subject of much investigation.¹ The problem they contain is however solved since at least Wissowa's paper *Hermes* 1884, 198 sq. Actually in the Ven. A there remains on both sides of f. 1 a life of Homer, beginning ἐπὼν ποιηταὶ γεγόνασι πολλοί and ending with a catalogue of his works, of which the last words are κέρκωπας κενούς. After this leaves have fallen out in the MS. and the text resumes on f. 6 (bound up out of place) with Book II of the Chrestomathy under the title Αἰθιοπίδος ἔ' Ἀρκτίνου. The MS. from this point continues the analysis of the poems of the Cycle, ending with the Telegonia on f. 4 v. The last leaf f. 9 v. contains a sort of index of writers quoted in the scholia, which apparently has nothing to do with the Chrestomathy.

There are however other sources for this part of the Chrestomathy: the life of Homer (no. 3 in Westermann, p. 24) is found in many Homeric MSS., often further adapted to the purpose by the omission of the first sentence ἐπὼν ποιηταὶ —' Ἀντίμαχος. Some MSS. however have the full opening, and a few, what is more important, the analysis of the Cypria, which followed the Life of Homer in the excerpt, and accidentally fell out of the Ven. A (last printed by Dindorf, Scholl. Iliad xxxiv, xxxv). These MSS. as far as is known are Escorial Ω I. 12 (s. xi), of which the latest account is given by Bethe, *Rh. Mus.* 1893, p. 369 (the text of the Iliad has not yet been collated), a twelfth century (?) MS. in private hands at Naples (see Welcker *Ep. Cycl.* ii. p. 504); and three fifteenth century MSS. Munich 111, Parma H H ii. 27, Perugia E 48, which offer a text of the Iliad closely related to that of the Ven. A.

The age of the Escorial MS. makes it unlikely that, in the case of this MS. at least, the *Life* and the *Cypria* were copied from the Ven. A in its original state. The selection of these Prolegomena from Proclus' Chrestomathy must be put back beyond this period, though how far, failing evidence from papyrus, it is impossible to say: accidents to the first gathering of copies of the Iliad must have happened independently, and the relation between the presumable parent of the Escorial and the four later MS. and that of the Ven. A is undetermined. The life of Hesiod, which belonged to this part of the Chrestomathy, is found in the Hesiodic MSS. The notices of Pisander, Panyasis, and Antimachus have perished, so far as direct tradition is concerned.² The beginning of the Cycle, the analysis of the poems which preceded the Cypria, is also lost. With these reservations the total of the survivals, as printed by Dindorf, corresponds fairly to the programme in Photius' more compressed epitome, and the correspondence of the two versions appears in one particularity. In Photius' abstract (p. 66, v. 14) we are inclined to think that the section λέγει δὲ καὶ περὶ τινων Κυπρίων ποιημάτων κτλ., with the discussion upon the authorship and the meaning of the title, occur too late; but that this subject was reserved by Proclus for separate treatment is shown by the statement in the fuller version, ἐπιβάλλει τούτοις τὰ λεγόμενα Κύπρια ἐν βιβλίοις φερόμενα

¹ Jahn-Michaelis, *Griechische Bilderchronicon*, 1873, pp. v sq. (with Studemund's views); T. W. Jackson and D. B. Monro, *J.H.S.* 1883, 305 sq., the writer *J. Ph.* 1899, 161 sq.; Comparetti, in the

Leiden facsimile, *praef.*

² A substantial piece however of Peripatetic learning is quoted from the commentary on the *Timaeus* i. p. 28 c (Kinkel p. 274).

ἐνδεκα, ὧν περὶ τῆς γραφῆς ὕσπερον ἐροῦμεν, ἵνα μὴ τὸν ἐξῆς λόγον νῦν ἐμποδίζωμεν. In the fuller version this section with the general remarks on the Cycle (vv. 10-14) is lost, but it stood originally in Proclus where Photius found it.

II.

The Homeric part of Proclus' Chrestomathy being thus and within these limits restored, what is the authority of the work? The answer to this question bears especially upon Proclus' interesting statement (*supr.* v. 10) λέγει δὲ ὡς τοῦ ἐπικοῦ κύκλου τὰ ποιήματα διασώζεται καὶ σπουδαζεται τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐχ οὕτω διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὡς διὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πραγμάτων. Down to Welcker inclusive this sentence was understood in its natural sense, that the Cycle owed its survival down to Proclus' time not so much to its merit as to the sequence of events in it. At the present moment however it is held by all the German writers whose names I have mentioned as beyond dispute that the Cycle did not survive until or nearly until Proclus' time; his abstracts were not made from the poems, which no human eye had seen for centuries, but from a handbook, either a κύκλος (to which his remarks refer) or the actual extant Pseudoapollodorus. Even the late Mr. D. B. Monro inclined in this sense (pp. 342-5). The whole question of the survival of the classics and the date of the disappearance of those which are lost, is so interesting, and depends so much on statements like this of Proclus, that I make no apology for reconsidering the evidence.

It is maintained that Proclus' διασώζεται has no value (Immisch even thinks that the present tense is an indication of conveyance from an earlier source), and that his abstracts, which name nothing but the poems, are taken from manuals. On these two points—(1) the definite statement that particular literature is extant, (2) the acknowledgment of quotation through an intermediate when it is not made directly, I propose to examine the usage of three important Greek writers: Plutarch the historian, Pausanias the antiquary, Stephanus of Byzantium the geographical lexicographer.

Plutarch speaks of books surviving in the following places:

Lycurg. 21 ὅλως δὲ ἂν τις ἐπιστήσῃ τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς ποιήμασιν, ὧν ἔτι καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔνια διασώζετο.

Cat. min. 23 τοῦτον μόνον ὧν Κάτων εἶπε διασώζεσθαι φασι τὸν λόγον.

Cic. 1 καὶ τι ποιημάτων ἔτι παιδὸς αὐτοῦ διασώζεται.

Nicias 5 Hieron, son of Dionysius Chalcus, οὗ καὶ ποιήματα σώζεται.

Crassus 33 Artavasdes τραγωδίας ἐποίει καὶ λόγους ἔγραφε καὶ ἱστορίας, ὧν ἔνια διασώζονται.

Brutus 13 καὶ τι βιβλίδιον μικρὸν ἀπομνημονευμάτων Βρούτου γεγραμμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διασώζεται.

Lucullus 1 διασώζεται Ἑλληνικὴ τις ἱστορία τοῦ Μαρσικοῦ πολέμου.

He acknowledges borrowed quotations:

Romulus 17 ὡς Ἰόβας φησι Γάλβαν Σουλπίκιον ἱστορεῖν.

Lycurgus 23 φασὶ τινες ὡς Ἑρμιππος μνημονεύει . . .

Timol. 36 Sophocles is quoted through Timaeus.

Solon 11 ὡς λέγειν φησὶν Ἑρμιππος Εὐάνθη τὸν Σάμιον . . .

Theseus 32 Ἡρέας παρέχεται μαρτύρια [3 verses].

Demosth. 5 Ἑρμιππὸς φησιν ἀδεσπότοις ὑπομνήμασιν ἐντυχεῖν.

We proceed from the Boeotian antiquary to Pausanias, his junior by a generation or two. Pausanias, who wears the air of a candid writer, is fond of specifying his studies : his phrases are like these :—

I. 12. 2 ἔστι δὲ ἀνδράσι βιβλία οὐκ ἐπιφανέσιν ἐς συγγραφὴν, ἔχοντα ἐπίγραμμα ἔργων ὑπομνήματα εἶναι. ταῦτα ἐπιλεγόμενῳ μοι μάλιστα ἐπῆλθε θαυμάσαι κτλ.

22. 7 ἐγὼ δὲ ἔπη μὲν ἐπελεξάμην, ἐν οἷς ἔστι πέτεσθαι Μουσαῖον ὑπὸ Βορέου δῶρον, δοκεῖν δέ μοι πεποιήκεν αὐτὰ Ὀνομάκριτος. (=IV. 1. 5).

37. 4 ὅστις δὲ ἤδη τελετὴν Ἐλευσίνι εἶδεν ἢ τὰ καλούμενα Ὀρφικά ἐπελέξατο, οἶδεν ὃ λέγω.

II. 2. 2 (the tomb of Neleus) οὐκ ἂν οἶδ' εἰ ζητοίῃ τις ἐπιλεξάμενος τὰ Εὐμήλου.

II. 4. 1 τάδε μὲν οὕτως ἔχοντα ἐπελεξάμην, . .

2 ἐγὼ τε πείθομαι καὶ ὅστις τὰ Ὀμήρου μὴ πάρεργον ἐπελέξατο.

31. 3 καὶ τι βιβλίον Πιτθέως δὴ σύγγραμμα ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς ἐκδοθὲν Ἐπιδαυρίου καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπελεξάμην.

IV. 2. 1 πυθέσθαι δὲ σπουδῇ πάνν ἐθέλησας οἳ τινες παῖδες Πολυκάονι ἐγένοντο ἐκ Μεσσήνης, ἐπελεξάμην τὰς τε Ἡοίας καλουμένας καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰ Ναυπάκτια, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅποσα Κιναίθων καὶ Ἄσιος ἐγενεαλόγησαν. Which poems he quotes frequently elsewhere.

VI. 19. 5 ἐμὲ δὲ ἐσῆλθεν ἀνάμνησις ὡς Θουκυδίδης ποιήσειεν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις Δοκρῶν τῶν πρὸς τῇ Φωκίδι καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις, ἐν δὲ αὐταῖς εἶναι καὶ Μυονέας. Cf. viii. 11. 3 ὀνόματα δὲ αὐταῖς ποιητῆς μὲν ἔθετο οὐδεῖς, ὅσα γε ἐπελεξάμεθα ἡμεῖς, cf. x. 4. 2.

VIII. 18. 1 (Linus' verses) ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐπιλεγόμενῳ παντάπασιν ἐφαίνετο ταυτὰ γε εἶναι κίβδηλα.

37. 12 μνημονεύουσι δὲ καὶ ἔπη τῆς Ἑρατοῦς, ἃ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπελεξάμην.

IX. 27. 2 (Pamphos' and Orpheus' hymns to Eros) ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπελεξάμην ἀνδρὶ ἐς λόγους (ἐλθὼν) δαδουχοῦντι.

31. 5 the Hesiodic canon : ἔπη Μαντικά, ὅποσα γε ἐπελεξάμεθα καὶ ἡμεῖς.

X. 12. 11 τούτων πλὴν Λύκου τῶν ἄλλων ἐπελεξάμην τοὺς χρησμούς.

31. 2 Διομήδην δὲ τὸν ἀποκτείναντα εἶναι . . . ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐν ἔπεσιν οἶδα τοῖς Κυπρίοις.

He disclaims first-hand knowledge.

IX. 29. 2 ταύτην τοῦ Ἠγησίνου τὴν ποίησιν οὐκ ἐπελεξάμην, ἀλλὰ πρότερον ἄρα ἐκλελοιπυῖα ἦν πρὶν ἢ ἐμὲ γενέσθαι. Κάλλιππος δὲ Κορίνθιος ἐν τῇ ἐς Ὀρχομενίους συγγραφῇ μαρτύρια ποιεῖται τῷ λόγῳ τὰ Ἠγησίνου ἔπη, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς πεποιήμεθα παρ' αὐτοῦ Καλλίππου διδαχθέντες.

38. 9 (Chersias' verses) τοῦδε τοῦ Χερσίου τῶν ἐπῶν οὐδεμία ἦν κατ' ἐμὲ μνήμη, ἀλλὰ δὲ καὶ τόνδε ἐπηγάγετο ὁ Κάλλιππος ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τὸν ἔχοντα ἐς

'*Ορχομενίους*. Cf. x. 12. 11 above. I am aware that these apparently truthful statements of Pausanias are regarded as so many blinks by Herr von Wilamowitz (*Hom. Unt.* p. 339); they have 'nur stilistischen Werth.' There was not much style about the homespun of Pausanias¹; it is the pyrotechnics of the Professor which carry away his pen. Aelian's statement (*V. H.* xi. 2) about Dares Phrygius, οὗ Φρυγίαν Ἰλιάδα ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀποσωζομένην οἶδα may be believed now that Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt have recovered Dictys in the Greek. It is 'style' I presume when Athenaeus says he read and excerpted more than 800 plays of the Middle Comedy (336 A), when he alludes to his ἀρχαία ἀνάγνωσις (263 B); his εὐρίσκω is meaningless, and his acknowledgments of citations (375 E, 485 D, 487 C, 660 E, 663 C, 680 D, etc.) mere dust in the eyes of the reader.²

I proceed to the lexicographer Stephanus, whose date unfortunately is uncertain, otherwise his testimony would have been of the utmost value for the history of literary survival. An epitome of the lexicon according to Suidas (*s.v.* Ἑρμόλαος) was dedicated to Justinian by Hermolaus; my impression is that the original was not much earlier than the epitome, and that the personal allusion (*s.v.* Ἀνακτόριον) καὶ Εὐγένιος δὲ ὁ πρὸ ἡμῶν τὰς ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι σχολὰς διακοσμήσας belongs to Stephanus—unless we assume that an epitomator also adds. Nothing can be built on the exact date, but Stephanus fairly belongs to the age of Proclus, or to that succeeding him. He quotes an astounding series of writers,³ and stands—a matter in which he resembles Proclus—at the point where Commentaries (ὑπομνήματα) were still extant separately and had not passed into scholia.⁴

Stephanus appears not to employ the expression σώζεσθαι. In so long a work he left it to be implied from the absence of an acknowledgment. Φέρεται however is equivalent: (*s. v.* Τάρρα) φέρεται δὲ τούτου (Lucii Tarraei) τὰ περὶ παροιμιῶν τρία βιβλία ἄριστα, καὶ περὶ γραμμάτων καὶ τεχνικὰ γλαφυρώτατα. His acknowledgments are frequent:

Ἀβοριγίνες . . . ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη κλίσις ἐν χρησμῷ κειμένη, ἣν αὐτὸς παρατίθησι (sc. Dion. Hal.)

¹ See Frazer's judicious conclusions, *Paus.* I. lxxviii.

² How blameworthy too is Herodian (π. μον. λέξ. 37) when he makes us believe Antimachus survived to his day by stating οὕτως ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις εὑρηται. Doctors are no better; Galen π. ἀρίστης διδασκαλίας 18 τοὺς μὲν οὖν λόγους οἷς ἐπιχειρεῖ (Carneades) λύειν καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα πάμπολλα τῶν ἐναργῶς τι εἶναι σοι φαινομένων τε καὶ πιστευομένων ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸδε σωζομένους ἔχομεν. ἀπόκειται γὰρ ἐν γράμμασιν ὑπὸ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ συναθροισθέντες. Well too for Heraclides (*ap. Eust.* 1726. 24) that his assertions ἡ δὲ διάλεκτος αὕτη ἔτι καὶ νῦν σώζεται παρὰ τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις. τὸ γὰρ αἰεὶ αἰέν φασι, καὶ τὸ οὐ μέντοι οὐ μέντοι, οἷον οὐ κάμετόν γε μάχην ἀνὰ κυδιάνειραν. ἔμπαλιν δὲ χρῶνται Σικελοὶ τῷ ἰ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὕ, τὸ ἔνδον ἔνδοι λέγοντες are confirmed by the MSS. on Θ 468,

μ 362.

³ In Epos Hesiod often, the Hymns once, the Cycle never: Antimachus, Panyasis, Pisander, Lycophron, Apollonius, Rhianus.

⁴ He uses *e.g.* Euphraditus on the Iliad (ἐν τῇ π', ὑπομνηματίζων τὸ β' *s.v.* Δωδώνη, ἐν τοῖς Ὀμηρικοῖς *s.v.* Νωράκος *al.*), Didymus (ὑπομνηματίζων τὴν ν' *s.v.* Ἀρέθουσα), Heracleo (τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπομνηματίζων *ib.*), Philoxenus (τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν ἐξηγούμενος *s.v.* Ἀλάβανδα) on the Odyssey; Naucrates of Erythra (ὁ Ὀμηρον ὑπομνηματίζας, *s.v.* Ἐρυθρά); commentators on Aeschylus, Alcman, Apollonius Rhodius, Bacchylides, Lycophron, Nicander. By Eustathius' time this exegetical literature had perished, and Eustathius, whether he uses the term ὑπόμνημα or σχολῖον refers to the marginal scholia which we possess.

'Αγχιάλῃ . . ὡς Ἀθηνόδωρος περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ πατρὶδος γράφων καὶ παραθεῖς Διόδωρον τὸν γραμματικὸν συμφωνοῦντα.

'Αλεξανδρεία . . . Δίδυμος δὲ παρατίθεται χρήσιν ἐξ Ἑρατοσθένους τὸ 'Αλεξανδρίτης.

'Αψυνθος . . ἔστι καὶ εἶδος φυτοῦ, περὶ οὗ Βῶλος ὁ Δημοκρίτειος ὅτι Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ περὶ φυτῶν ἐννάτῳ . . The mediate source has perished, the immediate remains.

Γάγγρα· πόλις θηλυκῶς, ἣν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῷ περὶ Παφλαγονίας ἀναγράφει λέγων οὕτως ὅτι Νικόστρατός φησι κτλ.

Γάλλος . . οἱ περίοικοι [κατὰ?] Προμαθίδαν Ποταμογαλληνοί, οὓς παρατίθῃσι ὁ Πολύστωρ. Alexander apparently quoted Promathidas as well as the word.

Δωδώνη . . προσθετέον οὖν τῷ περιηγητῇ Πολέμωνι, καὶ Ἀριστείδῃ τὰ τούτου μεταγεγραφότι.

Κάρυστος . . Ἀλκμὰν ἔφη, καθὰ Στράβων δεκάτῃ.

Πασαργάδαι . . Διότιμος ἐν ἐξηκοστῷ πέμπτῳ παντοδαπῶν ἀναγνωσμάτων, παρατιθέμενος Ἀναξιμένην ἐν μεταλλαγαῖς βασιλέων οὕτω γράφοντα.

The epitomised state of the later part of the *Lexicon* accounts for the omission of many more authorities, primary and secondary. Enough however remains to show Stephanus' method. We notice the signs of the times: epitomes were in vogue,¹ and the earlier grammarians only accessible through the later.²

These instances might be multiplied. I have said nothing of Strabo and little of Athenaeus. The scholia also, especially the dramatic, contain many instances of the use of *σάζεται* and its equivalents.³ The three authors I have quoted make it plain that in the first, second, and fifth or sixth centuries A.D. a serious writer when he quoted otherwise than at first-hand gave the immediate source of his quotation; and conversely that the term 'survival' applied to books bore its full meaning. I do not mean to say that ancient writers never appropriated the learning of their source; on the contrary when the author quoted by the source was in existence they copied the quotation with a light heart, as only too often appears; carelessness must be allowed for, and the accidents of tradition (such as epitomising) which carry away the acknowledgments of the original. But the normal usage of a classical antiquarian was to ascribe works inaccessible to him to their source; and,

¹ See under Ἀρλικία, Ἀσταί, Δύμη, Μαλάκη, Ῥοπεῖς.

² E.g. ὡς Ἑπαφρόδιτος, παρατιθεὶς τὸν Ἀρίσταρχον ἐκδεχόμενον οὕτω (s.v. Δουλίχιον), ὡς Ἡρόδωρος, ὃν παρατίθῃσιν Ἑπαφρόδιτος (s.v. Δρυόπη).

³ *Vit. Eur.* p. 4 v. 9 Schwartz τὰ πάντα δ' ἦν αὐτῷ δράματα ρβ, σάζεται δὲ σή: *Acharn. arg.* i οὐ σώζονται (Cratinus' Χειμαζόμενοι), *schol. Ran.* 13 ἐν τοῖς σωζομένοις αὐτοῦ . . ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀπολωλόσι αὐτοῦ (Phrynichus): 270 διασώζεται καὶ ἔν τισιν ἡ γραφή, 1344 Asclepiades εὔρε Ἀθήνησιν ἔν τινι τῶν διασωθέντων, *Nub.* 144 οὐδὲν δὲ αὐτοῦ διασέσωσται τῶν συγγραμμάτων (Chaerephon!). *Exx. of φέρεσθαι: Pax arg.* iii ἐν τῇ νῦν φερομένη: *schol. Nub.* 549 οὐ

φέρονται αἱ διδασκαλῖαι τῶν δευτέρων Νεφελῶν: 361 φέρεται δὲ καὶ Προδίκου βιβλίον ἐπιγραφόμενον ὦραι: *Ran.* 14 οὐ οὐδὲν φέρεται (Lycis), 1206 οὐ γὰρ φέρεται νῦν Εὐριπίδου λόγος οὐδεὶς τοιοῦτος (the Archelaus). The evidence from Suidas is not abundant; from vol. i. Bernhardt cf. *vit. Aristoph. Suidea*, δράματα δ' αὐτοῦ μδ'. ἅπερ δὲ πεπράχαμεν [= ἐνετύχουμεν, φέρεται] Ἀριστοφάνους δράματα ταῦτα [the existing], Damophilus . . γράψας πάμπολλα, ἐξ ὧν ταῦτά μοι εὔρηται ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν βιβλίων θήκαις. Dionysius Alex. οὐ εἶδρον ὑπόμνημα εἰς Ἑκκλησιαστὴν Σολομῶντος, λίαν εὐφραδές. *Exx. of φέρεται and οὐ φέρεται s. Ἀντέρως, Εὐόδος, Ἑφορος, Ζωναῖος, Ζωροδότρης, Ἡρόδης, Θάμυρις, Θεμιστογενής.*

unless we impute bad faith or levity to Proclus, his distinct statement must be accepted ; and when he says τοῦ ἐπικοῦ κύκλου τὰ ποιήματα διασώζεται, we must believe that the Cycle existed in the fifth century.

This argument blows up the edifice erected by the German critics during the last twenty years. I rest my conclusions on the evidence I have adduced, and consider myself excused from entering into the tortuous assertions of Herrn Bethe and v. Wilamowitz. I will however add some general observations on the subject.

Why is it so lightly assumed as a self-evident proposition, that originals disappear? and that therefore the question is only which 'manual' Proclus copied, the κύκλος of Dionysius Scytobrachion, the handbook of Theodorus the writer of the *Tabula Iliaca*, or the Mythology of Apollodorus? The major premiss at the back of the critics' mind, is I presume that the abstract kills the original.¹ The case occurs ; but you cannot infer to a given instance. The story of the Iliad and Odyssey is embalmed in Apollodorus, in the hypotheses, the *Tabula Iliaca*, in at least three paraphrases, Psellus, Moschopoulos, and Demosthenes Thrax, who was in Eustathius' library. The Iliad and Odyssey are still with us. The story of Demeter from the Homeric Hymn is found in Apollodorus ; the Homeric Hymn was rifled to make an Orphic poem ; the story of Hermes also is told in Apollodorus and the other mythographers, who quote many authorities ; further, after Pausanias, with the exception of a doubtful quotation in Stephanus, there is no mention of the Hymns. The night of time swallowed them : their death might have been inferred on better grounds than that of the Cycle. Why then, when the head of the Neoplatonic school in the fifth century says the Cycle existed, and gives the reason, do we treat him as a patent liar (Bethe's word)? Dionysius of Mytilene's prose Ἀργοναυτικά did not interfere with that of Apollonius, and Theopompus reduced Herodotus to two books without extinguishing the Father of History. Epitome and original often exist together : there is the case of Livy ; Dionysius of Halicarnassus *de Compositione Verborum* and the epitome thereof are printed side by side in the editions. I protest against the view which implies that ancient antiquarians were incapable of serious research, and which limits their diet to the husks of manuals. Such was not the procedure of Timaeus, who says he had spent incredible sums in collecting ὑπομνήματα (Polyb. xii. 28. 1) and that he settled for 50 years at Athens to be at the centre of the book world (ib. xii. 25 d, and 27. 4), or of Diodorus, who celebrates the similar advantages of Rome (i. 4). Do we believe Photius? when the patriarch says ἀνεγνώσθησαν, did he really read? Oh ponderous frivolity ! Get you to Anchises' nurse, search for the name Achilles bore among the virgins.

The Cycle however is lost now. Why? Because the reasons which had kept it alive down to Proclus' time ceased soon after. Stephanus does not quote it,

¹ Even the real, the Alexandrian Apollodorus did not excerpt the Cycle (Bethe p. 602). Why? And when centuries later Hadrian tried to revive Anti-

machus, οὐ μὴδὲ τὸ ὄνομα πολλοὶ πρότερον ἠπίσταντο, did he seek to revive a textbook or a poet?

though as we noted above he has a large range of epic reading. Eustathius in the twelfth century, to judge from his commentary upon the *Odyssey* had hardly anything which we have not. A few glossaries and the like are all his titles which are not now in existence.¹ Now Eustathius quotes the Cycle three times: 1685. 37 κατὰ τὸν πεποιηκότα τὴν κυκλικὴν Θηβαίδα (=Athen. 465 E), 1796. 38 ὁ τὴν Τηλεγόνειαν γράψας Κυρηναῖος, *ib.* ὁ τοὺς νόστους ποιήσας Κολοφώνιος. For the last two quotations there is no other source. Do we then apply the same argument as in the case of Proclus, and bring the life of the Cycle down to the age of the Comneni? Clearly not: (1) on account of the palpable loss of ancient literature between the times of Stephanus and Eustathius; (2) because the first quotation occurs in one of Eustathius' great sources Athenaeus, and Athenaeus who exists largely in an epitome may have originally contained the other two;² (3) because Eustathius, unlike Proclus, makes no overt statement about the survival of the Cycle, but fourthly and principally owing to the closing of the schools by Justinian. As long as ancient philosophy, fed by ancient mythology, was taught, so long there was no reason for the extinction of ancient epos, and it survived. But when Neoplatonism gave place to official Christianity, Moses took the place of Orpheus, and our First Parents supplanted Οὐρανός and Γῆ. The Cycle, having no merit but consecutiveness, quickly atrophied.

If then Proclus' credit on the main question is upheld, it would seem to follow that his wording in detail deserves attention; for instance that v. 8 ἐκ διαφόρων ποιητῶν συμπληρούμενος means, as it purports, 'composed of various poets,' not of a prose abstract of the poems of various poets; and v. 10 when he says τοῦ ἐπικοῦ κύκλου τὰ ποιήματα διασώζεται he does not mean a handbook containing the subjects of the Cycle is in existence, but the poems which form the Epic Cycle. The instances of the word κύκλος applied to literature may be found in Monro or Schwartz, and I will not repeat all of them here. From them it appears that κύκλος was, as Aristotle knew, an ambiguous term: it applied (1) to literature which naturally covered a period or a long action (Ar. *Post. An.* 77 b 31 τὰ ἔπη κύκλος; Soph. *El.* 171 a 9 ἡ τοῦ Ὅμηρου ποίησις σχῆμα διὰ τοῦ κύκλου, Athen. 277 E ἔχαιρε δὲ Σοφοκλῆς τῷ ἐπικῷ κύκλῳ. Surely the Attic bee did not sip from a manual), (2) to a selection or arrangement of literature (Agathias in Suid. *s.v.* καὶ τὸν κύκλον τῶν νέων ἐπιγραμμάτων ὧν αὐτὸς συνῆξεν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ καιρὸν ποιητῶν, (3) to a handbook. (Dionysius Milesius in Suid. *s.v.* κύκλον ἱστορικὸν ἐν βιβλίοις ζ'). There is no reason to confuse the uses, nor to make the last extinguish the first. The first, applied to the whole Tale of Troy (and more) in verse, was a grammarian's term, descriptive of an already existing body of literature, which it was convenient so to classify. It does not imply an interference

¹ He quotes Alcman (1892. 45), Alcaeus (1902. 52), Theopompus (1854. 18, 1863. 50), Callinus or Philetas, the edition of Aristarchus (1885. 51), through third persons; Philoxenus (1570. 37) through the scholia; and, well for him, has the equivalent of σώζεσθαι about the Cyclops: 1850. 38 ὁ μεχρὶ νῦν

ἐδρισκόμενος Εὐριπίδειος Κύκλωψ.

² Similarly the grammarians Megalides (1594. 30) and Philyllius, etc. (1571. 5), whom Eustathius cites without authority, probably came from the scholia, more abundant in his day than they are now.

with or adaptation of the original poems any more than the 'Αρχαία, Μέση, and Νέα κωμωδία of the grammarians, or the Alexandrian Πλειάς.

The discrepancies between Proclus' abstract and the quotations of the Cycle on which the hypothesis of the existence of a manual called Κύκλος, after the disappearance of the Cycle, has been based, are examined in the next section.

T. W. ALLEN.

(To be continued.)

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 31. Nos. 2 and 3. 1907.

Palaemon-Melkart, Louis Havet. On Plautus *Rud.* 161 'Hercules Opitulus' is proposed for 'Herculis socius' of MSS. *Observations on Plautus* (continued). On *Capt.* 920, *Cas.* 143, 230-1, 271, 313, 332, 347, 613, *Cist.* 88 (Ter. *Andr.* 392, *Most.* 779, *Rud.* 823), 95, 101, 111, 156, 531, 616, 744, the same. *The Argument of Achilles.* Commentary on Aristotle *Phys.* vi. 9, by Theodorus Metochites d. A.D. 1332, C. E. Ruelle. Text and translation. *The 'dossier' of Gaudentius Donatist Bishop of Thamugadi*, Paul Monceaux. *Ennius Achilles ap. Non.* 147. Louis Havet. *Pro machaera turturem*, Plaut. *Bacch.* 68, Ph. E. Legrand. Plautus appears to have misread τρυγῶνα for τρύγωνα in his Greek original. *Velleius Paternulus*, ii. 88. 2, Paul Lejay. Read 'angusti clavi praemio contentus.' *Tertullian de Praescriptione Haereticorum* xlv. 4, P. de Labriolle. *Plautus Captivi*, Georges Romain. Notes on 184, 551 sqq. 612 (l. Quid agam), 928. *On some eras employed by the Byzantines*, Daniel Serruys. *To what extent improvement is possible in the text of Fortunatus*, E. Rey. Critical discussion of nine passages. *Latin sclareia*, Antoine Thomas. This is not the name of a musical instrument as generally supposed but of a plant 'clary,' as explained in T. H. Key's dictionary. The mistake may be due to a misprint in Georges. *On a passage of the De Finibus*, G. Rodier. On the well-known crux *de Fin.* iv § 50 regarding the sorites. *Bulletin bibliographique.*

Rivista di Filologia e d' Istruzione Classica. Vol. 35. No. 3. 1907.

On some points in the biography of Statius, Giacomo Giri, 1. Date of Statius's birth. His age when married to Claudia. 2. Date of his father's death and of his own victory in the competition at Naples. 3. The cause of Statius' removing to Naples. The year of his Capitoline defeat. 4. On the censure passed on Statius for publishing the *Silvae*. The question whether Quintilian (x. 3. 17) refers to Statius is discussed. *Addenda to the Corp. J. L.* (continued from vol. 34. p. 579), F. Eusebio. *On the Herculanum papyrus* No. 817, Giovanni Ferrara. Neither the Bodleian nor the Neapolitan copy of the fragments of the so-called *De bello Actiaco* is complete. The writer intends to publish what more can be made out for the benefit of scholars. *Dalmatian and Latin a propos of a recent publication*, Clemente Merlo. Criticisms on M. G. Bartoli's *Das Dalmatische* (5 vols.) published by the Vienna Academy. *Note on Persius*, 1. 58 sqq., Pietro Rasi. Reads in 60 'nec linguae, quantum sitiat canis Appula, tantae' and understands 'linguae tantae' as plural. *On ps.-Verg. Catalept.* 1, Oreste Nazari. *On another obscure epigram attributed to Virgil* (Catalept. 11), Ettore De Marchi. *Quintilian as flatterer*, Augusto Balsamo. The eulogies of Domitian cannot be ironical. *On the Poem of Lucretius*, the same. It shows manifest traces of having been edited by another hand. Reviews: Bick's *Horazkritik seit 1880*, Pietro Rasi. Amerigo Rivoiro's *La figura di Socrate in Aristofane*, Ettore Bignone. Achille Parravicini's *Studio di Retorica sulle opere di Claudio Claudiano* and Luigi Ceci's *Grammatica Latina ad uso delle scuole*, Gaetano Curcio. F. Schubert's *Sophokles Oidipus Tyrannos*, Angelo Taccone, A. Bersi's *Anabasis of Xenophon*, Achille Cosattini. Joannes Helch's *Der Cratetis Mallotae studiis criticis quae ad Iliadem spectant*, Augusto Balsamo. *Summaries of Periodicals*, Domenico Bassi.

Mnemosyne. 35. 3. 1907.

H. T. Karsten, *De Commentis Donatiani comp. et orig.* (contd.). Scholia inserted by the editor, mainly in the Phormio commentary. His work on Phormio II. 3. The fourth class

of scholia. Van Leeuwen, *Ad Aristoph. Ran.* 186. The words of Photius and Suidas (on ὄνου πόκας) suggest that Ὀκνου πλοκαί had been already suggested by Aristarchus. H. van Herwerden, *Ad Procopium* (contd.). Notes on the Ἀνέκδοτα and Haury's text. Van Leeuwen, *Ad Schol. Aristoph. Ran.* 501. J. Vürtheim, Ὁ Αἰτναῖος μέγιστος κάνθαρος. On the tetradrachms of the city of Aetna appeared the scarabaeus, and the Athenians scoffed at the person (? Hiero) *qui foetido ateucho ad nummos noui imperii uti statuerat*. J. W. Bierma, *De Ennii fragmentis*. Based on Vahlen.² Deals with arrangement of fragments and, mainly, the text: e.g. 67 *postquam sistit se fluuius*, 90 *se radiis dedit apta foras lux* (cp. 339 *nox stellis apta*), 100 *nisi tu iam mi . . . das poenas* (*nisi* almost = *certe*: cp. Ter. *Andr.* 663, Plaut. *Stich.* 269), 282 *quae ferri puluis*. v. L., *Ad Arist. Ran.* 1196 ὥς εἰ 'στρατήγησεν, 'as (happy as) if . . .' Both ὥς and καί were abbreviated to ζ.

35.4. 1907.

K. Kuiper, *De Pirithoo fabula Euripidea*. Defends against Wilamowitz-Moellendorf the Euripidean authorship of the Pirithous. The Piraic inscription, the Schol. on *Orest.* 982, a gloss on which part of the schol. on Apoll. Rhod. 4.143 is founded, and Plutarch offer sufficient external evidence: internally, the metre, diction, and thought of the fragment's point the same way. Under the last head the views of E. on the effect of training on man's nature (Fragments 597, 598) and theology (Fragmm. 593, 594) are discussed. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum*. Quomodo adulator 4: read συνεκπίπτουσιν for συνεμπ. J. C. Naber, *Observ. de iure Romano* (contd.). 97 De pignore legitimo. 98 Quomodo satisfactio euitetur. H. v. Herwerden, *Platonica* (contd.). On *Republic, Timaeus, Critias*. J. J. H., *Ad Hor. ep.* 1. 16. 51. Read *suspensos laqueos*. H. T. Karsten, *De Commentis Donatiani comp. et orig.* (contd.). Additions by various *magistri*. Scholia where the sources are named or indicated by words like *quidam*. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchi de Tranq. An.* 1. The words τῶν φυσικῶν παθῶν are the remains of a note on the next sentence, running something like ὁ τοῦ σώματος κόσμος οὐκ ἀπαλλάττει τῶν φυσικῶν παθῶν. S. A. Naber, *Addimenta ad Cobeti operum conspectum*, Addenda to article in Vol. 34, p. 430.

Rheinisches Museum. 62. 3. 1907.

F. Solmsen, *Vordorisches in Lakonien*. Epigraphic evidence for shortening of κατά before other letters than dentals in Laconia: this, like the change of σ between vowels to an aspirate, probably a relic of the pre-Dorian language. P. Wessner, *Der Terenzkommentar des Eugraphius* (contd.) 3. Relations between the α Mss. 4. Our Eugraphius MSS. represent a very small area—all seem traceable to Northern France, with Paris as the most southerly station. 5. Eugraphius. Terence MSS. text midway between Bembe and family δ. Summary: α the outcome of a commentary based on a Terence MS. which contained a combination of Eugraphian notes with those of the Commentum recens, β descendants of a single MS. of Eugraphius, which can be traced to N. France. G. Friedrich, *Zu Martial*. Emends ix. 47. 5, xi. 49. 3, *Sp.* 4. 3, vii. 47. 5, x. 5. 5, viii. 30. 6; defends MSS. at xii. 52. 9–10, the reading of PQω at xi. 90. 3; explains i. 68, xiv. 189, *Sp.* 23 and iii. 20. 8. W. Crönert, *Neue Lesungen des Didymospapyrus*. E. Diehl, *Das Signum*. Adds to Mommsen's list many names which he claims to be *signa* (e.g. from 'acclamations' in epitaphs, greetings on goblets and rings). They denote membership of clubs of various kinds, taking their names from e.g. abstract ideas (Constantia, Concordia), gods and heroes, countries and places, etc. F. Rühl, *Die Makrobier des Lukianos*. Most of the statements as to the ages of famous personages due simply to calculations made by the author—for which purpose he uses a chronicle not quite the same as that of Eustathius, perhaps that of Thallus. E. Bethe, *Die dorische Knabenliebe*. Puerorum amorem apud Doricos quidem cum institutis eorum militariis arte cohaerere: credi enim amatorem uirtutem suam in coitu alteri inspirare posse: cf. εἰσπνήλας, etc. *Miscellen*: F. B., *Coniectanea*. J. M. Stahl, *Zu Thukydides*, ii. 52. 4, θήκη simply *sepultura*: cp. Plat. *Rep.* 427 b; iii. 39. 6 πάντες γάρ means 'all the democrats' and the object of ἐπέθεντο is 'the oligarchs': ἐν τῇ πόλει εἶναι 'enjoy full franchise.' G. Crönert, *Animaduersiones in Photii fragm. Berol.* G. Mercati, *Eustathianum*. The Laurentine Eustathius was sent to Rome by order of Clement VII sometime before May 16, 1536. See Rh. Mus. 62. 289 sqq. G. Némethy, *Zur Ciris-Frage*. The Ciris a forgery like the Culex: parallelisms to the pseudo-Tibulliana in both poems. P. Thielscher, *Zu den Maniliushandschriften*. A. Zimmermann, *Zur Entstehung des Gentilnamens des Dichters Plautus*. Maccius an Oscan name, the Atellani originally performed

in Oscan and by Campanians: may not the Roman citizens who afterwards acted them have called themselves (and their guild) by the name *Maccii*? T. Birt, *κεφαλὴς als Buchterminus*. 'Roll.' L. Friedländer, *Petronianum*. A performance of the 'Banquet' at the Russian court in 1751.

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. 19. 7. 1907.

A. Busse, *Der Schauplatz der Kämpfe vor Troja*. An investigation of Plin. N.H. 5.33 and Strabo xiii. 595, 597 suggests that in their time (or that of their sources) the Scamander (Mendere) flowed, as now, on the W. side of the plain and in its lower course presented much the same features as it does to-day, being joined, not far from its mouth, by the Simois (Dumbrek-Tschai). The Homeric descriptions (e.g. Λ 497, where ἐπ' ἀριστερά is from Trojan standpoint) justify us in assuming that much the same was the case at the time when the poems arose. K. Dieterich, *Römer—Romäer—Romanen*. The Eastern Empire: its lack of colonising instinct, its inorganic centralisation really centrifugal (that of Russia: the W. empire represents England), subservience of its art to the church, lyrics ruined by lack of romantic spirit. Yet it produced what Rome and Italy never produced, a popular epic. Its ecclesiastical art influenced N. Italy, its popular traditions and institutions S. Italy and Sicily. Fresh air brought into the cloisters by the conquest of Constantinople in 1204. Whilst the Franks could not long maintain their feudal state of Peloponnesus, Venice was more successful with the isles of the Archipelago: the Cretan popular poetry of the sixteenth and seventeenth century represents an amalgamation of Greek and Latin elements, and paves the way for sound development of the new Greek literature. *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: H. Lechat's *Pythagoras de Rhégion* and *Phidias et la sculpture grecque*, etc. noticed by W. Amelung, who in a *Nachtrag* on Studniczka's article on the Tyrannicides (*N.J.* 1906, pp. 545 *sqq.*) seems to think we really know nothing of the Antenor group; Πλάτων ἐξ ἑρμηνείας καὶ διορθώσεως Σπ. Μωραΐτου I. (Introd., Apology, Crito, Gorgias) favourably noticed by O. Apelt; L. Hahn's *Rom und Romanismus im griech-röm. Osten* reviewed by K. Dieterich. 'The main thing is that we have here a beginning—and one full of promise—of the treatment of a theme which offers still richer prospect for the later centuries, up to Justinian.'

19. 8. 1907.

E. Zitelmann, *Der Rhythmus des fünffüssigen Jambus*. F. Bölte, *Rhapsodische Vortragskunst*. The question of the technique of those who recited the Homeric poems closely connected with that of their interpretation. The speech of Apollo in X 8 *sqq.*, the Thersites-scene, and the beginning of H examined from this point of view show that the rhapsodists went far in giving dramatic form to their readings, breaking up the hexameters into longer or shorter cola in order to heighten the mimetic effect. All this clearest in the later parts of the work. P. Corssen, *Zur Erklärung der Römeroden des Horaz*. Odes III 3. Neither Augustus nor Antonius can have thought seriously of rebuilding Troy and transferring the seat of empire thither. Juno's warning means really 'Avoid foreign influence: preserve the distinctive Roman character.' Cp. Verg. *Aen.* 12. 827–8. This thought the outcome of the struggle between Augustus and Antony: the ode reflects that struggle and the civil wars in general more closely than has yet been understood. As for the first stanzas, a careful analysis of the previous ode (where *silentio* of l. 25 means 'avoidance of glory,' and the reference is ultimately to Maecenas) shows that they refer to Cato of Utica. O. Harnack, *Zum hundertsten Geburtstag F. T. Vischers*. *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: W. Helbig's *Lesippius athéniens* and *Zur Geschichte des röm. Equitatus* reviewed by Lammert, who whilst welcoming the work of one who is a master of the archaeological material and has used all that was available, combats his view that the Greek and Roman 'knights' were at first simply mounted hoplites, who rode to the field of battle and there dismounted, remounting only to retire or to pursue the routed enemy.

Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie. 1907.

3 July. R. Richter, *De ratione codicum Laur. Plut. 69, 2 et Vatic. 126 in extrema Thucydidis historiarum parte* (S. Widmann), favourable. E. Hohmann, *Plato ein Vorgänger Kants?* (J. Kaufsen), favourable. Directed against Natorp's *Platos Ideenlehre*. P. Foucart, *Étude sur Didymos d'après un papyrus de Berlin* (W. Crönert), favourable. F. Gaffiot, *Ecqui fuerit si particulae in interrogando latine usus* and *Le subjonctif de Subordination en*

Latin (H. Blase), favourable of both. W. Altmann, *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit* (C. Watzinger). 'A rich collection of material hitherto imperfectly known.' V. Ussani, *La questione e la critica del così detto Egesippo* (C. Weyman), favourable.

10 July. P. Gardner, *A Grammar of Greek Art* (B. Graef), very favourable. H. Schmidt, *Jona. Eine Untersuchung zur vergleichenden Religionsgeschichte* (C. Fries), favourable. B. Powell, *Erichthonius and the three daughters of Cecrops* (H. Steuding). P. Foucart, *Sénatus-Consulte de Thisbé* (H. Gillischewski), favourable. O. Güthling, *Erklärende Anmerkungen zu Arrians Cynegeticus* (E. Pollack), favourable. P. Werner, *De incendiis urbis Romae aetate imperatorum* (R. Pohl). 'Gives a short and clear collection of the material.'

17 July. *Thucydides* erkl. von J. Classen. 6. Band (Book VI). 3. Aufl. von J. Steup (P. Widmann). H. Francotte, *Le pain à bon marché et le pain gratuit dans les cités grecques* (H. Gillischewski), very favourable. E. K. Rand, *A Harvard Manuscript of Ovid, Palladius and Tacitus* (Ed. Wolff). P. Wendland, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zu Judentum und Christentum* (Soltau). 'Deserves a warm welcome.'

24 July. Bacchilide, *Epinici, ditirambi e frammenti*, di A. Taccone (J. Sitzler), favourable. Guil. Schroeter, *De Simonidis Cei melici sermone quaestiones* (L. Weber), favourable. J. Bick, *Horazkritik seit 1880* (J. Häussner), favourable. C. Hosius, *De imitatione scriptorum Romanorum imprimis Lucani* (Helm), very favourable. *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*, cur. E. Nestle and *Novum Testamentum Latine*, cur. E. Nestle (W. Soltau), favourable of both. X. Hürth, *De Gregorii Nazianzeni orationibus funebribus* (J. Dräseke), favourable.

7 Aug. J. Engel, *Ethnographisches zum Homerischen Kriegs- und Schützlingsrecht* (Chr. Harder), favourable on the whole. W. Bernhardt, *De allitterationis apud Homerum usu* (J. Sitzler), favourable. G. Kazarow, *Zur Geschichte der sozialen Revolution in Sparta* (Schneider), favourable. J. Sundwall, *De institutis rei publicae Atheniensium post Aristotelis aetatem commutatis*. I. (Schneider), very favourable. *Ciceronis orationes pro Sex. Roscio, de imperio Pompei, pro Cluentio, in Catilinam, pro Murena, pro Caelio*, rec. A. C. Clark (J. Tolkiehn), favourable. J. J. Hartman, *Analecta Tacitea* (Ed. Wolff), favourable on the whole. Reprinted from *Mnemosyne*. Fr. v. Duhn, *Pompeji, eine hellenistische Stadt in Italien* (H. Belling), rather unfavourable. *Mélanges H. d'Arbois de Jubainville* (A. Holder). A collection of dissertations on Celtic literature and history in honour of the veteran Celtic philologist.

14 Aug. Guil. Deecke, *De Hectoris et Aiakis certamine singulari* (Chr. Harder), rather unfavourable. V. Costanzi, *Saggio di Storia Tessalica*. I. (Schneider), favourable. O. Kern, *De epigrammate Larisaeo commentariolus* (H. Steuding). A. Rahm, *Über den Zusammenhang zwischen Choraliedern und Handlung in den erhaltenen Dramen des Sophokles (und Euripides)* (H. Draheim), favourable on the whole. G. Bohnenblust, *Beiträge zum Topos περί φιλίας* (A. Bonhöffer), very favourable. P. Linde, *De Epicuri vocabulis ab optima Atthide alienis* (Helbing), favourable. C. O. Thulin, *Die etruskische Disziplin*. I. *Die Blitzlehre*. II. *Die Haruspizin* (H. Steuding), very favourable. C. O. Thulin, *Italische sakrale Poesie und Prosa* (H. G.), very favourable. E. Rosenberg, *Zu Horaz und Cicero* (K. Loeschhorn), favourable. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, herausg. von O. Stählin. I. *Protrepticus und Paedagogus*. II. *Stromata* I.-VI. (J. Dräseke), very favourable.

28 Aug. Fr. Cumont et E. Cumont, *Studia Pontica*. II. *Voyage d'exploration archéologique dans le Pont et la petite Arménie* (P. Goessler), favourable. A. Malinin, *Hat Dörpfeld die Enneakrunos-Episode bei Pausanias tatsächlich gelöst oder auf welchem Wege kann diese gelöst werden?* (W. Dörpfeld), unfavourable. J. Kromayer, *Antike Schlachtfelder in Griechenland*. II. *Von Kynoskephalae bis Pharsalos* (R. Oehler), very favourable. G. Kropatscheck, *De amuletorum apud antiquos usu capita duo* (L. Denbuer), 'A useful piece of work.' R. Sabbadini, *I codici Milanesi del De Officiis di Cicerone*. Senecas *Apokolokyntosis*, herausg. von A. Marx (W. Gemoll). 'Though intended for schools is useless for them, being without a commentary.' *Tacita opera*, rec. J. Müller. Ed. maior, vol. II. *Historias et opera minora continens*. Ed. altera (E. Wolff). *Spruchwörterbuch*, herausg. von Fr. v. Lipperheide. Lief. 21, 22 (Fr. H.), favourable.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL.

American Journal of Archaeology. Part 2. 1907.

1. C. R. Morey: The arming of an Ephebe on a Princeton vase. (Two plates and cut.) Publishes an early B. F. amphora shewing the official arming of an ephebos in the sixth century; most monuments with this subject are of later date. [There does not appear to be much in the scene depicted to differentiate it from ordinary arming.]
2. Alice Walton: An unpublished Amphora and an eye-Cylix signed by Amasis in the Boston Museum. (Two plates; two cuts.) Publishes an amphora from the Bourguignon collection, shewing Amasis at his best; the subjects are the rape of the Delphic tripod and Thetis bringing the armour to Achilles. Also a fragment of a kylix, the only one known by this artist.
3. W. H. Goodyear: The discovery by Prof. G. Giovannoni of curves in plan concave to the exterior in the façade of the temple at Cori. (Nine plates.) Discusses curvilinear refinements in the architecture of this temple, shewing that they contravene the received view of optical corrections by means of convex curves, and consequently disprove Penrose's theories. The use of concave curves in more recent buildings, such as Pisa Cathedral, is also discussed.
4. A. W. van Buren: An inscription of the charioteer Menander. (Cut.) An inscription supposed to be a memorial tablet of Menander's successes in A.D. 15.
5. P. Baur: Pre-Roman antiquities of Spain. (14 cuts.) Summary of recent discoveries, describing objects in British Museum and Louvre, including pottery of quasi-'Aegean' character.
6. C. D. Curtis: Coins from Asia Minor. (Plate.) An account of coins collected in 1904 from Cilicia, etc.
7. Archaeological Discussions, July-Dec. 1906, *ed.* J. M. Paton.
8. Bibliography of archaeological books, 1906, *ed.* J. M. Paton.

Jahrbuch des deutschen archaologischen Instituts. xxii. Heft 1. 1907.

1. J. Six: Nealkes. (One cut.) Discusses Nealkes as a miniature-painter compared with Protogenes as a master of large style.
2. F. Studniczka: More on the shrines on the Kitharodos-reliefs. (Cut.) Supplementary note to paper in vol. xxi, correcting statements about the temple at Delphi.
3. E. Petersen: Parthenon and Opisthodomos. Disputes some points in Michaelis' explanation of the latter term (*Jahrbuch*, xvi. p. 24) and discusses the use of the term in literature and inscriptions.
4. E. Maass: The contest over Temesa. Discusses what is known of the temple of Hera Lakinia, the springs of Leuka, the painting described by Pausanias (vi. 6. 11) of the story of Euthymos, and the poem of Callimachus on his conversion into a hero, pointing out what light they throw on the contest between Euthymos and Alybas over Temesa.

Anzeiger.

- (1) Excavations in Numantia. A. Schulten. (13 cuts.)
- (2) Berlin Arch. Gesellschaft, December meeting. (Five cuts.)
- (3) Notices.
- (4) Bibliography.

H. B. W.

NUMISMATIC.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part 2. 1907.

Sir H. Howorth. *Some Notes on Coins attributed to Parthia.* Compare *Classical Quarterly*, vol. i, p. 95.—F. Haverfield and G. Macdonald. *Greek Coins at Exeter.* The writers examine the composition of the various hoards of Greek coins alleged to have been

dug up at Exeter in the nineteenth century, and show that such finds must have been due to hoaxes or frauds. 'Greek Coins or other non-Italian coins from the Mediterranean, whether minted during the Roman Empire or in earlier days, are very uncommon in Britain,' and many supposed instances of the finding of such coins prove, on investigation, to be unfounded: in such a case are the 'numerous Greek coins' of Verulam, the 'Carthaginian' coins of Bath, and a Worcester hoard of Greek coins which was 'purposely buried by an archaeological lady.'—P. H. Webb. *The Coinage of Carausius*. The second part of the monograph begun in the previous number of the *Numismatic Chronicle*: it consists of descriptions, 493 in number, arranged in tabular form under the mints of London and Colchester.—Sir John Evans has a note (pp. 272 f.) on some silver coins of Carausius with the inscription *RENOVAT. ROMAN.* which he suggests may mean 'Renovatio Romanorum Numorum,' such pieces being, possibly, called *Romani*. His remark that 'in early mediaeval times there was a gold coin called the "Romanatus" or "Romaninus"' hardly, however, supports or illustrates his contention, because the coin in question—a gold 'bezant'—was not named from 'Rome,' but from one of the Byzantine Emperors who bore the name 'Romanus.' So, 'Michalati' were called after an Emperor Michael and 'Manulati' from an Emperor Manuel. There is a bare possibility, it is further suggested, that the puzzling exergual mark R S R 'might be interpreted *ROMANUS SIGNATUS RUTUPIAE*.'

Journal international d'archéologie numismatique. Vol. ix. Part 4. 1906.

The whole of this part is taken up by Svoronos's descriptive account, with four plates, of the numismatic acquisitions of the National Museum of Athens during the year 1905–6. Excavations at Delos have especially enriched the collection, notably in the Athenian series and in the Roman Republic coins of the time of M. Antonius.

Rivista italiana di numismatica. Part 2. 1907.

F. Gnechi. Descriptions of Imperial coins.—G. Dattari. *Nuova teoria sulle monete Romane d'orichalcum e dei sistemi monetari di Augusto e di Nerone*. The conclusions arrived at are:—the relation between copper and orichalcum was as 48 to 64 and not 7 to 12. Coins of orichalcum have a higher value than those of copper. The systems of Augustus and Nero are not semi-uncial. The coins of bronze which at present are classified as 'semis' and 'quadrans' belong to three divisions called 'libella,' 'sembella,' and 'teruncius.' T = the uncia; II, the sextans.—L. Corraa. *Ripostiglio di denari repubblicani di Roma*.

Revue numismatique. Part 2. 1907.

G. Seure. *Nouvelles monnaies de Kabylé de Thrace*.—Froehner. *Les monnaies coloniales de Corinthe*. On coins bearing the names of Duumviri. If the size of the *flan* permits, the two magistrates (till the reign of Claudius) both place their names on the coin, but two varieties of the coin are struck, on which the *order* of the two names is varied; thus, on one variety the magistrate A stands first, and B second; on the other variety B has the first place and A the second. Where there is not room for both names on the same coin, two varieties are struck, one signed by A alone, the other signed by B alone.—E. Gohl. *Usine monétaire et fonderie celtique à Szalacska (Hongrie)*. The find includes some Celtic coins and dies used for making such coins (Plates III–VI).—Review, from the numismatic side, of V. Chapot's 'La Province romaine proconsulaire d'Asie,' by Dieudonné.

WARWICK WROTH.

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

APRIL 1908.

THE EPIC CYCLE.

(Continued from page 74.)

III.

I WILL next briefly enumerate the evidence for the separate poems, beginning with the Trojan series.

Cypria.—In eleven books. The authorship was reserved by Proclus for discussion at the end of the Cycle:¹ actually in Photius' version p. 4 vv. 14 sq. he mentions as candidates Stasinus of Cyprus and Hegesinus of Salamis, and that Homer gave the poems as a dowry with his daughter to Stasinus. Athenaeus 682 D also gives as alternative authors Hegesias [sic] and Stasinus; and quotes Demodamas in his work on Halicarnassus (*F.H.G.* ii. 44) as making a statement on the subject; unfortunately the passage is defective and the bearing therefore uncertain.² Neither Stasinus nor Hegesias has notices in Suidas. The story that the poems were the dowry of Homer's daughter goes back to Pindar ap. Aelian. ix. 15 (fr. 265) but without the bridegroom's name. The Homeric authorship was combated by Herodotus of Halicarnassus in a well-known passage on internal grounds: ii. 117 κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἔπεα καὶ τόδε τὸ χωρίον [Z 289-291] οὐκ ἦκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα δηλοῖ ὅτι οὐκ Ὅμηρον τὰ Κύπρια ἔπεά ἐστι ἀλλ' ἄλλου τινός· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖσι Κυπρίοισι εἴρηται ὡς τριταῖος ἐκ Σπάρτης Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπύκετο ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον ἄγων Ἑλένην, εὐαί τε πνεύματι χρησάμενος καὶ θαλάσση λείῃ· ἐν δὲ Ἰλιάδι λέγει ὡς ἐπλάζετο ἄγων αὐτήν. Proclus however makes the *Cypria* agree with the *Iliad*: χειμῶνα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐφίστησιν Ἥρα, καὶ προσενεχθεῖς Σιδῶνι ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος

¹ *Ante*, p. 67. The *Cypria* owe their position in Suidas' list of the minor Homeric works to this circumstance (Suid. in Ὅμηρος: . . . Ἐπιθαλάμια, Κύκλος, Ὕμνοι, Κύπρια).

² Δημοδόμας γὰρ ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς ἢ Μιλήσιος ἐν
NO. VI. VOL. II.

τῷ περὶ Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ Κύπρια Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς δ' αὐτὰ εἶναι φησι ποιήματα. D.'s point was that the *Cypria* were not Cyprian but the work of a native of Halicarnassus. The name of his candidate has fallen out. He can hardly have run Panyasis.

αἶρεῖ τὴν πόλιν. I admit I do not know what the explanation of this discrepancy is: there is no evidence. The critics however are more confident, and lay the blame on Proclus, who followed a κύκλος, or followed Apollodorus who gives the same account (*Epit.* 3. 4). After my general proof that Proclus epitomised the poems themselves, the argument does not disturb me, but I may point out, with Wagner (p. 255) that Apollodorus is not an epitome of the Cycle but a general history of the heroic period, derived from all sources, including the Cycle, Stesichorus, and Tragedy (he quotes the Cycle once in this part of his work 5. 14 ὁ τὴν μικρὰν γράψας Ἰλιάδα). Naturally, he as a rule follows Homer. We know nothing about the contents of any κύκλος (handbook). I therefore conclude that the *Cypria* of Proclus' day differed in this passage from the *Cypria* of Herodotus. How did the difference arise? Not I think as Monro says (p. 344) owing to this passage of Herodotus: Herodotus argued in favour of non-Homeric authorship, and this became the usual opinion; his tendency therefore would not be to harmonise the *Cypria*. I suggest there were, as in the Catalogue,¹ and in the older papyri generally, substantial variants in the Cycle; and that one of these (which need not have run to more than a line or two) occurred in this passage. The natural influence of the Iliad and Odyssey led to the disappearance of the anti-Homeric version.² Proclus' last sentence (κατάλογος τῶν τοῖς Τρωσὶ συμμαχισάντων) which states that the *Cypria* gave, immediately after the death of Palamedes and as the last subject in the poem, a Trojan catalogue, has suggested a similar objection. Apollodorus (*epit.* 3. 34) gives a catalogue of Trojan allies who arrived in the ninth year, and the list is the same as that in B. Hence it is argued Proclus took his statement not from the *Cypria* but from a manual or from Apollodorus (Bethe, p. 611). The answer is obvious, that Apollodorus constructs a consecutive story: and what is decisive, he transports the ordinary Greek catalogue to Aulis (*ep.* 3. 11); but strange to say Proclus who ex hypothesi had Apollodorus open before him, does not ascribe a Greek catalogue to the *Cypria* (so Wagner, p. 252). The poet's reason, if we may conjecture (with Monro, p. 351), was to supplement the meagre Trojan catalogue of Homer in the light of better knowledge of Asia and the wish of dynasts (Gyges?) to have fought against Agamemnon.

Aethiopsis.—In five books, by Arctinus of Miletus. Arctinus has a circumstantial notice in Suidas: Ἀρκτίνος, Τήλεω τοῦ Ναύτεω ἀπογόνου, Μιλήσιος, ἐποποιός, μαθητὴς Ὁμήρου, ὡς λέγει ὁ Κλαζομένιος Ἀρτέμων ἐν τῇ περὶ Ὁμήρου. γεγωνὸς κατὰ τὴν θ' Ὀλυμπιάδα μετὰ τετρακόσια ἔτη τῶν Τρωικῶν. (*F.H.G.* iv. 314.) Artemon wrote ὥροι Κλαζομενίων: he may be supposed to have given annalistic, not critical dates, and this sort of evidence is the best which we enjoy.³ Ol. 7 = 744; plus 400 years = 1144. The reference to the Τρωικά

¹ *E.g.* B 557, 8, 563, 568, 609, 783, 798, 848, 855, 866.

² Bethe also (pp. 613, 614) ascribes the change to the working of Homer, but will have it that the Poems affected the abstract, not the actual Cypria.

³ *E.g.* the Parian marble: Hippostratus who dates Cynaethus (*F.H.G.* iv. 432): the unfortunately mutilated testimony of Demodamas, p. 17 n.

guarantees the century which Artemon meant; the exact olympiad is indifferent. (The Eusebian chronicle gives ol. 1.)

It would seem to be an accident that as Monro notices (p. 378) Arctinus two poems are not ascribed to Homer. They are never cited before the period at which it was considered safer to make guarded attributions.

Ilias parva.—In four books, by Lesches of Mytilene. Lesches has no notice in Suidas, but information about him is given by Clement of Alexandria I. p. 144 = 333 A: Φανείας δὲ πρὸ Τερπάνδρου τιθεῖς Λέσχην τὸν Λέσβιον, Ἀρχιλόχου νεώτερον φέρει τὸν Τέρπανδρον, διημιλλῆσθαι δὲ τὸν Λέσχην Ἀρκτίνῳ καὶ νενικηκέναι. Phanias is the peripatetic, a native of Eresos, and therefore a countryman of Lesches.¹ The work from which Clement quotes is doubtless the *περὶ ποιητῶν* mentioned on a similar subject by Athen. 352 C: Φαινίας ὁ περιπατητικὸς ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ ποιητῶν Στρατόνικος, φησὶν, ὁ Ἀθηναῖος δοκεῖ τὴν πολυχορδίαν εἰς τὴν ψιλὴν κιθάρισιν πρῶτος εἰσενεγκεῖν κτλ. We have therefore local interest supported by the encyclopaedic learning of Aristotle's school. The resultant date 'before Terpander' is vague, but at all events does not clash with the statement, natural enough, that he 'contested with' Arctinus. Nothing is recorded to drag Lesches further down. The aera of Terpander according to the *Marmor Parium* and Eusebius is ol. 33.2 = B.C. 646.

There were however other candidates, as in the case of the Cypria: the scholiast on Eur. *Troad.* 821 names Thestorides of Phocaea, Cinaethon the Lacedaemonian (on the authority of Hellanicus), and Diodorus of Erythrae. As Cinaethon was the reputed author of the *Oedipodea*, Hellanicus' attribution is perhaps critical, based on similarity of style, as when Pausanias (v. 19. 10) attributes the inscriptions on the Chest of Cypselus to Eumelus. Hellanicus would then have exercised much the same critical judgment as Herodotus.

The ancients disputed Lesches' claim to the Little Iliad: it was reserved to the moderns to question his personality. Prof. Karl Robert (*Bild und Lied*, p. 227) wished to make him the man of the λέσχη, because Pausanias quoted him to explain Polygnotus' pictures in the Delphian Λέσχη. This was too much even for Wilamowitz (*Hom. Unt.* 341) who however threw out the suggestion that the form under which Pausanias quotes him, Λέσχεως, was a mistake for the genitive of Λέσχης. This pleasantry sown in 1884, came up in 1893 in the form of a well-nourished controversy (*Rhein. Mus.* 1893, ff. 290 and 626). I am given to understand, on application in philological quarters, that proper names are usually exceptions to rules, and there is not enough evidence to show that the parallel nominatives Λέσχης Λέσχεως are impossible. The evidence consists of

ἄρεως, ἄρεω (Ar.) ἄρεος gen. Ξ 485.

μηκιστέως (vulg.), μηκιστέος (some MSS), μηκιστεω P. Tebt. 265, gen. B 566.

πανδαρέου, πανδάρεω, πανδάρεως gen. τ 518.

πείρεω, πείρεως (Zen.) gen. Υ 484.

τυνδαρέου, τυνδάρεω, τυνδάρεως gen. λ 298.

¹ Suidas: Φανείας ἢ Φαινίας, Ἐρέσιος, φιλόσοφος Περιπατητικὸς, Ἀριστοτέλους μαθητὴς: see *F.H.G.* ii. 298.

Lesches is our authority for an important literary anecdote. Plut. *Conv. sept. sap.* 153 F=c. 10 ἀκούομεν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ πρὸς τὰς Ἀμφιδάμαντος ταφὰς εἰς Χαλκίδα τῶν τότε σοφῶν οἱ δοκιμώτατοι ποιηταὶ συνῆλθον ἦν δ' ὁ Ἀμφιδάμας ἀνὴρ πολεμικός, καὶ πολλὰ πράγματα παρασχὼν Ἑρετριεῦσιν ἐν ταῖς περὶ Δηλάντου μάχαις ἔπεισεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ παρεσκευασμένα τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἔπη χαλεπὴν καὶ δύσκολον ἐποίει τὴν κρίσιν διὰ τὸ ἐφάμιλλον, ἣ τε δόξα τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν, Ὀμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου, πολλὴν ἀπορίαν μετ' αἰδοῦς τοῖς κρίνουσι παρέιχεν, ἐτράποντο πρὸς τοιαύτας ἐρωτήσεις, καὶ προὔβαλ' ὁ μὲν, ὥς φησι Δέσχης

μοῦσά μοι ἔννεπε κείνα τὰ μήτ' ἐγένοντο πάροιθε

μήτ' ἔσται μετόπισθεν,

ἀπεκρίνατο δ' Ἡσιόδος ἐκ τοῦ παρατυχόντος

ἀλλ' ὅταν ἀμφὶ Διὸς τύμβῳ καναχήποδες ἵπποι

ἄρματα συντρίψωσιν ἐπείγομενοι περὶ νίκης.

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λέγεται μάλιστα θαυμασθεῖς τοῦ τρίποδος τυχεῖν.

It is clearly improper to invent a second Lesches, ἄστος ἄπυστος, to be the source of this story (as Götting and Welcker do). The whole tale must come from the *Μικρὰ Ἰλιάς*; but as I have observed *C.Q.* 1907, 141 the absence of context leaves us completely in the dark about the meaning to be attached to it. At first sight Lesches seems to be referring to his Master as the writer of the *Theogony* refers to Hesiod by name. Or in the more confidential manner of the Hesiodic school (*Opp.* 633, 650 *sq.* fr. 265), so Lesches when he says Homer may have meant himself—covertly, as Cynaethus in *h. Apoll.* 166 *sq.* describes his personal appearance and residence. In that case the Lelantine war would have taken place about the time of Lesches, the rival of Arctinus who flourished ol. 7. It seems strange however that Lesches should chronicle his own defeat.

Iliu Persis.—In two books, by Arctinus. The most serious attack that has been made upon Proclus' reliability arises out of his analysis of these two epics, the *Μικρὰ Ἰλιάς* by Lesches in four books, and the *Ἰλίου πέρσις* in two. Aristotle in a well-known passage (*Poetics* 23 ad fin.) says out of the *μικρὰ Ἰλιάς* more than eight tragedies could be made: sc. ὅπλων κρίσις, Φιλοκτήτης, Νεοπτόλεμος, Εὐρύπυλος, πτωχεία, Λάκαιναι, Ἰλίου πέρσις, ἀπόπλους, Σίνων, Τρωάδες. Now of these ten subjects the first six, down to Λάκαιναι, fall within the *μικρὰ Ἰλιάς* as analysed by Proclus; but the last four (which are arranged out of sequence) occur in the next poem, the *Ἰλίου πέρσις*, which is exhausted by them. Therefore where Proclus makes two poems, Aristotle makes one, though the subject-matter enumerated in either author is the same. The critics have had a fine field here, and have raged at both ends. The Aristotelian passages dealing with Homer are not genuine; and Proclus—either his handbooks were grossly in error, or the poems themselves had been re-arranged to make a 'Cycle.' My view, which will be called naïf and unripe (the epithets Schwartz showers on Wagner) is of childish simplicity: seeing that the *Μικρὰ Ἰλιάς* was of four books, and the *Ἰλίου πέρσις* of two, and these two little poems are consecutive and the division between

them is only mechanical ; seeing moreover that the authorship of the former was so disputed, that Hellanicus bestowed it on Cinaethon, while Aristotle's disciple stood up for his compatriot Lesches ; seeing that this doubtful personage intervened between the *Aethiopis* by Arctinus and the *Iliu persis* by Arctinus ; and that the later authors such as Pausanias (x. 25. 5) give the *Iliu persis* to Lesches ; it seems to me probable that Aristotle, speaking more or less from memory, ran these two little verse-chronicles together, and having begun to pick out subjects from the Little as distinguished from the Great Iliad, went on with the story as far as its natural end, forgetting he had transgressed the artificial boundary of the *Μικρὰ Ἰλιάς*. I leave the question of likelihood to the reader.

To mount to the time of the composition of these poems, the in-and-out sequence *Aethiopis* Arctinus, *Parva Ilias* Lesches, *Iliu Persis* Arctinus, suggests to me an arrangement between these worthies. Miletus and Lesbos are not far off : we know they 'contended,' we know that 'Homer' and 'Hesiod' 'met' at Delos, if not at Eretria. I can see no reason to forbid the supposition that these two artists agreed to divide this part of the Ilian theme except the general view with which these matters are regarded by critics. Old authors are children, white lambs, the simple of the world : the scholiast, historian, and the like are wolves. So Theognis until Mr. Harrison's book was regarded as incapable of borrowing, incapable of criticism ; succeeding ages supplied anthologists à souhait. Really, the schoolmaster and historian of later times was too dull and too occupied to cut about his classics ; the authors themselves, active professional producers, living on their reputation, holding their own with their rivals at meetings from Ephesus to Syracuse, pegged out the leavings of Homer. Vain as an actor-manager, gorgeous as Polemon or Scopelianus, Cynaethus and Magnes advertised themselves in their verses and reaped the advantages of their profession. When we find Lesches and Arctinus dividing subject-matter with no natural division, we may be sure it was an arrangement à l'aimable. To this class and this period also we may safely ascribe the amplification of the Homeric text, the last date at which we can admit it. Amplification on a modest scale, the line here and the line there, the addition of a formula which the Alexandrians thought they could detect : tradition ascribed these additions to οἱ περὶ Κύναιθον (οὓς φασὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ποιήσαντας ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ὀμήρου ποιήσιν) and the ascription gains probability from the period and the class. If it be true that ψ 297-ω are unoriginal, this longer supplement may be credited to some Cyclic who took an interest in the legends of the West of Greece (*C.R.* 1906, p. 270). In the same way we may hold the adaptation of the last line of the Iliad to receive the Aethiopis, as of the Theogony to receive the Eoëae, for the work of the composer in each case, not of an Augustan or Antonine grammarian.

Nostoi.—In five books, by Agias of Troezen. No biographical notice of Agias survives. Two historians are known to have written prose works called *Νόστοι*, which however covered more ground than the Trojan stories ; Anticlides (*Script. rer. gest. Alex. magn.*, Müller pp. 147 sq.) and Lysimachus (*F.H.G.* iii. 334).

Telegonia.—In two books, by Eugammon of Cyrene. Eugammon is unknown, but the foundation of Cyrene (640–31 B.C.) supplies a *terminus a quo* for his date, Clement of Alexandria in his usual manner (*strom.* vi. p. 266) states that Eugammon borrowed the part of his poems about Thesprotia from Musaeus. We may infer that Musaeus resembled Eugammon as Orpheus resembles Homer.

The poems about which we have no information from Proclus are the *Titano-machia*: to which Athenaeus 22 C, 277 D assigns as author Eumelus or Arctinus, schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 1165 Eumelus; the *Oedipodea*, which the *Tabula Borgiaca* (C.I.G. 6129) gives to Cinaethon, who as we have seen is a rival of Lesches for the *Ilias Parva*; the *Amphiarai exelasis* and the *Oechaliae Halosis*. Two more important poems leave the Ilian series and deal with the other great heroic theme, the house of Cadmus. Our information about both of them comes from the *Certamen*, a document which announces itself as of the Hadrianic age (v. 29) but may contain earlier elements. V. 243 (Rzach) ὁ δὲ Ὅμηρος ἀποτυχὼν τῆς νίκης [at Chalcis] περιερχόμενος ἔλεγε τὰ ποιήματα, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Θηβαίδα, ἔπη ζ ἥς ἡ ἀρχή

ἄργος ἄειδε θεὰ πολυδίψιον ἔθθεν ἄνακτες·
εἶτα Ἐπιγόνους, ἔπη ζ ὦν ἡ ἀρχή
νῦν αὖθ' ὀπλοτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἀρχώμεθα Μοῦσαι

φασὶ γάρ τινες καὶ ταῦτα Ὀμήρου εἶναι. Like the other poems they were originally included in the Homeric corpus; Callinus (*ap. Paus.* ix. 9. 5) with other good judges said Homer was the author of the *Thebais*, and Pausanias, if we may quote this discredited witness, esteemed the poem next to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Herodotus iv. 32 questioned the Homeric authorship of the *Epigoni*. The two together induced in Dionysius the Cyclographer (in Proclus' *Life of Hesiod*, vv. 76, 77 West.) the curious opinion that Homer lived during the Theban and Trojan wars. Proclus' judgment was better than that of his source.

The scientific quotation of these two works, name, size, and first line is based on the classification used by Callimachus in his *Πίνακες*, and shows that the author of the *Certamen* had access to archives. Cf. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, p. 164: *e.g.* Athen. 244 A τοῦ Χαιρεφῶντος καὶ σύγγραμμα ἀναγράφει Καλλίμαχος ἐν τῷ τῶν παντοδαπῶν πίνακι, γράφων οὕτως· δείπνα ὅσοι ἔγραψαν· Χαιρεφῶν Κυρηβίωνι. εἰθ' ἐξῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπέθηκεν ἐπειδὴ μοι πολλάκις ἐπέστειλας. Στίχων $\overline{706}$: *ib.* 585 B Gnathaena's νόμος συσσιτικός is catalogued. We are not told of how many books the *Thebais* and the *Epigoni* consisted; 12 books would give an average of $583\frac{1}{2}$ lines;¹ 10 at 700 each is evidently too high. The *Cypria* consisted of 11, but Proclus does not concern himself with stichometry.²

¹ More than that of the *Odyssey* ($504\frac{1}{2}$), less than that of the *Iliad* ($653\frac{1}{2}$).

² Fragmentary stichometrical details of some of

the minor poems are given on the *Tabula Borgiaca* (Kaibel p. 4).

IV.

Some general remarks may suitably conclude my treatment of these poems.

1. Their compass. Where the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* had left a wide space, or did not influence at all, the Cycle's poems were of some size: the two on the Theban tale ran to 7000 lines, *i.e.* 11–12 books each; the *Cypria*, which carried the Tale of Troy down to the 9th year, had 11 books also. Even these however both absolutely and relatively are on a much more compressed scale than the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. 7000 lines sufficed for each siege of Thebes, 15693 recounted a few days in the 9th year of the siege of Troy. The whole series of events from the *ἔρις* in Heaven to the death of Palamedes occupied 11 books: the wrath of Achilles, an episode lasting a few days and of no historical importance, fills 24, The interstice between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and the events left over by the *Odyssey*, *viz.* the rest of the Siege of Troy, the Return of the other heroes and the winding up of Ulysses' family were treated in poems of shocking penury: all told this series of events occupies 18 books. The *Nostos* of one single hero under Homer's hands runs to 24. Plainly therefore, whatever their merits in places, they must all have been annalistic and jejune, bare catalogues of events; and the little *Parva Ilias* and *Iliu persis* beneath contempt. These mere figures show what both Aristotle and Proclus meant by their criticism; the reproach which Aristotle expressed by τῷ μεγέθει μετριάζοντα καταπεπλεγμένον τῇ ποικιλίᾳ and μίαν πράξιν πολυμερῇ applied to the Cycle. This criticism agrees completely with Proclus' sentence τοῖς πολλοῖς σπουδάζεται οὐχ ὅσον διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὡς διὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν πραγμάτων.¹ The same poems were before Aristotle as before Proclus, and at 800 years' distance they produced the same impression. Bethe's attempt (p. 621) to deny ἀκολουθία to the Cyclic poems needs no comment.

We understand also the position which the Cycle assumed. It lived, but it was not read, not at least by the public who read Homer, Stesichorus, and the Tragedians. The longer poems, at any rate the *Thebais*, had some merit in the judgment of Pausanias, who had read a great deal.² They were used by artists—painters and sculptors—and by playwrights, as books of reference containing themes. Hence, apart from Pausanias' notice, we do not find mention made of their literary qualities. A critic like Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who distinguishes between the styles of Hesiod, Antimachus and Panyasis, Pindar, Simonides and Stesichorus (*De Imitat.* 419) has nothing to say about the Cycle. No lines have been found on papyrus which can be attributed to it. The poems were themselves versified chronicles, and it is the less credible that they should have been superseded by prose handbooks. So far as they were superseded, it was by the superior attraction of the melic and dramatic writers. So the *Tabula Iliaca* cites Stesichorus for the Ἰλίου πέρις and not Arctinus, so Aristotle forgets the poem was a separate composition.

¹ Ἀρετὴ would not be predicated of a handbook; and ἀκολουθία is a necessary property of one.

² Cf. his distinction between the Homeric and Orphic Hymns, ix. 30. 12.

2. The circumstances of their publication, a much more interesting question, escape us : particularly we should like to know in what their anonymity consisted. Down to about 500 B.C. there is no sign of questioning their Homeric authorship. It is also plain that they never named themselves—else there would have been no doubt in later times who wrote, *e.g.* the *Μικρὰ Ἰλιάς*. Moreover anonymity is the mark, wherever we can follow, of Homer and the Homeric school. The Hymns are anonymous, only in one does the author describe himself—by residence and appearance, he lives in Chios and is blind—, and has had his reward in the identification which we owe to Hippostratus. How was this professional convention observed in the case of the Cycle? Possibly the facts were known at the places where the poets lived, but Homer's name appeared on the books and was proclaimed at the recitations. Hence Artemon of Clazomenae might gather Milesian tradition, and the Lesbian Phantias support Lesches of Pyrrha. The Hesiodic school was less reticent.

3. The important question of date. Arctinus is assigned to ol. 7 (744), and Lesches contested with him : a statement made probable by the division of the *Aethiopis*, *Parva Ilias*, and *Iliu persis* between them. About the other poems there is no information, except that the *Telegonia* is brought towards the end of the seventh century by the Cyrenean origin of Eugammon. Between these dates, roughly speaking 750–600 B.C., it is not unreasonable to place the whole of the Cycle ; and it is perhaps natural that the oldest date should belong to the direct continuation of the *Iliad*. Other rhapsodes and epic poets belong to the same period : namely Cynaethus, author of the hymn to Apollo, who was 'the first to rhapsodise at Syracuse,' *i.e.* soon after 733 B.C. ; Magnes, favourite of Gyges, king of Lydia (his dates, according to Herodotus are 716–678), who wrote a poem on the war between the Lydians and the Amazons (Nic. Damasc. fr. 62), and Aristeas the mage-poet of Proconnesus, whose second disappearance Herodotus (iv. 15) calculates at 670 B.C.¹ These three dates support the period 750–600 for the Cycle : and such a period agrees with the anachronisms which have been discovered in the fragments (for which see Nitzsch or Monro).

The question of course follows, if the Tale of Thebes and the leavings of the Tale of Troy were put into literary form from the middle of the eighth century onwards, how long before did the poet live who chose for himself one episode of the siege of Troy and the nostos of one hero?

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¹ The Suidean *aera*, ol. ν' puts him a hundred years later, but there is a variant *δγδδγ* for the numeral.

This poem was on the same scale as those of Arctinus and Lesches, *βιβλία γ'* (Suid.).

CLAVDIVS AND THE PAVIAN INSCRIPTION.

THE Pavian inscription (*C.I.L.* v. 6416), which is usually interpreted as indicating Augustus' last settlement of the succession, contains the name of Claudius besides those of the Julian line. Mommsen (*Ber. d. sächs. Gesellsch.* 1850, pp. 315 ff.) takes this fact as indicating that Claudius, though not adopted into the Julian line, was still in some way considered a member of the imperial household. I think that there is good ground for suspecting the part relating to Claudius as probably added by him at a later day, and that all arguments regarding his early life which are based upon its presence on the arch should submit to a resifting.

This inscription bears the stamp of imperial editing, showing clearly the definite plan of Augustus to assure a carefully selected line of successors, for, through order of precedence, he points first to Tiberius, then to the adopted Germanicus (no doubt because in the sons of Germanicus, male representatives of his own blood would again enter the line), thirdly to Tiberius' son Drusus, and finally to the young sons of Germanicus. It seems surprising that the much-despised Claudius should be included in the list. At the time that the statues with these inscriptions were erected, Claudius was about eighteen years old, and yet had received no recognition from the imperial family. Fortunately, we know from letters of Augustus and memoirs of Claudius what his early life was (*Suet. Claud.* 2-4). He was closely guarded and freely chastised by a severe *paedagogos* who had once been *superintendentarius*; his mother used to call him 'portentum hominis, nec absolutum a natura sed tantum inchoatum'; his grandmother, the powerful Livia, utterly despised him (*pro despectissimo semper habuit*) and refused to meet him. The letters of Augustus show that the Emperor did not dare to let the young man appear in public lest he disgrace everyone concerned. Indeed, when the Emperor died, he left Claudius, then a man of twenty-four, only a slight legacy *inter tertios ac paene extraneos*.

In spite of such literary evidence to the contrary, it is often affirmed, chiefly because of the Pavian inscription, that Claudius was considered a possible successor to the imperial office. Mommsen (*ad l.c.* p. 319) thinks this inscription shows that he was looked upon as a 'Prinz von Geblüt,' continuing: 'Die Aenderung seines Beinamens Drusus in Nero Germanicus scheint gewissermassen als eine Adoption betrachtet worden zu sein: man löste dadurch die Verlegenheit über die August mit Livia correspondierte (*Suet. Claud.* 4).' These assumptions seem gratuitous. Suetonius does not say that Claudius adopted the name Nero at this time (*Suet. Claud.* 2), inscriptional evidence contradicts the assumption, and indeed this change of name would not indicate any kind of adoption. Furthermore, the correspondence between Augustus and Livia here mentioned falls five years later than

this inscription (cf. Smilda, Suet. *Claud.*, ad *l.c.*). Nevertheless, these suggestions of Mommsen have been adopted without question, and have been made the basis for wider assumptions regarding Claudius' early position.

So, for instance, Gaheis, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, iii. 2781, says: 'Als kaiserlicher Prinz ist Claudius immer angesehen worden,' citing as evidence the following: *C.I.L.* v. 6416 (the Pavian inscription), vi. 4338, 4340, 4345; Tac. *Ann.* i. 54, and iii. 18. Now were it not for v. 6416 certainly the other references would give little basis for his statement. The other three inscriptions that he cites are from the tombs of the Drusan *familia*. The cemetery in which they occur is 'in no sense one of the Julian household, though it includes some names (*e.g.* Germanicus) of Drusans who had been adopted into the Julian line.

As for Tacitus *Ann.* iii. 18, the evidence is made by Tacitus to indicate the opposite of what Gaheis infers. Messalinus proposed to thank Tiberius, Augusta, Antonia, Agrippina, and Drusus, *ob uindictam Germanici*. Another senator then asked why he omitted the name of Claudius, Germanicus' own brother, at which the motion was amended so as to include him also. The inclusion does not make him a 'kaiserlicher Prinz,' for Agrippina and Antonia are also in the list. It was simply a matter of close relationship to Germanicus. Certainly the previous exclusion of Claudius in these circumstances implied that he was utterly negligible, and so Tacitus interprets it, for the incident leads him to say: 'mihi quanto plura recentium seu ueterum reuoluo, tanto magis ludibria rerum mortalium cunctis in negotiis obuersantur. Quippe fama spe ueneratione potius omnes destinabantur imperio quam quem futurum principem fortuna in occulto tenebat.'

The only remaining reference of Gaheis is Tacitus *Ann.* i. 54, which relates that Tiberius includes Claudius among the four honorary sodales Augustales in the year 14 A.D., the other three being Tiberius, Drusus, and Germanicus, all of the imperial household. This act of Tiberius, however, after the death of Augustus, can in no way be interpreted as revealing what the attitude of Augustus towards Claudius had been some six or seven years before. Moreover, we are well informed that Tiberius throughout his whole reign proved that he never intended to give any but the emptiest of honours to Claudius, cf. Suet. *Claud.* 5-6; Tac. *Ann.* vi. 46. The granting of this priesthood, therefore, had no significance.¹

Thus there is not the slightest indication elsewhere that Claudius was at this time or for thirty years to come in any sense considered as 'kaiserlicher Prinz,' and I do not think that the Pavian inscription can be made the basis for the assumption.

¹ Because of the order of the priesthoods (auguri, sodali Aug., sodali Titio) found in *C.I.L.* v. 24, a titulus of Claudius, it is usually affirmed that the Titian priesthood was conferred upon Claudius after the others. However, there is no good reason for assuming that the order is chronological. It is the regular order, as in *C.I.L.* iii. 2974 and 2975. It seems very likely that Augustus in restoring the ancient Sabine worship would have made the members of the Claudian family (Tiberius, Drusus,

Germanicus, and Claudius) its priests, since the antiquarians were then busy tracing the Claudian line back to that tribe. If this is the case we can well understand why these very same men should have been made the first honorary priests of the Augustales: the latter worship was deliberately shaped after the former, or, perhaps we may go a step further and say that Augustus, in rehabilitating the worship connected with the name of the Sabine king, was simply giving a mild hint that the growing practice of erecting

The form of the name as it occurs on the Pavian inscription (Ti. Claudio Drusi Germanici f. Neroni Germanico) is that which Claudius liked to use for a brief period during and immediately following his consulship thirty years later, and does not occur in any datable inscriptions before or after. This fact suggests the solution that Claudius himself while passing through Pavia a year after his consulship, on his way to Caligula in Germany, may have had his statue placed among those of the Julians and had it inscribed with the more pompous name that he then bore, omitting of course the few official titles which he had received since the erection of the other statues in A.D. 7-8. Hirschfeld (*Wiener Studien* 1881, p. 266) has pointed to at least one other inscription traceable to his hand during this journey (*C.I.L.* xii. 1026).

The facts regarding the form of his name can easily be summarised from Ruggiero, ii. 295.¹ Suetonius (*Claud.* 2) says that he was at birth called *Tiberius Claudius Drusus*, adding however the statement: 'mox fratre maiore in Iuliam familiam adoptato Germanici cognomen assumpsit.' These words can only mean that his new cognomen was *Germanicus* (not *Nero*) and that after 4 A.D. he was accordingly called *Tiberius Claudius Germanicus*. In this form the name actually appears at its fullest, *C.I.L.* 4334, 4348. The other inscriptions of the same cemetery always give his cognomen as *Germanicus*, never as *Nero*. The statement of Suetonius is therefore supported by all the early inscriptions except the Pavian, and yet, on the strength of the Pavian, Mommsen, Klebs, and others try to disprove Suetonius' words. Mommsen says (*Hermes* 13, p. 262, f. n. 4) referring to this inscription and one of thirty years later: 'evidently he had also taken the cognomen of *Nero* from his brother when the latter was adopted into the Julian family.' Klebs (*Prosopographia*, ii. p. 389) in the same strain discredits Suetonius: 'quod Claudius certe post pueritiam ut tituli docent praeter Germanicum Neronis cognomine usus est.' Now we know that Germanicus gave the name of *Nero* to his first-born, whereas Claudius did not continue the name in his line. Claudius' first-born is *Claudius Drusus*, and his son by Messalina is *Tiberius Claudius Germanicus*, later *Britannicus*. This points to the fact that *Nero* was not his regular cognomen.² In regard to the inscriptions, as I have said, none of the group of thirteen from the Drusan cemetery gives the form *Nero*. *Nero* occurs only in the Pavian inscriptions (v. 6416), in two dating from his consulship (iii. 381, v. 24), and in one undatable inscription (x. 6561) that may well come from the same period. Among the something over three hundred inscriptions bearing his name

shrines to the present ruler had good Roman precedence, and might well be incorporated in a regular custom. This interpretation may be gathered from Tac. *Ann.* i. 54: 'Idem annus nouas caerimonias accepit addito sodalium Augustalium sacerdotio, ut quondam T. Tattius retinendis Sabinorum sacris sodales Titius instituerat.' See also *Hist.* ii. 95. My point is then that Claudius was probably made a Sodalis Titius as a member of the Claudian gens, and later when the Augustan sodality was formed on the model of the Titian he was elected to the new priest-

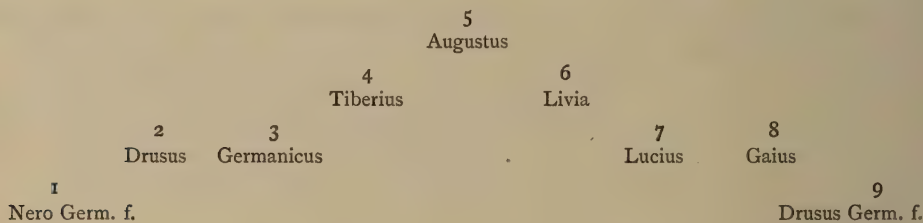
hood together with the other honorary members of the parent institution. His election to these priest-hoods is probably due to his position in the Claudian family, not to any supposed standing with the Julian line.

¹ Ruggiero's citations need verifying. Read 6416 for 6417, and 4334 for 4344.

² The name of the later emperor Nero does not help us here, as we do not know whether he received that name at birth as a grandson of Germanicus or at adoption.

after his accession to the throne the supposed cognomen *Nero* does not occur once, while that of *Germanicus* occurs in more than half. Accepting, therefore, the statement of Suetonius and the evidence of the other inscriptions, adding, too, the fact that the name *Nero* was continued in Germanicus' line but not in the Claudian, it appears that the form of Claudius' name in the Pavian is unusual, unless we attribute its assertion to something like thirty years later than the date of the rest of the arch. It seems likely then that Claudius assumed the additional cognomen of *Nero* during his brief term of empty honour as consul suffectus in 37, just as later when emperor he assumed the cognomen of *Caesar* without right or precedent; and that, always eager as he was for recognition by the imperial house, he seized the opportunity of brief power during his journey northward in 39 to gratify his vanity by adding his own statue to those of the Imperial family that had been recognised by Augustus in the year 7/8.

By excluding Claudius' name from the original inscription we then have a symmetrical group of nine with the emperor in the centre, flanked on the right by his successor, on the left by the empress—the very same order as used in the similar inscription of Apollonius (see below); then in the second remove to the right the adoptive living grandsons, Germanicus and Drusus, on the left the two adopted grandsons who had died, Gaius and Lucius; and finally at the ends the two great-grandsons by adoption, Nero and Drusus.¹ Thus:



The Greek inscription just mentioned was probably made some six years later than the Pavian. I give it as restored by Waddington (*Inscr. Gr. ad R. R. Pert.* iii. No. 312):

τοὺς κοινούς σωτήρας] καὶ ἰδίους θεοὺς Σεβαστοὺς καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτ[ῶ]ν
 [Ἀπολλωνιατῶν Λυκίων ὁ δῆμος]
 [Γαίῳ Καίσαρι, Γερμ]ανικῶ, Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι, θεῶ Σεβαστῶ [θεᾷ Ἰουλίᾳ Δρούσῳ,
 Λενκίῳ Καίσαρι]

Here again Augustus' name is in the centre, flanked by Tiberius' on the right and Livia's on the left. The next rank is held by Germanicus and Drusus. The dead sons of Julia (more than ten years after their burial) are still remembered, but yet no place for Claudius!

TENNEY FRANK.

Bryn Mawr.

¹ It seems impossible to decide whether the *tituli* were inscribed upon the arch or upon the bases of the appropriate statues which probably stood on the arch. If the second assumption is true, the later addition of

Claudius' statue at one end may account for the crowding of the statues that mislead the anonymous Einsiedler into confusing the *tituli* as he did, reading the last four as one: cf. *C.I.L.* vi. p. xv.

PLATO *THEAETETVS* 167 C AND 209 A.

167 C φημὶ γὰρ καὶ τούτους (τοὺς γεωργοὺς) τοῖς φυτοῖς ἀντὶ πονηρῶν αἰσθήσεων, ὅταν τι αὐτῶν ἀσθενῇ, χρηστὰς καὶ ὑγιεινὰς αἰσθήσεις τε καὶ ἀληθεῖς ἐμποιεῖν.

It seems clear that (1) ἀληθεῖς is unmeaning in relation to plants, and also hardly consistent with what precedes, for it implies the possibility of false perceptions or sensations: (2) αἰσθήσεις τε καί points to another substantive, for which reason ἀληθείας has been suggested: (3) the word should be parallel to αἰσθήσεις in expressing some affection or state: (4) again like αἰσθήσεις, the thing should be in itself neutral, admitting of both good and bad. πάθος, a Platonic word, satisfies these conditions, and might I think pass by error into ἀληθεῖς. πάθος and πλήθος certainly get interchanged sometimes. In *Philebus* 31 B and 41 C for instance one of the two best MSS has πάθος and the other πλήθος. Α and Δ being much alike, it would not be difficult for πάθος to become, say, πλήθος, and that might be corrected to ἀληθεῖς.

209 A ᾧ τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρεις, τούτων οὐδενὸς ἡπτόμην.

Not only is the grammar of ᾧ . . . τούτων doubtful, but the singular ᾧ is objectionable in itself, as there are clearly many points of difference, not one. Read therefore ὧν, standing by attraction for οἷς. Cf. 144 A ὧν δὴ πρόποτε ἐνέτυχον . . . οὐδένα with *Rep.* 531 E, *Gorg.* 509 A, etc.: Aeschines 2. 117 παρ' ὧν μὲν βοηθεῖς οὐκ ἀπολήψει χάριν: Xen. *Mem.* 2, 2, 5 μεταδιδούσα τῆς τροφῆς ἥς καὶ αὐτὴ τρέφεται: perhaps *Thuc.* 1. 1. 2 ἐκ τεκμηρίων ὧν μοι πιστεῦσαι συμβαίνει.

H. RICHARDS.

I take the opportunity of correcting an error on p. 11 of this volume. I there put a wrong interpretation on Prof. Cook Wilson's conjecture of τοῦ ὧδε for τῷδε in *Timaeus* 49 E. He meant ὧδε to be understood in the sense of *thus* not *here*. I am sorry to have misrepresented him.

H. R.

SOME DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SPEECH-SCANSION AND NARRATIVE-SCANSION IN HOMERIC VERSE.¹

IF in the various books of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* the speeches or personated lines are separated from the rest, the metrical phenomena will, when tabulated, be found to show a perceptible divergence from those of the narrative verse. The differences are worth some notice. They throw into sharp relief the subtle rules that control the narrative type; and, what is more important, they do to some extent suggest the principle, of which these rules are the necessary outcome. There is also involved another point of considerable interest; for the contrast between narrative- and speech-verse exactly coincides, it must be remembered, with a very remarkable difference in the use of the augment; and the more this coincidence is considered, the less easy it will be found to dismiss it as accidental.

¹In the following article, in order to avoid repeating the definition of various metrical phenomena, it has often been necessary to replace the full description by a technical term. It is hoped that in most cases the intention of the word will be readily recognisable; but the reader who has not been especially concerned with scansional questions may sometimes find the subjoined list convenient.

Dovetails.—By dovetailed length (or ‘a dovetail’) is meant any combination in which a final short vowel is scanned long before two or more initial consonants of the next word—*e.g.* τῇ ῥα πρότερον, ἔνθα, στᾶσ’, δηθὰ στρέψασθαι, etc.

Overlength.—By overlength is intended the occurrence of more consonants than are needed to give a long scansion. Two principal kinds are to be noticed—(a) a long closed syllable followed by one or more initial consonants—*e.g.* Δαναῶν ταχυνώλων, Ἐκτωρ δέ, etc. and (b) a short closed syllable (or a diphthong, or a long vowel) followed by two or more initial consonants—*e.g.* τὸν πρότερος, καὶ σκηπανίῳ, etc.

Shortening.—This signifies the occurrence of a final diphthong or long vowel scanned short before a following initial vowel. It is distinguished from ‘short-scansion,’ *i.e.* combinations like ἡὲ σκέπαρνον, etc.

Tomic and semi-tomic.—For statistical purposes the breaks between words standing in a verse have been divided into two kinds: (a) *Tomic*, *i.e.* any division that, if suitably placed, could be really functional (thus, the breaks in the 1st and 21st lines of *Iliad* i. are all listed as ‘tomic’); and (b) *Semi-*

tomic, *i.e.* any break before an enclitic or a backward-leaning word (γάρ, δέ, οὖν, etc.), or after a proclitic or a forward-leaning word (καί, the article, preps., etc.), thus the breaks in οὗτ’ ἄρ τε or in ὥς καὶ ἐγὼ περ are all ‘semi-tomic.’

Monotomic and ditomic.—A ‘monotomic’ line rests wholly upon one important caesura: thus

πρόβριζοι πίπτουσιν | ἐπειγόμενοι πυρὸς ὀρμῇ
or πολλὰς δὲ δρῦς ἀζαλέας | πολλὰς δέ τε πευκάς
or θύνοντ’ ἄμ προμάχους, | ἀλαπάξοντα στίχας ἀνδρῶν

are as much counted ‘monotomic’ as would be the imaginable verse (*e.g.* ἔλετ’ ἔγχος πατροκασινγήτοιο δνωκαεικοσίπηχυν. *Ditomic* are verses resting upon two principal breaks, such as

βῆ δὲ διὰ προμάχων | κεκορυθμένος | αἰθοπι χαλκῷ.

Wernecke’s Scansion.—By this term is meant positional length in spondaic diaeresis, *e.g.* scansions like τοῦτον | μαινόμενον, or ἡ νύ που αὐτὸν | θυμός, or ἅμα δ’ ἄλλος | λαὸς ἐπέσθω. ‘Wernecke’s Law’ prohibits this scansion in the 4th foot: the principle can be roughly formulated thus—‘when the 4th spondee ends with a word, the 2nd long syllable of the spondee must not be made by position. For a discussion of the 4th foot, and for references to Gerhard and to Wernecke, see Dr. Leaf’s *Iliad*, vol. ii. pp. 631 *seq.*

In the following, the Homeric citations are taken from the Clarendon Press Edition (*recensuit D. B. Monro*, 1901); the special metrical tables have been corrected by the later edition of the *Iliad* (*recognoverunt David B. Monro et Thomas W. Allen*).

No great acquaintance with the epics is needed to suggest that the apparently easy-going Homeric rhythm is really subject to sharp restrictions. The five following points are among the most certain, and, for the present purpose, the most important. The hexameter does not admit the 4th trochaic break; it generally refuses elision in the weak caesura; for the most part, it avoids dovetailed scansions (*e.g.* ἐνεκᾱ θνητῶν) in the penthemimeral; conversely, in this caesura it shows a great preference for overlength (*i.e.* more consonants than are needed to give length, as ὦς εἰπῶν κατ' ἄρ' ἔξετο); and lastly it rejects positional scansion in the 4th spondaic (*e.g.* ἄμα δ' ἄλλον λαὸν ὄπασσον. Wernecke's law).

The first point, the rejection of the 4th trochaic, may be briefly noticed here; the other four, as they fall under a single principle, will then be fully discussed together.

The 4th trochaic break is found only twelve times¹ in the 8647 *narrative* lines of the *Iliad*; in the *speeches* (7046 lines) there are twenty-nine² instances. In the *Odyssey*, there are for *narrative* (3868 lines) four¹ occurrences; for the *speeches* (8242)³ there are twenty-seven.² The rarity of the scansion could be a little increased by recourse to probable emendation; but on any consistent reckoning, it will be found that the 4th trochaics are relatively more than twice as infrequent in narrative. So far, only the indubitable instances of this break have been considered; but it is worth while to notice also the approaches to this scansion, since the greater laxity of the speech-verse is here very marked. We may neglect for this purpose any scansion strictly like πολλῆσί τε, ἔπειτα δέ, καὶ ἀμείνοves, ὑπ' ἀμύμονι, etc., that is to say any break before really back-leaning words or after really forward-leaning words. This done, there will be found in the *Iliad* only seven⁴ *narrative* instances where there is an approach to the 4th trochaic:—E 140 τὰ δ' ἐρῆμα. Ξ 477, O 520, X 157, ὁ δ' ὕφελκε (ὑπαιθα, ὀπισθε). P 406 ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τὸ ἔλπετο. Σ 525 ἄμ' ἔποντο. Ψ 357 λάχ' ἐλαυνέμεν. In *speeches*, on the other hand, there are at least twenty-eight:⁵—A 20 τὰ δ' ἄποινα, 576 τὰ χερείονα. E 414, P 80, τὸν ἄριστον. Σ 451 τὰ ἄ τεύχεα. I 515, 519 τὰ δ' ὀπισθεν (εν) (τὰ is separate in sense). E 404, 890, Z 521, K 478, N 68, 313, Ψ 20, 180, Ω 67?, 427, ὄς, ὄν, οἷ, τά. Z 55 τίη δὲ σὺ κήδεαι, Ξ 145 σὺ δ' ἐπόψεαι, O 244 τίη δὲ σὺ νόσφιν, Π 515 δύνασαι δὲ σὺ. K 222 ἄμ' ἔποιτο. M 344, 357 ὄχ' ἄριστον. B 239 μέγ' ἀμείνονα. E 285, A 288 ἐμοὶ δὲ μέγ' εἶχος ἔδωκας. Υ 181 ἄταρ εἴ κεν ἔμ'.

The difference between the narrative and the speech examples is, both in number and in kind, sufficiently striking. In narrative, three out of the seven instances (ὁ δ') may really be forward-leaning; and P 406 admits οὗ ποτε (cf. P 404). There remain only three troublesome cases—E 140, where the article is 'antithetic' and so emphasised; and the Odyssean Σ 525 and Ψ 357. In these three the scansion, in any case difficult, is only made possible by the

¹ B 475, 479, 529; E 571; Z 2; K 317; O 585; Π 143=T 390; Φ 575, 604; Ψ 760; ε 272, 400, 476; σ 323.

² See Van Leeuwen, *Ench.*

³ The ἀπόλογοι are reckoned.

⁴ Not reckoned, A 446, Σ 519, and Ψ 295.

⁵ Not reckoned, Π 521, P 689, Ω 384 ὁ ἄριστος.

elision.¹ The speeches form a startling contrast. Instances like E 414 τὸν ἄριστον are metrically normal only if τόν is really articular. This sense of ὁ ἢ τό is very rare in narrative,² so that it seems hard in these cases to ignore some difference, whether scansional or linguistic, in the common speech-use. Again, the relative, presumably because it is not forward-leaning, has no narrative instance in this position: in speeches it occurs nine or ten times. The pronoun σὺ is made to go closely with its verb in II 515: this is so natural that it makes the converse case (Z 55) the more noticeable. Υ 181 ἄταρ εἰ κεν εἴμ' is troublesome because of the following elision. E 285 (Λ 288) ἐμοὶ δὲ μέγ' εὖχος ἔδωκας, where both elision and sense make for the wrong rhythm, is really an instance of the 4th trochaic proper. It has been placed among the approaches only in deference to the view that scansion can be legitimately 'helped by taking the words' in arbitrary groups. It is, as we shall see, precisely the need for such help that largely distinguishes speech-verse from narrative. To close the account of these minor 4th trochaics, it may be remarked that, for the *Odyssey*, there are in *narrative* seven instances, but in *speeches* twenty-one at least.

If this treatment of the fourth foot were an isolated point of unlikeness, it might perhaps be put aside as accidental, or as due merely to a natural difference of vocabulary; but the puzzle is not quite so easy, for we shall see that, as compared with narrative, the speeches are lax in many particulars, and further that this laxity, so variously evidenced, can always be understood as the neglect of what was originally the characteristic and essential requirement of the verse. The points alluded to must now be shown by the help of statistics. As regards the metrical tables given for this purpose, it is to be noted that they refer only to 'the *Iliad* without B², etc.' *i.e.* to the eighteen and a half books remaining when B 484-end, Θ, I, K, Ψ, and Ω have been subtracted. Figures for the five and a half books, and for the *Odyssey*, are, when given at all, stated separately.

First then for the questions of elision. In order to estimate this and other metrical phenomena, the breaks between words in the line have been divided into two kinds, *tomic* and *semi-tomic*. By 'tomic' is meant such an interval as could form a full caesura; *e.g.* μῆνιν ἄειδε is reckoned as '1st trochaic, tomic,' and 'Αχαιοῖς' ἄλγεα as '4th spondaic, tomic.' By 'semi-tomic' are intended such discontinuities as could not ordinarily have much functional importance, *e.g.* the breaks before enclitics and other backward-leaning words, or after proclitics and other forward-leaning words; thus κήδετο γάρ (Λ 56) is counted as '1st dactylic, semi-tomic,' and καὶ μετόπισθεν (Λ 82) as '3rd hemimeral, semi-tomic.' The reader can now see the plan of the following table:

¹ The extreme importance of the elision will be clear later.

² Much rarer than is usually supposed. For instance, it is suspicious that the famous ὁ γέρω is nearly always preceded by elision, even in the strong

caesura where elision is disliked. And many of the other occurrences are not reassuring; *e.g.* Α 11 might well conceal οὐ ἔνεκα Χρύσην or something of the kind.

ILIAD WITHOUT B² ETC.

			Hemimerals.		Elision, and Shortening.					
			3rd Hem.		5th Hem.		7th Hem.		9th Hem.	
			Tomic	Semi-tomic	Tomic	Semi-tomic	Tomic	Semi-tomic	Tomic	Semi-tomic
NARRATIVE—										
Occurrence of break	...	...	2798	1124	2852	467	2673	463	1320	558
Elisions	...	...	511	185	129		246	21	211	108
SPEECHES—										
Occurrence of break	...	...	2362	960	2065	469	1966	407	914	613
Elisions	...	...	272	61	97		166	14	182	109

			Trochaics.							
			1st Troch.		2nd Troch.		3rd Troch.		5th Troch.	
			Tomic	Semi-tomic	Tomic	Semi-tomic	Tomic	Semi-tomic	Tomic	Semi-tomic
NARRATIVE—										
Occurrence of break	...	...	1493	475	794	225	3707	265	2703	
Elisions	...	...	330	76	138	54	51	108	275	50
Shortenings	...	...	137	34	28	10	112	91	66	35
SPEECHES—										
Occurrence of break	...	...	1188	376	717	220	2959	215	2218	
Elisions	...	...	176	17	92	17	81	56	196	20
Shortenings	...	...	136	13	51	28	223	92	108	49

			Dactyls.		Elision and Shortening.					
			1st Dact.		2nd Dact.		3rd Dact.		4th Dact.	
			Tomic	Semi-tomic	Tomic	Semi-tomic	Tomic	Semi-tomic	Tomic	Semi-tomic
NARRATIVE—										
Occurrence of break	...	...	1503	586	538	307	421	758	3230	1780
Elisions	...	...	450	151	57	11	183	258	105	103
Shortenings	...	...	112	53	32	33	21	207		90
SPEECHES—										
Occurrence of break	...	...	1165	389	504	306	321	512	2523	1224
Elisions	...	...	212	63	50	9	98	134	65	49
Shortenings	...	...	223	45	64	49	47	188		142

			Spondaics.							
			1st Spond.		2nd Spond.		4th Spond.			
			Tomic	Semi-tomic	Tomic	Semi-tomic	Tomic	Semi-tomic	Tomic	Semi-tomic
NARRATIVE—										
Occurrence of break	...	...		921		395		248		145
Elisions	...	...		380		17		35		12
SPEECHES—										
Occurrence of break	...	...		816		422		318		264
Elisions	...	...		274		3		46		17

The method of the foregoing table is to give first the total number of the breaks occurring in any given position and then the sum of the elisions found in those breaks. In this way the relative frequency of elision anywhere in the verse can be seen at a glance; and it will be noticed that there are four caesurae in which the scansion is disproportionately rare—the weak caesura, the penthemimeral, the bucolic, and the 4th spondaic.

By far the most striking is the weak caesura. In the *Iliad* without B² etc. the 3707 narrative tritotrochaic lines do not show more than fifty-one cases of elision or hardly one in seventy-two occurrences of the break. The nature

and distribution¹ of the instances are hardly less remarkable than their rarity. At least sixteen can be removed by slight changes; and if hiatus in this place is not thought inadmissible, the number removed can be raised to twenty-eight. There seems to be no really sure example in II or in Δ (Δ 484, read *δοῦρι* ?); and half of the reliable instances are massed in ΝΞΟ.

In the *speeches*, on the other hand, such elision is everywhere more common: the 2959 weak caesurae show at least eighty-one instances, or rather more than one in thirty-seven occurrences of the break. The contrast is emphasised by the fact that hardly twenty-five of the eighty-one elisions could be removed by changes similar to those suggested in the case of narrative. It must be observed that to mention possibilities of altering the text does not necessarily imply a naughty craving for spirited wholesale emendation. There is no need to remove the elisions. It is the fact that they can, or cannot, easily be removed, that is the point of interest; for it shows not only that elision is rarer in narr., but that even where it occurs, it is more often within sight of the traditional non-elided scansion, than it is in the speeches.

This difference between narr. and speeches can be traced everywhere, as may be seen from the following figures:—

		Lines	Weak caesurae	Elisions (of these, removable)	
B ³ , Θ, Ι, Κ, Ψ, and Ω narr.	...	1988	1046	14	5
	speeches ...	1964	1118	22	2
Odyssey	narr. ...	3868	2068	45	25
	speeches ...	6019	3604	115	32
	ικλμ ...	2223	1202	33	9

The facts of narrative-scansion, then, make it clear that third-trochaic elision was greatly disliked; indeed the appearance of what is often held to be the oldest work (some passages in Δ and II) suggests that the rule against its employment may once have been absolute. For such a rule there can presumably have been only this reason: at the weak caesura there was a distinctly audible pause. If we suppose that originally the verses were not visualised it is natural to think that, in general, scansional pause was real, audible, not merely conventional; it was, in fact, to be heard, not seen. This simple assumption makes intelligible both the possibility of hiatus and the difficulty of elision; and, as we shall see, it explains many other peculiarities of the verse.

Before, however, we pass to the other effects of scansional pause, the reader will no doubt wish to raise an objection. If elision was so awkward in the weak caesura, it can hardly, he will say, have been more suitable in the strong; what was sauce for the goose should be sauce for the gander. This objection

¹ This point is so important that the narr. elisions must be enumerated:—

Possibly removable:—A 71, 188, 501, 536, 609; Γ 453; Z 313; H 271; Δ 309, 484, 495, 621 (cf. P 745); M 101; N 15, 27; Ξ 515; O 315; Π 190, 300, 317; P 112; T 279, 340; Φ 69, 182, 490, 595; X 77.

Not removable:—A 2, 492? Δ 222; E 851, 863, 899; H 65? N 8, 369, 417, 640; Ξ 361? 458,

486; O 120, 279, 676; P 210, 698; Σ 591? T 386; X 26, 94.

Not reckoned as elisions:—

Genit. in -ov: E 338; N 211; P 611, 697; Σ 575; T 384; also, perhaps, Ξ 427.

Plupf. in -ει, -η: B 38; Σ 557; T 466; and κυκειῶ, Δ 624.

Not reckoned as tritotrochaic:—B 222; Γ 452, Z 22; H 2; N 163; II 390, 419 (cf. Ξ 440).

is perfectly justified. The penthemimeral was clearly an important metrical pause; and yet elision here, though it is noticeably rare, is far commoner than in the weak caesura. In the *Il.* without B² etc., there are in the 2852 narrative penthemimerals as many as 129 instances, and hardly more than forty-nine of these could be removed by slight changes; it is to be noticed too that there are a few good examples both in *Λ* and in *Π*. Later, the treatment of this caesura even in narr., where metrical principles die hard, rapidly grows worse. In B² etc. narrative penthem. elisions are 1 in 18½ occurrences of the break; and in the *Od.* they rise as high as 1 in 16.

If, then, the avoidance of third-trochaic elision was due to the reason suggested above, it can only be thought that, as regards pause-value, the two caesurae were in some way unlike. And indeed they differed entirely, as may be seen from the following. In the *Il.* without B² etc., of the 2852 narr. penthem. lines some 1616, or 56·7 per cent., show also the 4th dactylic diaeresis; of the 3707 tritotrochaics only 1614, or 43·5 per cent. are so reinforced. In the same way the hephthemimeral is commoner after the strong caesura than it is after the weak. And more generally, lines resting upon the weak caesura alone, i.e. *tritotrochaic lines showing neither the hephthem. nor the 4th dactylic nor the 4th spondaic*, are a perfectly normal scansion: in the *Il.* without B² etc. there are for narr. 948 such verses, and for the speeches 748. On the other hand, lines similarly *resting on the penthem. alone* are relatively thrice as infrequent (narr. 245; speeches, 184). So we may say that third-trochaic lines can normally be *monotomic*, i.e. rest upon the one caesura; but lines showing the strong caesura are chiefly *ditomic*, i.e. the penthem. is reinforced by another break, either the hephthem. or (more often) the 4th diaeresis. The monotomic use of the strong caesura is demonstrably rare, and perhaps altogether secondary. Thus *ἐνκνήμιδες* is common; *χαλκοκνήμιδης*, an innovation. Again *δουρικλυτός* is frequent; *δουρικλειτός*, only occasional. Very many like instances could be given. In the similes, the two great types of scansion aimed at are such as these—

ἡιόνες βοόωσιν | ἐρευγομένης ἀλὸς ἔξω

and

ἦχῃ θεσπεσίῃ | πάταγος δέ τε | ἀγνυμενάων.

In fact, the 'strong' caesura seems to have been by far the weaker; and elision therefore, though rare (as in any important break), was not at all impossible. In the 3rd trochaic, on the other hand, the pause was of so marked a character as practically to preclude elision. It is interesting that in the one other type of monotomic scansion, viz., in lines resting on the hephthemimeral alone, elision is absolutely rejected by the principal pause. Throughout the *Il.* and the *Od.* the certainly hephthemimeral lines give only two examples of such elision, both of them in speeches, and both doubtful—

B 249, *ἔμμεναι, ὅσσοι ἄμ' Ἀτρεΐδῃσ' ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθον* (*v.l.* Ἀτρεΐδῃ)

and ω 244, *ὦ γέρον, οὐκ ἀδαημονίῃ σ' ἔχει ἀμφιπολεῖν* (the σ' is misplaced).

There is another point which is perhaps worth notice. Elision in the 4th dactylic (narr.) is relatively commoner when that diaeresis follows the weak caesura than when it follows the strong. This fact again supports the view that the bucolic was originally more important in the penthemimeral lines, and consequently that the strong caesura was the weaker pause.

Leaving elision, we must now look at the distribution of overlength (*e.g.* *μοι πρῶτον, τὸν πρότερος, φωνήσας* *Ἑπεα*) and of dovetailed length (*e.g.* *μεγάλα βρέμει, κακὰ Πριάμω*). For this purpose a fresh count of the breaks is needed. Thus, in a scansion like *Ἀτρεΐδης δ' ἐτέρωθεν* the break in which the elision stands was listed as tomic, but the break in which the overlength stands is semi-tomic; in such cases the reckoning must now be changed accordingly. The same consideration applies to dovetails and to Wernecke's scansion (positional scansion *in thesi*, *e.g.* *τόσπον | λαόν*), so that the figures for all these are given together. It is obvious that combinations like *ἄγχι | σχών* or *ἐνθα | στάς* may be called indifferently either dovetails *in thesi* or special instances of Wernecke's scansion: in the following table they are listed as 'extreme cases' of Wernecke.

		Overlength. Hemimerals.								
		3rd Hem.		5th Hem.		7th Hem.		9th Hem.		
		Tomic	Semi-tomic	Tomic	Semi-tomic	Tomic	Semi-tomic	Tomic	Semi-tomic	
NARRATIVE—										
Occurrence of break		2465	1457	2824	494	2472	664	1215	663	
{	Overlengths...	...	551 (161) ¹	248 (54)	960 (147)	87 (19)	484 (128)	49 (13)	99 (39)	61 (7)
	Of these, long									
	closed syllables	...	291 (78)	170 (16)	735 (73)	82 (15)	292 (67)	38 (9)	62 (21)	48 (4)
Dovetails ...		...	373	126	120	15	402	242	134	2
SPEECHES—										
Occurrence of break		2241	1081	2048	486	1844	529	856	671	
{	Overlengths...	...	453 (128)	144 (45)	519 (48)	75 (20?)	364 (65)	36 (11)	64 (13)	70 (11)
	Of these, long									
	closed syllables	...	236 (63)	82 (23)	380 (34)	69 (16?)	238 (39)	26 (5)	38 (5)	61 (10)
Dovetails ...		...	187	70	54	6	184	144	80	2
Spondaics. Overlength and Wernecke's Scansion.										
		1st Spondaic		2nd Spondaic		4th Spondaic				
		Tomic	Semi-tomic	Tomic	Semi-tomic	Tomic	Semi-tomic			
NARRATIVE—										
Occurrence of break ...		...	631	685	214	179	426	220		
{	Overlengths ...	...	99 (24)	178 (31)	56 (5)	48 (10)	123 (14)	37 (5)		
	Of these, long closed syllables...	...	66 (19)	171 (29)	27 (2)	36 (10)	117 (14)	15 (4)		
{	Wernecke's scansion, ...	...	180	227	67	52	13 ?	26		
	Of these, final ...	...	6 ?	6	0	0	3	1		
	elided ...	...	34	5	1	2	4	5		
	extreme cases, ...	...	22	6	16	6	0	3		
SPEECHES—										
Occurrence of break ...		...	636	602	288	294	295	246		
{	Overlengths ...	...	97 ? (27)	125 (51)	61 (16)	50 (14)	100 (5)	36 (9)		
	Of these, long closed syllables...	...	63 (20)	122 (51)	37 (14)	39 (12)	88 (4)	11 (3)		
{	Wernecke's scansion ...	...	194	267	102	94	25	23		
	Of these, final ...	...	3	0	0	0	4	0		
	elided ...	...	35	1	4	4	6	1		
	extreme cases ...	...	28	3	12	4	0	3		

¹The figures in brackets give the number of instances that must be, or that might be, removed by slight changes.

The figures for overlength show at a glance how greatly this scansion preponderates in the principal pauses.¹ In the narr. strong caesura overlength is found rather more than once in three occurrences of the break. In no other hemimeral do we see the same abundance, except when the verse rests upon the hephthemimeral alone. Then the proportion is even higher; in the *Il.* without B² etc., the hundred certainly hephthemimeral lines in narr. give thirty-nine examples in the main caesura. Especially to be noticed are the overlengths involving a final long close syllable (*e.g.* $\overline{\beta\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\nu\ \pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}}$ or $\overline{\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha\iota\omega\acute{\nu}\ \chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\omicron\chi\iota\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\omega\acute{\nu}}$), which are massed in the penthem. and the 4th spondaic, and of course in the hephthem. when the line rests wholly on this break.

Connected with overlength there is a small point which brings out such an entertaining subtlety of the versification, that the reader's patience is entreated while the facts are detailed here. No one can fail to have been a little piqued by the circumstance that the molossi, and the antibacchei, now and then standing at the end of the hexameter, do nearly all begin either with a vowel or with two consonants (*e.g.* $\overline{\upsilon\sigma\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\eta\iota}$, $\overline{\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\xi\iota\pi\omicron\sigma}$). Neglecting $\overline{\epsilon\upsilon}$, $\overline{\eta\eta\alpha\sigma\sigma\epsilon}$ ($\overline{\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}-}$), $\overline{\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha\sigma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\iota}$ ($\overline{\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\epsilon-}$), $\overline{\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron}$ ($\overline{\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\epsilon}\sigma-}$), $\overline{\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \eta\acute{\eta}\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota\upsilon}$ ($\overline{\epsilon\iota\acute{\nu}\iota\ \nu\acute{\epsilon}-}$), $\overline{\acute{\omega}\rho\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota}$ ($\overline{\acute{\omicron}\acute{\alpha}\rho-}$) and $\overline{\acute{\omega}\tau\epsilon\iota\lambda\acute{\eta}}$ ($\overline{\acute{\omicron}\acute{\alpha}\tau-}$), we find in the *Il.* without B² etc. some hundred and fifty instances of terminal molossi. The words all begin either with a vowel or with two consonants, except the doubtful $\overline{\theta\epsilon\iota\omicron\iota\omicron}$ (nine times), $\overline{\Delta\eta\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\rho}$ E 500, $\overline{\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\rho\omicron\upsilon\iota\tau\epsilon\varsigma}$ Φ 204, $\overline{\text{Κ}\epsilon\nu\tau\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\rho\omega\iota\upsilon}$ Λ 832, $\overline{\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\ \tau\epsilon}$ Ξ 467, and $\overline{\Sigma\acute{\omicron}\kappa\omicron\iota\omicron}$ Λ 427: this last word always shows $\overline{\Sigma\omega\kappa-}$ in *thesi*, and is really a third paeon. The only two quite certain cases are $\overline{\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\rho\omicron\upsilon\iota\tau\epsilon\varsigma}$ and $\overline{\text{Κ}\epsilon\nu\tau\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\rho\omega\iota\upsilon}$, neither of them in relatively early work. Even, however, if all the exceptions are reckoned, the molossals with a single initial consonant are hardly one in eleven, and so offer a sharp contrast with the terminal third paeons or lesser ionics. The fact seems merely capricious until we note that in the ninth hemimeral overlength is systematically avoided. In the 1215 narr. occurrences of the break there are only ninety-nine examples, and of these as many as thirty-nine are quite unreliable. The persistent ingenuity that secures true length in this caesura is past all praise. In the case of any long closed syllable that would naturally stand in the ninth hemimeral, the composers find or make some epithet, or conjoined phrase, beginning with a vowel: every possible device is employed to obtain true scansions of the type $\overline{\mu\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\sigma\acute{\alpha}\omega\iota\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega\iota\upsilon}$, $\overline{\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota\acute{\alpha}\omega\iota\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omega\iota\upsilon}$, or $\overline{\mu\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega\iota\upsilon\ \acute{\omicron}\delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega\iota\upsilon}$. Hence the wealth of peculiarly 'epic' words ending the line — $\overline{\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma}$, $\overline{\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\chi\omega\iota\upsilon}$, $\overline{\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\acute{\omega}\iota\upsilon}$, $\overline{\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\omega\rho\acute{\eta}}$, $\overline{\acute{\alpha}\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma}$, $\overline{\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\sigma\acute{\iota}\chi\theta\omega\iota\upsilon}$, $\overline{\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\xi\omega\iota\upsilon}$, a long triumph of scansions; hence the standing $\overline{\epsilon\upsilon\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\omega}\varsigma}$ ($\overline{\theta\epsilon\omicron\sigma\pi\rho\omicron\pi\acute{\iota}\omega\iota\upsilon}$, $\overline{\tau\acute{\omicron}\xi\omega\iota\upsilon}$, etc.); hence the curious use of $\overline{\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu}$ ($\overline{\theta\epsilon\omicron\sigma\pi\rho\omicron\pi\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma}$, $\overline{\pi\omicron\delta\acute{\omega}\iota\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\nu}$), and the rare pluperfect augment ($\overline{\acute{\epsilon}\beta\epsilon\beta\acute{\eta}\kappa\epsilon\iota}$, $\overline{\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\tau\upsilon\kappa\tau\omicron}$). The odd restriction of terminal molossi and antibacchei is now no longer a puzzle: clearly, the occasional licence of

¹ If semi-tomic overlengths should seem at first sight rather plentiful, it must be kept in mind that all the connective particles begin with a consonant. Scansions, then, like $\overline{\acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \rho\acute{\alpha}}$, $\overline{\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\omega\rho\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}}$, etc. may be called forced overlengths; in the early part of the line especially, they are almost inevitable. The

treatment of the 2nd spondaic in narr. may also need explanation, since 56 overlengths look too many for the 214 breaks of small pause-value; but it will be found that, of the 56, 14 are $\overline{\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\iota\upsilon\ (-\alpha)}$ —a very mild instance.

a molossal ending is used in combining phrases, *either* when it gives true length, stringently demanded here, to a preceding long closed syllable (κρατερῆς ὑσμίνης), *or* when it enables open tribrachs, open antispasts, and other troublesome forms, to be handsomely scanned (Ὀϊλῆα πλῆξιππον). Except in such cases, there is no sufficient motive; and originally, perhaps, the licence was used only so. Difficulties like κρατερῇ ὑσμίνη are merely apparent; the phrase may be a secondary shift from -ῆς ὑσμίνης or the declension may at first have gone ἀπὸ κρατερῆς ὑσμίνης, ἐν αἰνῇ δηϊότητι, etc., giving true scansion in each case. Elision before molossals is, in narr., only just beginning; in the tomic break, unless the 4th diaeresis has preceded, it is limited to τε. The speeches are less exact.¹

The treatment of dovetailed scansions (e.g. ὅτε τε ὄρνες) should now be compared, since their distribution is precisely converse to that of overlength. Dovetails are relatively very rare in the penthemimeral, as may be seen in the table, even if the figures given there do not overstate the actual occurrence. Really, of the 120 narr. instances found in the strong caesura no less than 46 are doubtful²: the good examples are therefore hardly 1 in 38 breaks. In the narr. of B² etc. they may be 1 in 30 penthemimerals; and in the *Od.* 1 in 35. Hephthemimeral lines almost entirely reject this scansion in the principal pause. In the *Iliad* there seems to be no instance; in the *Odyssey*, only the speeches give a 274 and the doubtful ξ 326, and (just conceivably) θ 175.

So far, then, as concerns elision, overlength and dovetailed length, the phenomena are rational enough. A scansional pause, in proportion to its strength, refuses elision; where the pause is hemimeral, there overlength is common, and dovetailed length rare. Intelligibly so; for it is awkward to stop during elision, and it is uncomfortable to rest on an open short vowel when this represents (so far) half a foot. In fact, when the main caesura is hemimeral, the really desirable scansion is the one that clears all scores—viz. a long closed syllable. Desirable, that is, as far as such a point can be argued; and certainly desired, as a glance at the text will show.

Even among 'the voiceful topics of Greek metre' there is no more fascinating subtlety than Wernecke's Law, which has often enough been a matter of dispute and despair—dispute as to its reality, and despair as to its explanation. And yet the law is simply quite real, and really quite simple. Let us look at the facts. In the *Il.* without B² etc. the narrative 1st spondaic is found, as a tomic break, 631 times, and shows 180 instances of positional scansion; of these, 140 are of the type ταρσὸν | δεξιτεροῖο or ἐνθα | στὰς. That is to say, divided positional scansion is, for the tomic break, 1 in 4½ occurrences. Similarly, in the narr. 2nd spondaic such instances are 1 in 3¼ breaks. Contrast now

¹ Narr.—Γ 26; Α 414; Π 282. Speeches—Γ 179; Ε 442; Ν 733; Ξ 233; Ο 66.

² Ten of them are combinations like ἐπὶ κλισίας, where the line may rest on the hephthem.; and 11

more are phrases like ἐπὶ τε κλισίας καί, where again the caesura is in doubt; 12 are formed by δέ (read δ' ἀρ?), and 13 are made by epheleystic endings.

the narr. 4th spondaic, of which the 426 tomic occurrences give only the following¹ examples of Wernecke's scansion.

(α) Final—B 84 βουλῆς ἐξ ἥρχε νέεσθαι, Π 252 μάχης ἐξ ἀπονέεσθαι, Φ 259 ἀμάρης ἐξ ἔχματα βάλλων. (Add, just conceivably, E 161.)

(β) Elided—Δ 472 ἀνὴρ δ' ἄνδρ' ἐδν. E 275 ἐλαύνοντ'. Δ 83 ὀλλύντας τ', I 15 ἀπαλόν τέ σφ'. N 799 πρὸ μέν τ' ἄλλ'. (Add, conceivably, M 160.)

(γ) Divided—E 734 ἐάνον πατρός. H 436 ποτὶ δ' αὐτὸν τεῖχος ἔδειμαν. And the doubtful E 157, X 444 μάχης ἐκ νοστήσαντε (-ι), E 64 θεῶν ἐκ θέσφατα ἦδῃ, Φ 213 βαθείης δ' ἐκ φθέγξατο δίνης.

We may neglect for the moment the instances under α and β, and consider only those under γ, or the *divided* positional scansions. There are only two good instances, E 734 and H 436; the other four are generally admitted to be uncertain, since the ἐκ may lean forward, not backward. Even if all are reckoned, these scansions are, for the narrative 4th spondaic (tomc), only 1 in 71 occurrences of the break.

The speeches are less law-abiding; but even here examples of the divided² scansion in the tomic break are noticeably scarce³—

H 337 ποτὶ δ' αὐτὸν δαίνομεν, Δ 189, 204 τὸν δ' ἄλλον λαόν, Δ 796, Π 38 ἄμα δ' ἄλλος (-ν) λαός (-ν), Σ 400 χάλκεον δαίδαλα, T 348 ἵνα μὴ μιν (but cf. 354), Φ 126 μέλαιναν φριχ', X 494 κοτύλην τις τυτθόν. Add perhaps E 287 ἀτὰρ οὐ μὲν σφῶϊ; O 59 μάχην ἐς Φοῖβος, E 603, Y 98 ὅς λαιγόν, Σ 387 ἵνα τοι παρ ξείνια θέω, Y 129 θεῶν ἐκ πεύσεται ὀμφῆς.

The last six instances are presumably unimportant, though it is interesting that the speech-use of ὅς before the 4th spondaic has no narrative parallel—a contrast which precisely corresponds to that noticed above in the treatment of the 4th trochaic. The more stubborn examples are at least thrice as common as in narrative; but even so, within the speeches themselves the 4th spondaic diaeresis differs enormously from the 1st, where divided positional length is nearly 1 in 3 occurrences of the break, and still more from the 2nd, where such scansions rise above 1 in 3.

Wernecke's law, then, is real enough. Indeed, if the narrative verses are taken as typical, it is all but absolute; and we now have only to ask, what is its meaning? The answer is not hard to find. On turning to the first table given, the reader will see that elisions are strikingly infrequent in the 4th spondaic. They are hardly 1 in 16 breaks; and even so, the instances are mostly preceded by the hephthemimeral. Conversely, overlength in the diaeresis is surprisingly common. We can only think, then, that the 4th spondaic, though rare, is a very marked scansional pause. It is not often used, for

¹ Ignored—βοῶπις πότνια, A 551, 568; Δ 50; Ξ 159, 222, 263; O 34; Π 439; Σ 239, 360; T 309; and πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε, E 632; Z 381; H 46; Δ 429, 522; N 306; Ξ 189; O 13; also ἐκ θυμὸν ἔλοιτο and the like, Γ 325; E 317, 346; M 150; and βοῶν ἐκ πῖαρ ἐλέσθαι, Δ 550=P 659.

² Final Wernecke—E 763, 811; Π 13; T 212. Elided: Γ 105, 254; Z 284, 326; H 30; X 389.

³ Ignored—βοῶπις πότνια O 49; Σ 357; πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν B 59; and ἡμῖν, ὑμῖν A 579; Δ 671.

bucolics are greatly preferred;¹ but where it does occur, its pause-function is unmistakable. This fact once admitted, Wernecke's Law follows of itself. If the 4th spondaic is really a pronounced scansional rest, it gives rise to a situation unique in the verse: it is the only place where a metrical pause occurs *after a long syllable standing in thesis*. The consequence is obvious—divided positional length is nearly impossible. Thus, a phrase like ἅμα δ' ἄλλος λαὸς ἐπέσθω is clearly embarrassing. The pause should be after a spondee, but until λαός is added, the -ος of ἄλλος is not a long syllable; it has not the ictus to help it. The completion of the length (by λαός) is deferred by the pause; and until that is done, ἄλλος must sound like a 4th trochaic. It is intelligible, then, that divided position in the tomic 4th spondaic should have been felt as extremely awkward. *A fortiori*, the effect of a dovetail in this break must have been almost paralysing; reassuringly, it occurs in the two epics only twice, and then in speeches—Ω 557, ρ 573, ἐπεὶ με πρῶτον ἔασας, ἐπεὶ σε πρῶθ' ἰκέτευσα.

It will at once be objected that such a view might conceivably help to explain the rarity of scansions like ἐάνδ' πατρός, but it entirely fails to correlate the infrequency of instances such as μάχης ἔξ' | ἀπονέεσθαι, or ἐλαύνοντ' | ὠκέας or ἀπαλόν τέ σφ' | ἦτορ or Καρησός : τε and the like; for in μάχης ἔξ' (final Wernecke) the length is completed before the pause, and so too in ἐλαύνοντ' | or ἀπαλόν τέ σφ' | (elided Wernecke), and in Καρησός : τε (semi-tomic Wernecke) there is no pause at all.

All this is true enough; and the scansions adduced are rare for very different reasons. Final Wernecke is just as uncommon in the other spondaics; it is a question of vocabulary, and does not illustrate, or conflict with, any known metrical principle. In elided Wernecke, the positional length gives no difficulty; it is the elision in a scansional pause that is largely avoided. In semi-tomic Wernecke the positional length is as good as any other; the troublesome thing is the occurrence of a *semi-tomic* break, where (unless the hephthem. has preceded) a *full* scansional pause, if any, is expected by the ear. In the *Il.* without B² etc., the 205 semi-tomic 4th spondaics (narr.) give only 17 instances that are not *either* elided (ὀλλύντας τ') *or* preceded by the hephthem. (the regular case, as in νόθον | καὶ : γνήσιον or καὶ ἄψ | ἐς : διφρον); that is to say, there are only 17 scansions of the pattern Ἀχαιῶν : τε or αἰζήω : τε or Κάρησός : τε. Plainly then, there were not many chances for this type of semi-tomic Wernecke; the other type (ἐν στήθεσι, σὺν λαίλαπι, etc.), is common in proportion as the opportunity for it is common.

If the reader is satisfied on these points, he will probably be increasingly conscious of another difficulty. On your view, he will say, the third trochaic is the most marked of the metrical pauses. Now, shortened -αι and -οι are a normal scansion, in the weak caesura; and it is to be presumed therefore that, since they can stand in the pause so commonly, these two terminations were felt as short syllables, such a short, that is, as we see, not in τοῦτ' ὅ, but in τοῦτ' ὄν. Well then, ἄλλοι and ἄλλον will be metrically equivalent; and if

¹ Especially, of course, after the strong caesura.

ἄμα δ' ἄλλον | λαόν is objectionable because of the pause, how is καὶ ἄλλοι | Τρωῆες (H 386) to be explained as normal?

This refutation would be perfectly conclusive, if lines like H 386 were really normal; but as a matter of fact it will be shown that this scansion, which we may call analogous Wernecke, is about as rare as Wernecke proper. It may be inferred from accentuation that both *ai*- and *-oi* were originally felt as short syllables like *-ov*, etc. There is, however, in the earliest period of epic, already some difference between them. The diphthong *-ai* is much the weaker, *i.e.* much the nearer to an open short vowel. It could be elided, as reliable passages prove. Like ephelcystic endings, though not so rigorously, it is avoided in the tonic spondaics. Among the 3rd trochaic shortenings, it is far the commonest. In none of these points is *-oi* quite parallel. The instances of elision are very doubtful; and position in spondaic thesis is frequent as compared with *-ai*, while conversely shortening in the weak caesura is less plentiful. Hence we may construct some such series of value as this, graded in ascending order from the open short syllable—*τίσε*, *τίσεν*, *τίσαι*, *τίσων*, *τίσοι*.¹

The dislike of *-ai* in the tonic spondaics is fairly demonstrable. In the *Il.* without B² etc., there is for narr. one instance in the 1st spondaic (H 468), and possibly another in the 2nd (E 63 *αἶ*); the 4th spondaic has only the very uncertain Φ 175 *ἐρύσσαι χειρὶ παχείῃ*, where *παχείῃ χειρὶ ἐρύσσαι* would make everything good.² The speeches give twelve examples in the 1st spondaic, two or perhaps four in the 2nd, and none in the 4th. The following table will show at a glance the difference between *-ai* and *-oi*, and how both these 'short' diphthongs contrast with *-η* (= *-α*), *-ov* (genit.), and *-ω*.

ILIAD WITHOUT B² ETC.

Analogous Wernecke.

				1st Spondaic		2nd Spondaic		4th Spondaic	
NARRATIVE—				Tonic	Semi-tonic	Tonic	Semi-tonic	Tonic	Semi-tonic
Occurrence of break	...	...	...	631	685	214	179	426	220
{ <i>-ai</i>	...	...	...	1	8	1?	0	1?	0
{ <i>καί</i>	...	...	...		18		14		131
{ <i>μοι, οί</i>	...	...	...	16	1	11	0	0	0
{ other <i>-οί</i>	...	...	...	12	69	3	6	3	3
<i>-η = -α</i>	...	...	...	25	14	4	2	13	0
<i>-ov</i> (genit.)	...	...	...	15	9	5	6	73	7
<i>-ω</i>	...	...	...	16	11	8	3	20	3
SPEECHES—									
Occurrence of break	...	...	...	636	602	288	294	295	246
{ <i>-ai</i>	...	...	...	12	11	2	0	0	5
{ <i>καί</i>	...	...	...		5		64		160
{ <i>μοι, τοι, οί</i>	...	...	...	30	10	45	1	1	0
{ other <i>-οί</i>	...	...	...	7	23	5	6	11	1
<i>-η = α</i>	...	...	...	2	4	2	5	13	2
<i>-ov</i> (genit.)	...	...	...	5	9	3	4	34	2
<i>ω</i>	...	...	...	14	13	4	2	5	0

¹ The opt. 3rd sing. was originally *-οιτ*, and the accent of *τίσοι* is here regarded as an irrelevant petrification; it is of course not intended that the fut. opt. is Homeric.

² This order would later have been changed, to bring the apparent hiatus into the 3rd trochaic.

The table makes it plain that *-αι* is disliked in any tomic spondaic, and is absolutely forbidden so to occur in the 4th foot. It is interesting that there should be no infinitives like *γενέσθαι* or *φοβῆσαι* standing before the 4th spondaic pause, especially as there are several instances in the break when semi-tomic (speeches—Z 79, H 199, P 505, Σ 436); it must be remembered that, as pointed out in the case of *Καρησός τε*, semi-tomic spondaics of this pattern are very rare, and consequently it is a noticeably high proportion that shows *-αι* (add N 115). Even in Odyssean work, the tomic 4th spondaic hardly admits *-αι*—(narr.) *μέλαιναι νῆες* B² (ten times), *βαρεῖαι χεῖρες* Ψ 687, *καὶ ἐλαῖαι* η 116; (speeches) *τά τ' ἄλλαι νῆες* θ 558, *καὶ ἐλαῖαι* λ 590, *καὶ ἄλλαι δαίτρες* υ 182. The naturalness of the phrases *μέλαιναι νῆες* and *βαρεῖαι χεῖρες* is enough to convince us that only if they gave some marked scansional difficulty in this position would they have been reserved for such late composers as B² and Ψ².

The ending *-οι* is not so carefully treated. In narrative indeed the principle is still clear. The two epics only give four examples in the tomic 4th spondaic—E 786, Δ 474, Π 780, and φ 418; and these are a great deal more than balanced by the semi-tomics, Γ 111, O 390, 707. Yet from many considerations it is probable that *-οι* was more and more coming to be felt rather as a long syllable. The change, like all changes, shows itself first, and most, in the speeches, where, for the two epics, we find twenty-nine instances of *-οι* in the great spondaic pause.

It has now become clear enough that there are undeniable differences between narrative- and speech-scansion. It is plain too that the various laxities of the latter are all due to a single change: in the speeches there is a tendency to minimise the function of metrical pause. The verse is more conventional, it scans more by courtesy, or (if you like) it must be 'helped, by taking the words' apart or together: it is no longer so essential to secure or avoid in any given place a naturally audible break. Hence a greater tolerance of the 4th trochaic, a less rigorous treatment of the weak and strong caesurae, and a certain slurring of the 4th spondaic. The lessening reality of scansional pause is shown in very many ways: as a last example we may notice the isolated speech-lines like A 106, 179, Γ 205, 220, H 238, and others, and the class of cases which are concerned with the ephelcystic letter. In narrative, *-ν* is massed in the 3rd and 5th trochaics and the 4th dactylic, and (positionally) in the hemimerals; the letter is next to no consonant at all, and therefore the intervocalic use is avoided in the weak or negligible pauses, and the positional use *in thesi* is entirely against principle. Owing to the greater frequency of verbal *-εν*, ephelcystic forms are rather more frequent in narrative; and consequently it is interesting that in the *Iliad* without B² etc. the really reliable instances both of intervocalic *-ν* in the 2nd trochaic and 3rd dactylic (the weakest breaks) and of positional *-ν in thesi* are quite disproportionately common in speeches.¹

¹ 2nd troch.—

Narr.—Δ 277; E 122; M 422; N 61; O 322, 447;
T 420. (Neglected, A 45; Γ 375; M 200; O 459;
X 368; Σ 251.)

Speeches—A 83, 269, 356=507; B 27=64, 240,
290; Γ 167; E 404; O 474; Π 89; P 470;
X 108. (Neglected, 9 instances.)

Taken together, all these coincident details are hard to resist; and since the puzzle cannot be ignored, we shall naturally ask how it may be explained. At this point we are likely to think of the exactly parallel problem presented by the Homeric augment. In narrative, if we look only at those aorists in which the prosody of the line absolutely necessitates, or rejects, the augment, we find that among the forms thus metrically secured the augmented examples are in the minority—

Aorists metrically secured	augmented	unaugmented
Iliad without B ² etc. narr.	542	1369
B ² etc. „	161	402
Odyssey „	342	757

Now contrast the speeches, and in these pick from among the forms metrically secured only such as have a definitely past sense¹—

Speeches. Past aorists metrically secured	augmented	unaugmented
Iliad without B ² etc.	78	146
B ² etc.	21	31
Odyssey	194	213
κλμ (reckoned separately)	150	179

The difference between narrative and speeches is seen to be very marked indeed, and it is further emphasised by the following fact. Let us call forms like *τίμησε ἴδε, περόνησε, ἀγορήσατο*, etc., *metrically protected*, since the augment is prohibited by its scansional inconvenience or impossibility. Now *in narrative* the sure examples of the unaugmented aorist show a comparatively low percentage of these protected forms—I^l. without B² etc. 34 per cent., B² etc. 36 per cent., *Odyssey* 35½. *In the speeches* there is a notable increase of protection among the certainly past—and certainly unaugmented—aorists—I^l. without B² etc. 40 per cent., B² etc. 45 per cent., *Odyssey* 50, κλμ 39. We may fairly infer that in older narrative the use of the unaugmented aorist was idiomatic; in speeches, especially in those of the *Odyssey*, it seems almost entirely scansional.

The natural conclusion of the matter would be something like this. A consideration of the oldest work, as in *Λ* and in *II*, suggests that, originally, Greek epic was for the most part limited to narrative and similes. Together with the great change toward the *Odyssean* styles we see a preference for all kinds of mimetic work: plain narrative is much reduced, and the simile practically atrophied. This later growth of personated passages (on any considerable scale)

3rd dact.—

Narr.—Only the resumptive formula *ὡς εἰπὼν τοὺς (τὴν) μὲν λίπεν* Δ 292, 364; Σ 468. The phrase is a shift from the 2nd dactylic, and is not an absolutely certain instance, even so. (Neglected, Z 118; N 157, 803; O 647; P 89 (*ὕλα λάθ'*), 523; II 717.)

Speeches—Σ 403 *ῥέεν*; T 88 *φρεσίν*.

ν *in thesi*.—

Narr.—Γ 16? M 116; N 16, 353; II 220 (M. *πρ.*)? P 396? 705; X 320, and Γ 348=H 259=P 44. (Neglected, Δ 450, 498, 571; B 411; Γ 275; E 777, 870; H 347; II 310, 680; A 479; O 701; Σ 569; Γ 454; Δ 444; M 91.)

Speeches—A 388; B 347; Δ 289; A 319; N 634; Ξ 338; O 197, 491; Σ 123; T 183; X 497. (Neglected, 12 instances, including *κεν*, *ἡμῶν*, and *ὕμῶν*.)

¹The present-reference aorist (*e.g.* *στον εἰπες*) with the rarest exceptions always takes the aug., unless the form so resulting would be highly inconvenient—open antispast or tribrach—or nearly impossible—fourth paeon or closed cretic etc. The true present-aorist, as in similes or gnomes, absolutely must, as a matter of idiom, be augmented. (This last point was proved by Prof. Platt.)

makes the stylistic divergence less surprising. There would be no hard and fast tradition, as there was in narrative; no pre-existing conventions, no authoritative models. The speeches would enjoy a comparative freedom, both metrical and linguistic; and this in its turn would give fresh strength to the tendency—which in the *Odyssey* becomes dominant—to throw everything into mimetic form.

One more point needs a short mention. Everything that has here been suggested about the hexameter, runs counter to the view that the verse has arisen from a primitive measure = | — = | — — | — = twice repeated. This theory has many difficulties and no proofs; indeed, it rests wholly on the assumption that the third trochaic was originally essential to the line. The supposed priority of the weak caesura has no better evidence than can be drawn from the following (a) the relative frequency of the tritotrochaic, (b) the occasional neglect of the digamma here, and (c) the short scansion before two initial consonants (e.g. *δοῦρα θρασειάων*). As regards the relative frequency, statistics for the oldest work give no definite result; in the narr. of Λ (all over) third-trochaic lines are not more than fifty-six per cent., in that of Π (all over) they are only fifty per cent. In the speeches generally the proportion is higher, and rises highest in those of the *Odyssey*.¹ It is not unlikely that the weak caesura was the easier to obtain; we see at all events that in the *Odyssey* the high narrative percentage of penthemimerals is, where found at all, only secured at the price of very frequent elision.² In all this there is nothing to suggest the primacy of the tritotrochaic. As against (b) which refers to lines like Λ 25 and conversely P 333, we should notice that many such instances can be remedied by obvious changes; of the more stable examples (for the Π . without B^2 etc.) a majority occur either in the speeches or in the introductory and resumptive formulae. In any case, adigammatism can furnish no safe argument as to the early constitution of the verse. Lastly, the shortenings like *δοῦρα θρασειάων* cannot be made to prove anything here; they are relatively, i.e. in proportion to the occurrence of the break, more common in the 5th trochaic. Like *πνείοντες*, *Ἀφροδίτη*, *φράσσει* | *αὐτο*, etc., the scansion is 'forced,' if the closed cretics (and analogues) are to be used at all.

Statistics often seem both fantastic and repulsive; but if the reader on glancing through the figures previously given, has been struck by the perspicuity and coherence of the metrical facts, he will be interested to turn to the text and to see for himself how everywhere the principles suggested come steadily to light. Particularly in the well-known passages of Λ and of Π , the older narrative verse and the original use of unaugmented tenses are both beautifully clear. The styles of either book are typical, and contrast boldly with speech-

¹ For figures, see above: among the speeches, the most notable exception is ι , where the statistics of the augment and of the various scansional points come nearer to narrative than in the rest of the *ἀπόλογοι* or in any other *Odyssean* speech. This

makes it plausible that ι was originally cast in the 3rd person.

² The necessity of making the penthemimeral line *ditomic* would no doubt restrict the free use of the strong caesura.

scansion; they show too, great differences, though of course not so marked, from Odyssean narrative, of which the finest example in the *Iliad* is Σ. The *ὀπλοποιία* shows very clearly some approaches towards the speech-verse—the less rigorous treatment of the 4th foot, the rising importance of the 3rd and 5th trochaics, the decline of the 5th and 7th hemimerals, and the levelling of overlength.¹ The versification here is in fact, for narrative, pronouncedly of the later type; but in ease, grace, and speed, it has no equal, late or early. In epic verse this is the grand summit, *ὃ τε φαίνεται οἶον ἀπ' ἄλλων*. For spirit and style, its nearest relations are ε and ι, and δ 351–584; but by its scansional technique the *ὀπλοποιία* makes them seem almost poor relations. All this, however, properly lies outside the sphere of the present inquiry; the books have been mentioned only because the reader by looking through them can shortly and easily verify the views here maintained. He will have the principles forced upon him—and he will be spared the statistics.

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¹ All the statistics for Σ 368–end (speeches of course omitted) are quite unparalleled.

THE SECOND LEGIONARY CAMP IN PALESTINE.

WAS there a second legion in Palestine at all? Mommsen has raised a doubt. In his note on *C.I.L.* iii 6641 'M. Iunio Maximo Leg. Augg. Leg. x Fr. . . .' he says 'Quo tempore titulus positus est (about 200 A.D.) provinciam Palaestinam una sola legio obtinuerit necesse est x Fretensis; nam Augustorum vocabulum legatis legionis non solet addi nisi simul provinciae praesunt. Legio VI Ferrata quamquam a Dione (lv 23) in Iudaea collocatur, vide ne castra habuerit in Batanaea (quo ducunt milites eius duo Capitoliade oriundi, *C.I.L.* vi 210 anni 208 et x 532) quae fuit sub legato Syriae Phoenices.' On *C.I.L.* iii 6703 similarly he says 'legatus legionis Augusti vocabulum raro adsumit.' But the title 'leg. Aug.' does seem to be used with sufficient frequency of a simple 'legatus legionis' to invalidate Mommsen's argument: e.g. *Dessau* 1026 'leg. Aug. leg. xi C. p. f.'; 1036, 1055, 1070, 1141 etc: and the soldiers of Capitolias might just as easily have served across the border in Palestine. Zangemeister, who first published the inscription of Iunius Maximus (*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* x 1887, 49-53) took the same view as Mommsen, that he was the provincial legatus; but later (ib. xi 138) he admitted that in that case the words 'pro praetore' would have been added.

Hence there does not seem to be sufficient reason for rejecting the strong evidence that the Legio VI Ferrata did lie in Palestine. Mommsen himself refers to Dio's direct statement, which is true at least of his own time, the early third century. Besides, there is the list of legions drawn up not later than Aurelius' reign (*C.I.L.* vi 3492 = *Dessau* 2288), which proves that this legion was then in the same province as the x Fretensis; for, had it been in Syria, it must have appeared not after the xvi Flavia, but before it, as is required by the numerical order which is followed for each province in the inscription. This point is overlooked by Mommsen when he says (l.c.) 'In laterculo legionum . . . legio haec eodem iure tam ad Syriam coelen revocari potest quam ad Syriam Palaestinam' (By 'Syria coele' he must mean the undivided province of Syria, Syria proper as distinguished from Syria Palaestina; not the northern half of Syria proper as organised by Septimius Severus). Again, there is *C.I.L.* ix 5362, which names a 'tribunus militum leg. vi Ferr. in Syria Palaestina.' The place-name Lejjun, and the evidence of Eusebius and Jerome, which will be referred to later, point in the same direction. Lastly, the Palestine diploma of 139 A.D. (*C.I.L.* iii p. 2328⁷⁰ No. 109) names 3 alae and 12 cohorts in garrison,

the quota of two legions; the diploma of 86 A.D. (ib. p. 1964 = 857, No. 19) records 2 *alae* and 4 cohorts, when the X *Fretensis* was alone in occupation.

Hence it is clear that there were two legions. Von Rohden (*de Palaestina et Arabia* p. 31) dates the arrival of the second from the time of Hadrian's Jewish war. It is preferable on the whole to make it earlier, 117 A.D., when the rising was suppressed by Lusius Quietus. There were at least two legions, and probably more, employed in that war, since Quietus was a consular; an inscription records a 'vexillatio' of the Legio III *Cyrenaica* at Jerusalem at the end of Trajan's reign (*C.I.L.* iii 13587). There is no later instance known to us of a *legatus* of the province who was certainly of praetorian rank only; and thus there is no reason to believe that the garrison had been reduced before the rising of Bar-Kochba. Moreover, although the Legio xv *Apollinaris* is first recorded in the East by Arrian in 135 A.D., it is much more probable that it was transferred by Trajan for his Parthian campaigns than later by Hadrian¹; and it is reasonable to suppose that this was the legion which by its permanent encampment at Satala in Armenia made it possible to transfer the VI *Ferrata* in the redistribution of garrisons that followed the war.²

Where then was the camp? Three inscriptions of Antioch in Pisidia (*C.I.L.* iii 6814-6) record one C. Novius Apronianus, son of C. Novius Priscus cos., who had been *xvir stlitibus iudicandis* and then *tribunus laticlavius* Leg. VI *Fer.* Caparc (so 6814; 6816 reads 'Capar,' but at the end of the line). O. Hirschfeld has the following note on 6814: 'Mihi videtur intellegendum esse Capar(eis); locus enim castrorum eodem modo adiunctus est in titulo urbano *C.I.L.* vi 1409 "leg. leg. xvi Fl. f. Samosate." Neque abhorret ab hac coniectura quod apud Tacitum (Ann. ii 79) legitur "Laodiceam urbem Suriae adpulsus, cum hiberna sextae legionis peteret. . . ." nam Capareae (an Caparcae? si recte hic legitur Caparc) secundum itinerarium Antonini p. 194 inter Epiphaneiam et Arram sitae a Laodicea haud longe distabant.'

Now the inscriptions of Antioch may be referred with confidence to the second century. For C. Novius Priscus was very probably consul in 152 A.D.

¹ Professor Pelham, in *Outlines of Roman History*⁴ (1905) p. 506, says that the Legio xv *Apollinaris* came to Satala before 98; herein probably following Mommsen in the Berlin *Sitzungsberichte* 1903 p. 818 n. 4; for he had previously (*Eng. Hist. Rev.* 1896 p. 632) given 117 as the date. But Mommsen's view has been rejected by Ritterling, in the Austrian *Jahreshefte* vii *Beiblatt* p. 34 n. 30, and by Domaszewski, in *Philologus* 1907 p. 170, as contradicting ascertained facts. One inscription from Carnuntum in particular may be cited as proof that the legion lay there for the interval between 70 and the Parthian war: *C.I.L.* iii 11218 = *Dessau* 2359 'D. M. T. Fl. T. f. Pol. Secundus cast., mil. leg. xv *Apol.* . . . stip. xxii, T. Fl. Ingenus signif. h. f. c.' It is evident from his name that T. Flavius Secundus was born in the camp some time after 70; having served 22 years he must have been about 40

when he died. On the other hand, *C.I.L.* iii. 25 = *Dessau* 2612, which records a centurion of the legion appointed 'ab *optimo* imp. Traiano' to guard the marble quarries at Mons Claudianus in Egypt, affords a strong presumption that the legion was in the East, though not necessarily in Egypt as Boeckh thought, during the last years of Trajan.

² *C.I.L.* iii 8261 = *Dessau* 2733 records a 'trib. mil. leg. vi *Fer.* in Syr.' who was next 'praef. coh. i Thrac. Syr. in Moesia.' As this cohort was probably in Syria up to Trajan's war (*C.I.L.* iii 600) but is not traceable there later—it is not mentioned in the diploma of 157—we may assume that it went to Moesia in the rearrangement of forces after the war. The inscription therefore is probably our last record of the Legio vi *Ferrata* in Syria, shortly before its transfer.

(*Prosopographia* N 148-9) and Apronianus' service as xvir *before* he was tribunus affords a presumption that the date was not before the end of the first century (Mommson, *Staatsrecht*, *Fr. trans.* ii pp. 202-3 and notes). Professor Sir W. M. Ramsay, who shared in the discovery of these inscriptions, has very kindly given me his opinion, that to judge solely from the lettering they are not earlier than the end of the first century and not so late as the third; and that 'historically there is every reason to follow the *Prosopographia*.'

If then the legion was so long quartered at Capareae—for the passage quoted from Tacitus refers to 19 A.D.—it is very strange that the place was of so little importance as to be ignored by all the authorities, so far as I can find, save one.¹ Moreover, the position, being comparatively close to Raphanea, where the Legio III Gallica had its depôt,² would have been unsymmetrical, especially when Syria had only three legions in all: the main strength was rather on the frontier. But in fact, as we have seen, the legion was transferred to Palestine by Hadrian at latest; so the Syrian Capareae can hardly be in question.

But Caparcotni or Caparcotia (Kefr-Kut) in Palestine suits the requirements very closely. It is named by Ptolemy (v 15, 3) as one of four cities of Galilee, with Sepphoris, Bethsaida-Julias, and Tiberias; and it reappears in several later authorities. It was therefore a place of importance; but since Ptolemy seems to be the first to mention it, its rise may have been due to the recent advent of the legion. Its name fits the spelling of the inscription (Caparc).³ It was symmetrically placed with regard to the other legionary depôt at Jerusalem, so as to control the northern half of the province. It was on the southern border of rebellious Galilee. To the south it commanded the easiest access to friendly Samaria as well as to Judaea, the way of many invaders in former days. The writer of the *Book of Judith* (iv 7) to which Professor G. A. Smith refers in this connexion (*Historical Geography* p. 355) 'amply testifies to the strategical importance of this line of entrance into Samaria. He speaks of its various steps as "the anabaseis of the hill-country, for by them is the entrance into Judaea" and says (with some exaggeration, it is true) "it is easy to stop the invaders as they advance (the pass being narrow) in double file at most."' To the westward, again, Caparcotia commanded the broad valley through which ran in ancient as in modern times the great highway leading from Caesarea and the plain of Sharon. It was three miles north of Dothan, near which Joseph was sold to a passing caravan of Midianites. It lay on the lower slopes of a hill which rises sharply to a height of over 1500 feet—a commanding height for many miles round—close to the point where the valley opens into the great plain of Esdraelon. That plain was the classic battle-ground of Palestine from the earliest times. Eusebius in his *Onomasticon* calls it τὸ μέγα πεδῖον τῆς Λεγεῶνος, and Jerome, translating him, 'campus legionis' (I owe these references to Prof. Smith

¹ See Tac. *Hist.* ii 80 ad. fin. for the legionary camps of Syria as centres of population.

² Ptol. v 14, 12.

³ It is worth noting that Wesseling (*Itin. Antonini*,

l.c.) gives *Capareae* as the name of the Syrian town, following the evidence of four MSS. out of five which he quotes.

op. cit. p. 386). It may be inferred that the whole plain was the 'territorium legionis' reserved for the support of the troops. If this view can be accepted, does it afford any clue to the position of the missing fortress Bethulia, mentioned in the Book of Judith?

It is true that the modern Lejjun, which like Leon in Spain and Caerleon-on-Usk probably shows by its name that it was once a legionary camp, lies nine miles N.W. of Kefr-Kut, and guards the mouth of another important pass—the chief pass, says Professor Smith p. 386—from Sharon to Esdraelon; it is the ancient Megiddo, or Armageddon. There are extensive ruins there, whether of Roman date I do not know. But Caparcotia, though as yet it has no Roman remains to show, was probably a more central and commanding position, and may well have been the earlier head-quarters. Lejjun would be a secondary base until for reasons unknown to us the main strength was transferred thither. The later history of the legion is indeed very obscure. Eusebius may prove its survival into the fourth century. But it had disappeared without a trace when the *Notitia* was compiled a hundred years later.

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ON THE NEW FRAGMENTS OF MENANDER.

MENANDER GALLOGRAECVS, as one may call the text constructed by the joint labours of Messrs Gustave Lefebvre and Maurice Croiset, did not come into my hands till three months after its publication, and I am not surprised to find that over sixty of the corrections which I made on a first reading were proposed by Mr Leo in November last, five-and-twenty more by Mr Wilamowitz in December, and another five-and-twenty by other scholars at other dates. The remainder, and the fruits of a second perusal, are the following:

Epitrepontes. 118 δραχμὰς ἵνα κερδάνειεν αὐτῷ δώδεκα. 160 πρὸς τὸν τρόφιμον ἐνθάδ' εἷσφερε | Χαιρέστρατον. νῦν γὰρ κτλ. 181 [ὄχ]λος ὁ προσελθὼν (see 186 ἅπασι καθ' ἕνα). 377 [πάντων γ' ἄριστ', ἀφ'] οὐ γὰρ τὴν νύμφην ὀρώ | τὴν ἔνδον οὖσαν. ναίχι, μακαρία γύναι, | θεῶν τις ὑμᾶς ἠλέησε. 390 περὶ [τᾶνδρὸς κακόν]. 425 κοινωνὸς ἦκειν τοῦ βίου | [παρ' ἄνδρα, κ]οῦ δεῖν τᾶτύχημ' αὐτὴν φυγεῖν. | [τῆς εὖσ]εβ[εῖα]ς. 521 ἐξ ἀστέως πάλιν ταρ[αχήν τιν'] ὥς ἔ[χ]ων.

Pericriomenē. 81 τίς ἔσθ' ὅδ' ἀ[κούων]; τίς αὖτη; 109 ὦ Πάτ[αιχ', οἶαι μίτραι], | ἐνδύμαθ' οἶ', οἷα δὲ φαίνεθ' ἡνίκ' ἂν | λάβῃ τι τούτων. Pat. οὐ γὰρ ἑόρακ'; ἐνε[πλάγην] | ἐγὼ σε. 123 πολλῶν γεγονότων [ἀ]θλίω ν.

Samia. 71 M. ἰδιῶτ'. P. ἐγώ; M. δοκεῖς γέ μ' [ἐκτείν<ειν> λόγο]υς, | εἰ πυνθά- νομαι κτλ. 98 τὸ παιδίον | τίνος ἔ[στ', ἐρωτᾶ]ς; Χρυσίδος. 105 ἔ[α σὺ πάν<τα>] τᾶλλα λανθάνειν. 165 νῦν δ' ἔτι εἰ[ί] (=ἔτ' εἰ). 169 βέλτισθ', ὄρα—. D. τί μοι διαλέγει; Ch. — μὰ δεικῆς. 202 ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἐλθὼν τ[ί]; B. δεινὰ, νῆ Δέ', ὦ τάν' οἴχεται | πάντα μικροῦ δεῖν τὰ πράγματ', ἀνατέτραπται, τέλος ἔχει. 273 τοῦθ' ἱκανὸν εὐτύχημ' ἔμαντῷ [νενομικῶς]. 292 φυλάξετ' αὐτ[ί]ς μηδὲν εἰς μ' ἀγνωμονεῖν. 330 σὲ γὰρ, <παῖ>, περιμένουσ'.

358 ἄρα τὸ μυλ[ωθ]ρε[ῖν] κράτιστόν σ[οῦστί]ν; 386: the speaker is probably Doris, certainly not Daos. 399 παννὴν γὰρ ἀτόπως, ὥς παρελθὼν εἴπα κτλ. 401 'ἦ σὺν λεάληκας πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι φοβηθεῖς' ἐνθάδε | καταπέφευγ' α[ὔτ]η πρ[ὸς] ἡμᾶς; πανύ] γε (or μάλα γε). 416 M[οσχ.] μιαιρό<ς ὦν> εἴσει. D. τό<δ' ἦ>δεν, Μοσχίων, ἐγὼ τότε. | μ[ι]α[ρ]ό[ς] εἰ[ί]μ', ἔγνω. 426 ποῦ πεδήσας κατὰ [κράτος], | [Δ]ᾶε, περιπατεῖν πο[ι]εῖς με περίπατον πολὺν τινα; | ἀρτίως με νο[υ]θετ[ή]σας [σφό]δ[ρ]α [τε] πρᾶν[ας], πάλιν | οὐκ ἔᾶς φρονεῖν. 447 ὑμεῖς δ' ἀφήκαθ', ἱερόσυλα θηρία; | [ἀφή]κατ'; εἰ[ί]', ὁ τῆς θυ[ρα]ς [παρ]ασ[τάτης]. 452 μᾶντ[ί]π[ο]ιν[α] [νῦν] τῆς [ἀθλίας] | τοῦτον ἐπιτυγχάνει τι; 472 ὥσπερ παρ' ἡμῖν οὖσαν ἐ[πιμέ]νεις πάλαι. 481 [οὐ]τ[ω]ς ὅ[ν]αιο, λέγ' ὅτι πρὸς γυναικὰ ποι | [δείσα]σα καταπέφευγε.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

THE SATURNIAN METRE.

THE latest elaborate work on the Saturnian¹ goes back definitely to the view that the metre is quantitative in character, not accentual, or half-accentual.² This theory then, which is at the same time the oldest,³ may at present be considered to hold the field, and the burden of proof will presumably lie on those who advocate a counter-theory. In putting forward such a theory I shall make two, as I think, justifiable assumptions: (a) that that theory should be accounted the best which throws most light on the origin of the Saturnian, and (b) that the Saturnian is an exceedingly primitive metre, and that an explanation of a primitive metre need not be very complicated to be intelligible.

In the Hymn of the Arval Brethren we have the Saturnian in as perfect a form as it ever attained. 'enos⁴ lasas iuuate,' and 'enos marmor iuuato' conform to the most usual type of the first half-verse. 'Semunes alternei (seven syllables) aduocapit cunctos' is a perfect Saturnian verse, if such an adjective can be applied to such a metre. 'Satur fu fere mars, limen || *sali sta berber*' may be compared with Liuius' 'simul aduenit, seruæ || *portant ad naues*,' Merry, *Fragments of Early Latin Poetry*, 9. While the number of chief accents in each half-verse is the same and constant, the number of syllables varies within certain limits. For the most part, however, in the fragments of Liuius 7 || 6 represents the syllabic relation. On the other hand, in the Saturnians in which are couched the oracles relating to the siege of Veii, Merry, *op.c.* 2, the number of syllables in the second half-verse is, in the majority of cases, seven, *i.e.* the same as in the first half-verse. This, I take it, represents the original structure of the Saturnian verse, and the shortening of the second half-verse has its counterpart in the invariable substitution of spondee or trochee for dactyl in the last foot of the dactylic hexameter,⁵ and is the result of an attempt to form *one self-contained verse* out of two.

Now for the ictus. The editors appear to treat the first half-verse as if it must always and necessarily be iambic. This is the natural result of regarding the metre as quantitative. For the moment we shall assume that

¹ F. Leo, *der saturnische Vers*, Berlin, 1905; cf. also E. V. Arnold, *C.R.* June, 1907, p. 100.

² F. Allen, *K.Z.* xxiv. 556 ff.

³ For older literature of the subject see Teuffel-

Schwabe (E.T.), §§ 61, 62, and Schanz, *Geschichte der röm. Litt.* i. pp. 14 sqq.

⁴ I suggest that this word may be connected with enim, ἐν; cf. Solmsen, *K.Z.* xxxi. 472.

⁵ Cf. Christ, *Metrik der Griechen u. Römer*, p. 110.

this view has not been sufficiently established, and place the ictus in either half-verse on the syllables which bear the word-accent, thus:

Gnáiuod pátre prognátus || fórtis uír sapiénsque, Merry, *op. c.* 4 ;

hónos fáma uirtúsque || glória átque ingyium, *ib.* 5 ;

fácile fácteís superáses || glóriám maiórum, *ib.* 5.

Assuming then that the Saturnian is accentual in character, we find that in the first half-verse the trochaic movement is as common as the iambic. The second half-verse shows more consistency and is prevailingly trochaic. There are exceptions however: it may, for instance, be questioned if '|| Néptuni ét mare mágnum,' Merry, *op. c.* 8, is a better ictus scheme than 'Neptúni et máre mágnum'; and in a case like '|| endóstauráta fácito,' Merry, 3, we have only to read the words to find that an iambic movement is the more natural.

So far the result of the discussion is this. By assuming what we have a perfect right to assume, that the Saturnian verse is accentual, and placing the ictus accordingly, we find that the first half-verse is as often as not trochaic in character, while the second half-verse is occasionally iambic. It has also been suggested that the prevailing inequality of the two half-verses in respect of the number of syllables is a later development. *The Saturnian verse then represents the fusion of two primitive verses, each of which bore three chief accents, consisted normally of seven syllables, and might be either trochaic or iambic in movement, thus:*

|o|o|oo or o|o|o|o,

allowing theoretically four varieties of Saturnian verse. There are now two points that call for remark. In the first place, one of the above ictus schemes involves a dactylic movement which can occur in any of the three possible places:

1. súbigit ómnem Loucánam || Wordsworth, *Fr.* p. 159.
2. uíres uítaque córpús || Merry, 31.
3. mágnum stúprum pópulo || *ib.* 29.

This dactyl is considered by Allen, *l.c.*, to be a late innovation; I am rather inclined to look on it as an original characteristic of this metre, and indeed as a necessary consequence of its structure. In the second place, we have to account for the fact that the second half-verse is preponderatingly trochaic. From a consideration of the above ictus schemes it will be clear that in either type of verse the ictus could not fall on the last syllable. The result of this was that when two of these primitive verses were combined, the second was preferably made trochaic to avoid an accumulation of short syllables at the juncture. An explanation of the syncopation of the second half-verse has already been suggested, and we have thus disposed of the two chief difficulties that stood in the way of deriving the Saturnian from the various combinations of |o|o|oo and o|o|o|o.

In Fiacch's Hymn (Windisch, *Irische Texte*, i. p. 11; Stokes, *Goidelica*, 126; Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, vi.; Strachan-Stokes, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, ii. 308) we have a metre the resemblance of which to the Saturnian is most patent. The first verse is:

the first half-verse trochaic, the second iambic. With α cf. 'hónos fáma uirtúsque ||,' identical foot with foot down to the dactyl in the second place; with β cf. '|| libábant, ánclabátur,' Merry, *op. c.* 10—again perfect correspondence in every respect. It will be noticed that in the Irish the second half-verse is not syncopated, and that, on the other hand, the second half-verse does not show the same preference for the trochaic movement: 'bendácht for Cólumcille || connoébaid Álbán álla,' but 'Robó chóbair dond Érin || tíchtu Pátraic foróchlad.' For resolved feet cf. 'acus bíth bennácht firu múmam³ ||' with such verses as 'quare lúbens té in grémiu ||,' Merry, *op. c.* 5.

Reserving for another occasion a fuller discussion of the matter, I will for the present merely call attention to the significance of the resemblance between the Italian and the Old Irish metres. There are three possibilities: either the Old Irish metre is modelled on the Saturnian (a view which is scarcely likely to be supported⁴), or the resemblance is purely accidental, or, in the third place, both the Saturnian and the metre of Fiacc's hymn go back to an Italo-Keltic speech-unity. That the resemblance is accidental is of course possible, particularly if with Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, vi. 285 n., we hold that Old Irish verse had no ictus, the syllables being simply counted. On the other hand, it seems to me that there is really no strong objection to the third supposition. The date of Fiacc's hymn is disputed—Thurneysen, *R.C.* vi. 329, thinks it is not older than ninth century—but this naturally does not affect the question, and Zimmer⁵ appears to claim a much higher

¹For an ingenious attempt to connect it with the Greek dactylic hexameter, see F. Allen's article in *K.Z.* already referred to.

²Zeuss, *G.C.* 938, places two accents on 'innemthur,' but preposition and noun come under one accent; cf. Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, vi. 291.

³ Zeuss, *G.C.*². p. 938.

⁴For an attempt to derive certain Old Irish metres from *late* Latin metres, see an article by R. Thurneysen, *Revue Celtique*, vi. p. 336 ff.

⁵ *Keltische Studien*, 2^{tes} Heft: über altirische Betonung u. Verskunst, Berlin, 1884. I have had unfortunately no opportunity of consulting Zimmer's work.

antiquity for the Old Irish metres. If we remember what Caesar says (*B.G.* vi. 14) on the subject of the Druid schools,¹ we shall have no difficulty in agreeing with the observation of Zeuss, *G.C.*² p. 938, 'cum morum priscorum semper tenacissimi fuerint celtici populi . . . nimium audere mihi non uideor si affirmo prima iam religionis christianae aetate in Gallia gallicam illam carminum formam translatam esse in carmina christiana.' And if we also bear in mind the isolated position of Ireland, we can readily admit that a metre which in Italy was killed out by the invading Greek hexameter, should in Ireland have been preserved unchanged for several centuries longer. From the admission of the original identity of the two metres in question we gain (1) an additional argument for an Italo-Keltic speech-unity in comparatively recent times, and (2) a fairly simple explanation of the Saturnian, with the certainty that it was not quantitative but accentual.

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¹Cf. also, H. D'Arbois Jubainville, *Introduction à l'étude de la littérature Celtique*, and E. Windisch, *Táin bó Cúalnge*, pp. xl and xlviii.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO A NEW TEXT OF THE CHARACTERS OF THEOPHRASTVS.

IN the following pages the references are to the *lines* of Immisch's text (Teubner 1897), and the MSS and groups of MSS are indicated by his lettering.

i 5 συλλυπέσθαι πάσχουσι κακῶς ἢ ἡττωμένοις (ABCDE συλλ. ἡττ.: Ep. Mon. συνάχθεσθαι πάσχ. κακῶς. ἢ ἡττημένοις): the longer reading, as it occurs in the most epitomised MS and makes good sense, is probably nearer the original.¹

11 ὁψέ γενέσθαι αὐτοῦ, 'he arrived late on the scene' (O αὐτόν): αὐτόν referring to the speaker is surely impossible; Jebb's ἐαυτόν is worse. I can find no exact parallel; but cf. Plato *Gorg.* 490 B ἔχε δὲ αὐτοῦ (so Dem. 45, 26), *Rep.* 1. 327 C μένετ' αὐτοῦ; Xen. *Ven.* 8. 6 αὐτοῦ ἐστιν, *Anab.* 5. 6. 26 ἔστ' ἂν ἐκεῖ γέννησθε, et al.; Isocr. *Paneg.* 113 ἐγγὺς γίγνεσθαι; Plato *Prot.* 314 C ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ προθύρῳ ἐγένομεθα. Cf. also Thuc. 4. 83 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο τῷ στρατῷ μετὰ τοῦ Βρασίδου ἐπὶ τῇ ἐσβολῇ τῆς Δύγκου; Alexis *Fr.* 261 (K.) γενόμενος οὐ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἐβούλετο.

[Since I wrote the above, my attention has been drawn to Mr. H. Richards' chapter on εὐθύ and αὐτοῦ in '*Xenophon and Others.*' If the *Characters* may be reckoned as belonging to the 'Greek of the best time,' it seems that αὐτοῦ must be regarded as emphatic, implying a certain contrast. Should we render 'he arrived late on the actual spot'? Such a nuance of expression is in keeping with the Character. The position, too, of the adverb αὐτοῦ is perhaps peculiar in a phrase of three words. If it is emphatic by position as well as by nature, the additional emphasis may well imply the ellipse of a contrasted idea.]

19 Δέγεις <αὐτόν> ἐαυτοῦ ἕτερον γεγονέναι, 'you make him out to have changed from what he was' (O λέγει ἐαυτόν ἕτερον γεγ.: Δέγεις Foss: Immisch suggests Δέγεις ἐαυτοῦ ἕτερον γεγ.): cf. Thuc. 1. 8. πλουσιώτεροι ἐαυτῶν

¹The claims of the Munich Epitome have been undeservedly disregarded. Bad as it is in many ways, it is the only MS which gives the correct spelling of Πολυπέρχων in viii 14 and has the necessary τούς in ix 18, it is unique in the number of the Characters which it contains, and its reading κέραμον in vi 12 is almost certainly older than the τὸ δεσμωτήριον of the other MSS. Again, wherever an epitome gives an expression in a longer form than the fuller MSS,

it is probably nearer the archetype. When the fuller MSS themselves bear witness to the epitomiser's hand, as in the case of AB (compare, in part of xxx, AB with V), the probability becomes very great. While Ep. Mon. is never in any important respect longer than V, it is longer than AB in eight or nine places where the addition is either necessary to the sense or an improvement of it.

γιγνόμενοι; Plato *Rep.* 4. 421 D ἀργὸς δὲ καὶ ἀμελής γενήσεται μᾶλλον αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ.

ii 4 τοῦτο οὐθενὶ τῶν (so B: edd. οὐδενί): see Meisterhans; so also vii 4 (with B), viii 13 (AB), and x 18 (B).

15 καὶ λέγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τι τοὺς ἄλλους σιωπᾶν κελεύσαι, καὶ ἐπαινέσαι δὲ ἀκούοντας, καὶ ἐπισημήνασθαι δὲ, ἐπὶ παύσῃται Ὀρθῶς (ABe ἀκούοντας: CDe ἄκοντος: Ep. Mon. ἀκουόν: O εἰ for ἐπὶ: ABCDe παύσεται: e παύσῃται: e παύεται): 'and when his patron is talking he will bid the company be silent and if they listen will praise them [for doing so], and when the great man stops speaking he will ejaculate "Quite right!" by way of showing his approval.' Reiske's ἄδοντας for ἀκούοντας is unlikely. Singing would belong to § 10 below, where the scene is laid at a dinner-party. Besides, the order would naturally be καὶ ἄδοντας δὲ ἐπαινέσαι, and moreover we should expect Σοφῶς rather than Ὀρθῶς. Cobet's reading of A, ἀκόντος, which Diels (*Deut. Littz.* '98) puts forward in support of Reiske's suggestion, is incorrect. M. Omont kindly informs me that A reads ἀκόντ: this must certainly be interpreted ἀκούοντας (for \ = *on* see Thompson *Palaeog.* p. 94). In any case the genitive is strange, though an ignorant scribe might easily change ἀκούοντας to ἀκούοντος, thinking it parallel to λέγοντος. The reading εἰ παύσεται cannot well be right. It would seem that we have to choose between εἰ παύεται (Dübner), ἢν παύσῃται (Ast), and ἐπὶ παύσῃται (Foss). I prefer the temporal conjunction, which with the abbreviation for *an* (Γ or Γ, see Allen *Notes* Pl. II) is not so far from the MSS reading as it looks.

32 καὶ μεταξύ ταῦτα λέγων (AB καὶ μὴ: Ambros. E καὶ μετὰ, see Bassi's partial collation of five MSS in the Ambrosian Library, *Rivista di Filol.* '98 and '99): cf. vii 5 καὶ μεταξύ δὲ ἀποκρινομένῳ ἐπιβάλλειν εἴπας. W. Müller *de Dic. Rat. Theophr.* pp. 34, 45 is against καὶ μὴν (so CDe) or καὶ δὴ. There seems to have been an obscure abbreviation. Perhaps something like ξ or $\mu\xi$ (Allen *Notes* p. 19 note 4) was variously read as μὴ and μετὰ. Confusion of compendia is probably the cause of the variations in the following passages:—v 1 and 2 AB γὰρ for δὲ; xi 8 A καὶ for ἦ; iv 27 AB ὑπο- for ἀπο-; v 32 AB ἀπο- for ἐπι.

iii 1 λόγων οὐ καιρίων ἢ μακρῶν καὶ ἀπροβουλεύτων (so Ep. Mon. but full-stop after μακρῶν: cett. λογ. μακρῶν καὶ ἀπροβ.): see note on i 5.

iv 9 καθίζανειν: this form is used of birds or insects five times in Aristotle, e.g. *H.A.* θ 3. 593^b 10 (Bekk.); in *Probl.* 54. 886^a 1, it is used of men, as opposed to ἀνίστασθαι; Isocrates *Dem.* 52 uses it of bees. The only metrical passages where it is supposed to be used of men are Pherecr. *Fr.* 172 (K.) δειπνον παρασκευάζε, σὺν δὲ καθίζανε, and Menander *Fab. Inc.* 847 (K.) καθίζανει . . . εἰς τὰ σησάμα (*i.e.* the sesame-shops). The latter passage might conceivably refer to birds. The former is perhaps sufficient to support the MSS reading here. Meisterhans supports καθίζειν.

17 καὶ ἐστίων τὸν κύνα προσκαλεσάμενος καὶ ἐπιλαβόμενος τοῦ ῥύγχους εἰπεῖν· Οὗτος φυλάττει τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν (Ep. Mon. καὶ ἐσθίωντα ἐπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ ῥύγχους κυνός. λέγοντα οὗτος φύλαξ.: cett. καὶ τὸν κύνα προσκ. κτλ.): V has ἐσθίων for ἐστίων xxx init. For the absolute use of ἐστίων cf. xxx 2 and Ehippus *Fr.* 16 (K.) κυμβία τε παρέχοιμ' ἐστίων Εὐριπίδῃ. So far from being otiose, the word is necessary to point the ἀγροικία of the action described.

v 27 τῶν σκολιῶν <τῶν> ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος.

vi 4-6 In this passage, where nearly all edd. insert μὴ before ἔχων with *e*, I should like to suggest the following reading:—ἀγοραῖός τις καὶ παντοποιός· ἀμέλει δυνατός καὶ ὀρχεῖσθαι νήφων τὸν κόρδακα, καὶ προσωπεῖον ἔχων ἐν κωμικῷ χορῷ ἀνασευρμένος περιάγειν, 'he is capable (1) of dancing the cordax when sober, and (2), when wearing a mask in a comic chorus, of marching round with his clothes lifted up [to show off the σκύτινον]'—taking περιάγειν as intransitive, a military metaphor, as in vii 6 ἐπιβάλλειν (so AB) and viii 6 ἐπιβαλὼν, and comparing Xen. *Hell.* 7. 4. 22 κύκλῳ περιάγοντος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον. The Ep. Mon. reads, after the definition, καὶ ὁ ἀπονενοημένος, οἷος καὶ νήφων ὀρχεῖσθαι τὸν κόρδακα. ἀνασευρμένον τε περιάγειν ἐν θεάτρῳ. First as to the position of ἀνασευρμένος in my proposed reading:—there would seem to be no good authority¹ for ἀνασευρμένος in the sense of 'defiant of decency' as a permanent attribute (παντοποιός on the other hand has close parallels to its use here in παντοπώλης Anaxippus *Frag.* i. 10 (K.) and παντοέρκτεω Herondas v 42); besides, if that is the meaning here, one would naturally expect some instance of indecency to be given below, which is not the case. Now the MS tradition represented by the Ep. Mon. gives ἀνασευρμένος (or rather ἀνασευρμένον, but this means nothing, see the MS *passim*) in a position where it can have its ordinary sense, participial not adjectival; and this is a strong point in its favour. (A shows a similar displacement in xii 10 where it inserts καὶ ἀναλίσκοντας after μεμαθηκότας and omits it three lines below.) Again, the word νήφων suggests a symposium rather than a comedy or the rehearsal of a comedy; and that the cordax was danced at symposia is clear from Mnesim. Ἰπποτρ. i. 18 (Mein.) πρόποσις χωρεῖ· λέπεται κόρδαξ. I conclude that we have here two occasions, a symposium, and a play or rehearsal of it. I may add that if one occasion were meant, the order of the words would more probably be ὀρχεῖσθαι τὸν κόρδακα νήφων καὶ προσωπεῖον ἔχων ἐν κωμικῷ χορῷ. The order of the words in the Ep. Mon. precludes this interpretation even more certainly than that in the other MSS; for it reads καὶ νήφων ὀρχεῖσθαι τὸν κόρδακα followed by a full stop (I take ἐν θεάτρῳ to represent ἐν κωμικῷ χορῷ in the other MSS).

The reading of *e*, μὴ ἔχων, I regard as an emendation.

¹ I quote from the Thesaurus '... [ἀνασευρμένος, obscaenus, Gl.] ... Synesius 213c κωμωδῖαν ἀνασευρμένην καὶ πλημμελῆ [ubi ἄκοσμον, ἀπρεπῆ inter-

pretatur Suidas, qui addit locum anonymi ... τὸν δὲ ἀνασευρμένον ἀπλαστον καὶ ἀπλοῦν.'

vii 5 ἂν ἀκούῃ αὐτοῦ, μαθήσεται (Ο αὐτοῦ).

18 πυθόμενος τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀπαγγέλλειν (so O), 'to report news he has heard of the *meetings of the assembly*': no change is needed: cf. Ar. *Ecc.* 183 ἐκκλησίουσιν ἦν ὅτ' οὐκ ἐχρώμεθα, and *ibid.* 84 ἡκκλησία δ' εἰς ἣν παρεσκευάσμεθα | ἡμεῖς βαδίζειν, ἐξ ἧς γενήσεται.

viii 19 εἶναι δ' ἑαυτῷ καὶ σημείον (Ο δὲ αὐτῷ).

26 ἀλλ' οὖν ἰσχυρός <γε> γενόμενος: on comparing passages in Plato, Aristophanes, Xenophon, and in Demosthenes and the Orators, I find the balance greatly in favour of the insertion of γε (so Casaubon). With one exception ἀλλ' οὖν without γε would seem (so far as the Indices go) to be confined to use with the Imperative, as in Plato *Prot.* 310A ἀλλ' οὖν ἀκούετε. With γε, the phrase is used to mark a contrast, and is nearly always preceded by a concessive clause or something equivalent to it, e.g. Plato *Phaedo* 102D ἔοικα καὶ συγγραφικῶς εἶναι, ἀλλ' οὖν ἔχει γέ που ὡς λέγω. It is so used beginning rejoinders. Here I believe that the contrast is with the phrase ὦ ταλαίπωρος, and that the question ἐνθυμεῖ τὸ τῆς τύχης; is a parenthesis. The use of the participle γενόμενος instead of ἐγένετο shows that the word is parallel to the adjective ταλαίπωρος. 'Poor fellow—it's just Fortune's way, isn't it?—and yet such a great man once!' I prefer this interpretation to supposing with Casaubon an ellipse of ἐζώγρηται. For haplography cf. xiii 17, αὖ τῆς for αὐτῆς τῆς, A's omission of μὴ after μοι, xv 3, and (probably) ix 14 and xxvi 22.

ix 14 ἄγειν . . . τοὺς ὑοὺς εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν: ὑοὺς would explain the reading of B, τοὺς εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν, as haplography, Υ being confused with Τ; cf. previous note. Theophr. *Fr.* 4. 56 confirms εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν. Meisterhans supports the form ὑοὺς.

21 εἰπεῖν ὅτι Δέλουμαι, ἀπιών, κἀκείνου οὐδεμία σοι χάρις, 'say as he runs off "I've had my bath, and for that no thanks to you."' (ABCDε λέλονται ἀπιών κακεῖ: Δέλουμαι Herwerden): for the haplography see note on viii 26. For the genitive cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 6. 11. An alternative would be to read simply κἀκεῖ, in the sense of 'that time,' but I doubt if the following passages (quoted from the Thesaurus) really establish this meaning: Soph. *Phil.* 395 σὲ κἀκεῖ, μάτερ πότνι', ἐπηνδῶμαν, ὅτ' ἐς τόνδ' Ἀτρειδᾶν ὕβρις πᾶσ' ἐχώρει; Gramm. Bekk. *An.* p. 188, 1 ἐκεῖ ἐν τόπῳ, ἐκεῖσε εἰς τόπον. καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνου τάσσεται.

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(To be continued.)

TWO EDITIONS OF MANILIUS.¹

(With Some Notes on Books I. and II.)

PEOPLE are beginning to think of Manilius as the spoilt child of Latin Scholarship. In England alone there have appeared editions of, or works upon, Manilius, in the seventeenth century by Sherburne² and Creech, in the eighteenth by Bentley and Burton, in the nineteenth by Ellis and Postgate, and in the current century by Housman. The contribution of France also has been considerable in quality, if not in quantity—Scaliger, Huetius, Pingré: though to-day there is no eminent French student of Manilius. Of the German editors we might say what Aristophanes says of the Athenian generals:

ὡς στρατηγοὶ πλείονες ἢ βελτίονες!

only that Prof. Breiter, whose recent recension of the text of Manilius lies before me, has rendered services to the student of the *Astronomica* which entitle him to be mentioned only with respect. He is mentioned with something approaching respect even by Mr. Housman, who respects few scholars save Bentley and never fails to lay 'significant stress upon the difference between himself and a jackass'³—by which he usually means a German.

Mr. HOUSMAN'S edition appeared some five years ago. It was bound to have a considerable effect upon Manilian criticism. Its Preface is a brilliant piece of fireworks. But amid much that is frivolous and a good deal that is unjust and unkind it contains a useful section on the relative merits of the two families of Manilian MSS. (pp. xxiii-xxviii), six interesting pages (liv-lix) on the transposition of letters and syllables in MSS. (where, however, the whole thing is treated too mechanically, and where Mr. Housman would have profited by a study of Ribbeck's *Prolegomena*, pp. 263-4, ed. i.), together with a clever

¹ *M. Manilii Astronomica*: Edidit THEODORUS BREITER: i Carmina. Leipsic: Dieterich. 1907. 3 m. 80.

M. Manilii Astronomicum Liber Primus: Recensuit et enarrauit A. E. HOUSMAN: Accedunt Emendationes Librorum, ii, iii, iv: London, Grant Richards: 1903. 4s. 6d. net.

² Sherburne deserves more credit than he commonly gets. His translation is mostly readable: its mistakes are made again by Pingré: it is an honest attempt to make his author's meaning intelligible.

His wealth of illustrative passages is really remarkable: and he had read most of the modern literature that could help him. His note on i. 646 is an example of his good judgment. His sense of humour is delightfully illustrated by his apology to Charles II. for not 'adding his name to the Constellations': 'who by your excellent virtues justly deserve and without question shall in due time obtain a most eminent place among them.'

³ Cf. Manil. Introd. xiv.

characterisation of Bentley (xvi-xviii). It is easy to be just to the genius of Bentley: and Mr. Housman's appreciation is adequate. But his complete inability to appreciate the worth of scholars whose virtues are less telling and direct is a grave reproach to him intellectually. There is also a queer want of humour in treating scholars of long-established reputation as though they were naughty schoolboys. The real value of his book lies in its Latin Commentary and in the ingenuity of some of the editor's emendations. In one or two places he has made, I fancy, certain corrections: e.g. *linter* 88 for *itiner* or *inter* (though this has not convinced Breiter): the punctuation of 292-293: *inter* 375 for *intra*: *solis* 399 for *solis*: *parti* . . . *trunca* 779 for *partus* . . . *trunco* (though many persons will think this very doubtful). Less convincing, but attractive, are *pugna ingeniis* 145 for *genus in pugna*; *ad Heliacas* 217 for *adeiacas* (M): *gyris* 331 for *signis*: *nisi* . . . *dignae* 471 for *sine* . . . *signa*: and the whole restoration of 655-657. Considering how many scholars of repute have exercised their ingenuity on emending Manilius, this is—in a single book—no inconsiderable achievement. But Mr. Housman can be as luckless in emendation as anyone. He complains (Introd. xviii) of Bentley altering *atque arma ferarum* to something so unlike the *ductus litterarum* as *aut cornua tauri*: and he then himself writes *praestans* for *dispar* (*dispas* M) at 353, *ignis ad os* for *in radios* at 408. Not much better is *tum uice* for *ultima* (226) *refugit* and the transposition of 167 at 214, *glacieque* for *caelique* at 311.¹ It should be said, however, that even his failures are stimulating. He knows nonsense when he sees it: and he calls it nonsense and adds epithets. As a consequence he has directed attention to a good many hitherto unnoticed difficulties. He has been able to do this not only because he has a fine sense for Latinity, but because he has taken the trouble to master thoroughly his author's subject matter. For this reason it is a pity that he did not make his commentary a little less critical and a little more explanatory. There was badly needed a commentary on Manilius which should furnish an approach to the study of him. And with very little more trouble Mr. Housman might have made his edition into such a commentary. Notes such as that on 399 and 613 shew real acuteness in interpretation.

To our knowledge of the MS. material Mr. Housman cannot be said to add very much. For i. 1-83 he employs two uncollated Vatican MSS. (Vrbinas 667, Vrbinas 668) which are pretty certainly derived from M. The fruit of these two MSS. is a true (but not new) reading at 59—*percepta* for *praecepta* (adopted also by Breiter) and a false reading at 13, where GL have

hoc sub pace uacat tantum: iuuat ire per ipsum
aera . . .

Mr. Housman punctuates at *uacat*, and adopts from Urb. 667 *tandem* for *tantum*. This certainly gives a feebler sense: and though it was perhaps the reading of M

¹What to say of *in poenas dignata suas* = *indignata suas poenas* (355) I know not. Or is it done '*iocose*'?

it is palaeographically suspicious. M's original probably had *tan* (*tum* being lost before *inuat*), which some corrector with a gift for 'metrical stopgaps' had changed to *tandem*. Mr. Housman has recently (*Class. Quart.* Oct. 1907) come round to Breiter's view that V is dependent on M.

Taken as a whole this edition of Book i. is a work of real distinction. It is full of acute criticism and acute suggestion. The Introduction is rather slap-dash stuff: and a great many of the emendations proposed in the Appendix are conceived in a somewhat devil-may-care spirit. But the actual text of Book i is far and away the best in existence: and the notes are weighted with a genuine learning far more substantial than the tone of the Introduction would have led one to anticipate. The book is one of great superficial brilliance, and at the same time a real and solid contribution to Manilian criticism.

No one could be less like Mr. Housman than Dr. BREITER. He does not aspire to be the Lord High Executioner of Latin criticism, and has nothing of Mr. Housman's everlasting 'off-with-his-head' manner. 'A staid man and one who has taken measure with himself and set a rule to the lawlessness within,' he sets out before all else to be useful. And it is quite certain that he has produced the most useful text of Manilius which has yet appeared. I will mention at once certain merits of it which are unquestionable.

1. Breiter has all along shewn a juster appreciation of the interrelation of the MSS. than any other critic. Only three MSS., GLM, have any real importance, and on these Dr. Breiter bases his recension.

2. He has no Lieblings-Handschrift (and this should please Mr. Housman). He knows the value of Jacob's MSS.—and of Mr. Housman's. He knows a worthless MS. when he sees it. But he also knows (as *e.g.* Bechert does not) that a good MS. exists to be used and not to be hated. He has no prejudice against either G or M.

3. His Apparatus is the only manageable one. In constituting it he has pursued a somewhat unusual but, I think, justifiable method. Reserving for Pars ii. all consideration of conjectures, he contents himself simply with quoting the readings of his MSS. wherever they differ from the printed text.¹ In the case of most other authors this method would be objectionable; and such an arrangement cannot in any case be final. We shall want (and perhaps Breiter intends) a Pars iii constructed on the model of vol. ii. of Wecklein's *Aeschylus*.

4. He has contented himself—so at least I infer—with a text which is, like the Apparatus, provisional in character. There rarely occurs any *obelus desperationis*: and I deduce from this—and some other things—that the editor has preferred to attempt the construction just of a *workable* text. His edition will certainly not be thought final: but he has tried to make the reading of Manilius possible for flesh and blood. His chief aim is that the reader shall always 'know where he is' and what the editor is up to: and that he shall

¹ There are, however, some notable omissions: *e.g.* the important variant of M is not recorded at i. 431.

possess withal a text which everywhere, if one brings a little charity to it, construes. His conservatism is sometimes excessive: as when *e.g.* at 2. 106 he reads *eximium*, at 3. 327 *in mundo*. But at its worst this conservatism is not of the type that fairly infuriates. It is the conservatism at any rate of one who has honestly endeavoured to understand his author, and who, if he feels that critics are fallible, also knows that this is true of MSS. Nor has Breiter any strong prejudice in favour of himself. He has changed his mind at a good many points: usually for the better, *e.g.* 2. 683-6—though at 3. 539 I think his previous judgment was truer. Comparing his text of Book i. with Housman I constantly prefer Housman. But this is partly because it is better fun, and partly because I am English. For a competent middle-class text, all respectability and no swashbuckling, Breiter will serve the ends of a far larger class.

5. He gives the lemmata of all his MSS.: and they are valuable.

Let me mention now certain defects which are also unquestionable:

1. The paper upon which the text is printed is about as unpleasing as it could be—unpleasing to the point of being deterrent. But this is probably not Dr. Breiter's fault. [Among faults which are partly his and partly not his should be noticed a vast number of bad misprints as *e.g.* i. 433. *suquamea*, 2. 334 (*full stop*): 3. 32 *cr. n.*, 150 *fora*, 187 *fonte*, 261 *tu* for *in* (*ib. utrumque* for *utrimque*?): 4. 106 *oderit* o for 4. 110, 274 *cr. n.*, 343 *cr. n. collocanto*, 772 *cocunt*, 780 *cr. n. arees*, 843 *medios*: 5. 4 *cr. n. om. (strinxisset)*, 30 *cr. n. (uictor)*, 73 *cr. n. (spumiferis)*, 84 *comma*, 85 *full stop*, 185 *formadine*, 278 *famas*, 339 *enstat uadis*, 404 *cr. n.*, 426 *furtiuue*, 543 *cr. n. (post 513 seq. 543 surely?)*, 617 *full stop*, 735 *cr. n.*]

2. Though Breiter has produced the only useable Apparatus that exists, he might have made it a good deal more useable if he had omitted altogether the readings of the Cusanus.¹ Why he has seen fit to include them I am altogether unable to divine, for he entertains no illusions about C: 'rarissime sani aliquid solus habet,' he says: Praef. viii.

3. He has an unprofitable and annoying habit of constantly citing the MS. reading in his Apparatus when it already stands in his text. He has thereby made his App. Crit. longer by about a quarter than it need have been.

4. There is a good deal too much italics in the text. Breiter uses italics to indicate lines or passages which he considers spurious. Mr. Housman has justly observed that 'the best prize that Bentley missed, and the richest

¹The MS. problem is everywhere clearing up. Only three MSS. count, GLM. All the others (V included) are derived mediately or immediately from L or M (C's dependence on L is very clearly shewn in the lemmata: see Breiter's note on 3. 399). M is the sole representative of a recension quite distinct from that represented by GL. On the other hand both families have a common parent in a now lost MS. (A), which can be shewn to have contained 44 lines to a page, written, I fancy, in double

columns, and in which the *recto* and *verso* of fol. 5 had become inverted. GL again go back to a parent MS. containing 38 lines to a page: cf. iii. 399; iv. 10-313; also iii. 1-37; and compare iv. 312 and iv. 731-2, where in each case we observe the number of the intervening lines is divisible by 38. Between A and M, once more, there seems to lie a MS. containing 35 lines to the page: cf. iii. 175-6, 370: 404-6: 615-616.

province left for his successors, is the corrections of those verses of Manilius which he precipitately and despotically expelled.' But neither time nor Mr. Housman has in this matter made Breiter much wiser than he was fifteen years ago. Running my eye down Book ii. I see italics at 283-287, 740-743, 907-909, 935-936. The internal improbability of these excisions is enhanced on the external side by the fact that in each passage half-lines are excised. I would remark here that even when a passage appears spurious it is sometimes worth while trying to restore the original form of it where it is clearly corrupt. In proportion to the success of its restoration is the proof of its spuriousness.

I feel obliged to say that in emendation I never find Breiter really felicitous. His corrections rarely possess what Cobet calls *πειθανάγκη*. Most of them are tolerable: e.g. 1. 331: 2. 23: 2. 253: 3. 497 (but not 498): 3. 509: 3. 535: 4. 217. But I can find no correction which really convinces me save perhaps 2. 226 *sunt* for *ut*: 4. 214 *Latia* for *potius*: 5. 529 *Pactoli* for *protulit*. Some suggestions I even feel to be rather wooden: e.g. 2. 139 *librato*: 3. 617 *morbi* (here G's *morbis* is clearly right. A. had *morb.* which the rest read as *morti* or *morq.*). In some emendations, on the other hand, which he adopts from others, Breiter shews a real scholarly sense: as when at 2. 220 he sees that Bentley's *Chelis* is right. But in general he is very cautious in adopting alien corrections. He prints two or three of Mr. Housman's emendations in Book i.: but of those on ii.-iv. I am not sure whether he notices any save 4. 789 *Italiae*. How long, I wonder, will Mr. Housman endure to stretch forth his hands to a disobedient people?

I propose in what remains of this paper to traverse a certain number of passages where Housman and Breiter have recognised difficulties, and to make some suggestions of my own upon them. I shall in passing call attention to one or two difficulties upon which they have no note. I shall not, in this paper, venture beyond the first two books. But I hope upon another occasion to offer some remarks on Books iii., iv., v.

I preface what I have to say with a sentence of Carrio which I owe to the unhappy Stoeber¹: 'Loxiae oracula mihi audire uideor quotiens Manilium lego: ita multa sunt in eo turpiter conturbata, lacera, mutila, prodigiose obscura, et quae nemo, nisi artem hariolandi nouerit, recte interpretari potest.' This among Stoeber's *Testimonia*! It may serve to commend Manilius to the textual critic. But it is worth remembering also that Manilius is a really great poet, and rewards minute study. Every now and again he becomes one of the most impressive of Latin writers.

¹I call him unhappy because it is enough to make man or ghost unhappy to be spoken of as Mr. Housman speaks of him on pp. xix-xx. Mr. Housman never carries the bludgeon in vain.

But I think Stoeber should be glad that there is the river Styx and a good part of two centuries between him and his critic.

BOOK I.

40. et natura dedit uires seque ipsa reclusit.
So Breiter, Housman, etc. *et nataruque* L¹, *et natura* GL².

The common original perhaps had *quī* (or *queī*) = *quin*, *natura* which would easily become *naturaque* and *et naturaque* (*sic*). *quin* seems to have been a constant difficulty to the scribes of Manilius: cf. e.g. 2. 19: 2. 197: 2. 223. At 2. 358 *dubique* perhaps points to *quin dubia*. [I note that Breiter condemns 39: for which I see no reason. I also think his arrangement of 29-32 (*sublimesque* 32) inferior to Housman's.]

76. ignotusque nouos pontus subduxerat orbes.
ignotusque Urbinates: Breiter: *immutusque* cett: Housman.

Breiter is no doubt right: *g* is more likely to have been omitted than inserted.

214. seclusit Br. But Scaliger's correction satisfies me.

217. donec Niliacas per pontum ueneris oras.
Niliacas GL: obelised in Breiter: *adeiacas* M.

In support of Housman's *ad Heliacas* cf. Germ. *Arat.* 141 *Nilicen* for *Helicen*.

245. nos in nocte sumus somnosque in membra locamus.

To Housman's note, which has not converted Breiter (*vocamus* Br.), I would add Stat. *Theb.* 8. 654 'lacrimasque in lumina fundit'—where *in* must belong to *lacrimas*. Br. is not consistent: for he allows the equally violent anastrophe at 2. 905: 3. 521—passages which are both emended by Ellis.

310-311. mixta ex diuersis consurgunt uiribus astra
hinc uicina poli caelique hinc proxima flammis.

311. *hinc uicina solo hic caeli* M (suprascr. *poli caelique hinc*), *hinc uicina poli caelique* GL.

Read

hinc uicina *Helicae*, Chelis hinc proxima flammis.

The common original had

hinc uicina heli celis hinc proxima flammis.

poli and *solo* are both emendations of the uox nihili *heli*; *caelis* (taken as from *caelum*) was too much for both M and GL: but M has dealt the more faithfully with it: *-que* is the merest metrical stopgap.

If objection be taken to the synizesis *flammeis*, I would answer that Manilius allows himself a synizesis (though of a different kind) at 1. 185, where *fortuitos*, like *fortuitus* in Juv. 13. 225, is either a synizesis or a

false quantity.¹ And in any case to argue that unless a writer employs synzesis more than once then he never does, is dangerous: such reasoning would deprive both Juvenal (6. 82) and Ovid (*Met.* 15. 728) of admitted examples of it. *flammeus* is, no doubt, an odd epithet for so dull a constellation as Libra. Yet the ancients often emphasise its brightness, cf. e.g. Germ. *Arat.* 89: Cic. 323.

But why, it will be asked, should Manilius use *Chelae* for the Zodiacal circle generally? He is speaking of the signs between the Arctic circle and the Zodiac. *Helice* may very appropriately typify the former: but why *Chelae*? why not rather e.g. *Cancer* (*Cancrique* Schrader)? The answer is, I think, obvious. In the Catalogue which follows of signs between the Arctic and the Zodiac circles Manilius begins precisely with those signs which lie between *Chelae* and *Helice*. Why he begins with these I do not know: but that is why he here mentions Libra and not Cancer. One of the equinoxes, of course, occurs in Libra, which gives it a certain pre-eminence. Apart from this it is also given a pre-eminent position at 2. 218-220:

quin etiam sex continuis dixere diurnas
esse uices castris, quae sunt a principe signo
lanigeri: sex a *Chelis* nocturna uideri.

Breiter reads *Phoebique* (Schrader: cf. Jacob: Praef. xiv). Mr. Housman is here less happy than he sometimes is: though he says rightly that *-que* is intolerable.

For *uiribus* in 310 cf. Virg. *Georg.* 4. 37 *utraq̃ue uis = frigus et calor*.

384-386.

cetera non cedunt: uno uincuntur in astro,
augustum sidus nostro quod contigit orbi
Caesar, nunc terris post caelo maximus auctor.

For *augusto* codd. 385 I have written *augustum*. *quod = quia*. 385-386 secl. Br. more suo.

415-416.

tu proximus, Anguis,
squamea dispositis imitate uolumina flammis.

415. *tu* scripsi: *cui* codd. 416. *imitate uolumina* scripsi: *imitatur lumina* codd.

Breiter retains *lumina* in 416. *tergora* Bentley. For the apostrophe *tu proximus* cf. Manil. i. 626: ii. 187, 365, 612, 623 and passim.

422-423.

tum di quoque magnos
quaesiuerunt deos † esurcionem † Jupiter ipse.
So M: GL have, for *esurcionem*, *dubitauit*.

¹In Statius *Siluae* 1. 6. 15-16 *gratutūm* is probably as corrupt as *Aebusia*. It may originally have stood at the end of 15.

Housman suggests *eguit Ioue* which has the merit of being palaeographically about as like to *dubitaui* as it is to *esurcione*. M's original had perhaps

quaesiure deos, *urcionem* Jupiter ipse :

i.e. rationem. Iuppiter *rationem*, *i.e.* deum deorum maximum quaesiuit, cf. ii. 82 deus et ratio.

433-434. quam propter Cetus convoluens squamea terga
orbibus insurgit tortis et fluctuat aluo.

quam = *Aram*. Scaliger calls attention to the preposterous juxtaposition of Ara and Cetus. Manilius is capable of a good deal, but even he could hardly have committed this blunder. All difficulty, however, will disappear if 433-437 are placed after 442, *quam* in 433 being altered to *quem*. *Pristis* for *Cetus* Breiter. Why? *contra* for *propter* Housman.

466-468. linea designat species atque ignibus ignes
respondent: media extremis atque ultima summis
creduntur: satis est si se non omnia celant.

466. *infima* Ellis. I do not see how this helps us. I had long ago conjectured *intima*: and reading this I would now for *ignibus* in 466 write *artubus*. A rough outline suffices to indicate the forms generally of the constellations. The limbs are given by, or represented by, stars: we infer the middle parts from the outside parts, the interior from the surface. [*Media extremis* differs from *intima summis* as the edges and middle of the cover of a box differ from the cover and the interior.]

470-471. certa nitent mundo tum lumina: conditur omne
stellarum uulgus, fugiunt sine nomine signa.

Breiter follows the punctuation adopted by Housman from Fayus: but he leaves the last half of 471 uncorrected. But *signa* is quite as much in need of correction as *signis* in 331 for which Breiter proposes *pugnis*. Manilius is using some equivalent, as Scaliger points out, for ἀκατονομαστοί—or νόνημοι—ἀστέρες. I would suggest that he perhaps wrote

fugientes nominis ignes

(*fugiunt sine* = *fugiuntis*; at l. 844 *signis* is given for *ignis* by all MSS.). *fugientes nominis ignes* will be in apposition to *stellarum uulgus*. For the genitive cf. l. 453-4 *fugientia uisus* . . . *sidera*, to which l. 363 cited by Housman is *not* a parallel: for in the former passage the genitive is wanted, in the latter it would be wrong. Caesar *B.C.* i. 69 has *fugiens laboris*, and I daresay there are other examples.

[*signa* is perhaps due to *cognoscere signa* in 474: and may have displaced, say, an original *flammae*.]

559-560. singula cum tantum teneant, tantoque premantur
tempore sex tota surgentia sidera luce.

560. *premantur* scripsi: *ferantur* codd.

'And the six constellations which take all day to rise take so long in setting': *premantur*=*premantur* a reliquis sex surgentibus. The rising and setting of six signs involves the rising of all twelve, and occupies the same space: and Jacob's postulate of a lost line, in which the other six signs were mentioned, becomes unnecessary: though Breiter accepts it.

643. atque ubi se primis extollit Phoebus ab undis.

Perhaps *ab oris*. *primis* will then be 'Eastern': as Stat. *Theb.* I. 200 'primaeeque occiduaeque domus.'

680. insignemque facit caelato lumine mundum.

limite Breiter (who attributes *lumine* to M alone): *culmine* Housman: neither very aptly. I would write

insignemque facit *lato caelamine* mundum.

caelamen is just such a word as would be used by this very Ovidian poet.

743.

This line was the last line of the *recto* of fol. 9 in A. Hence the transposition proposed by Postgate has additional probability.

847. praecipites stellae passimque uolare uidentur.

Perhaps

et praeceps stellae, etc.

This will make the transference of 849 (post 846 collocat Housman) unnecessary. *praeceps* is the adverb; cf. L. and S. *sub uoc.*: misunderstanding of this gave birth to *praecipites*.

H. W. GARROD.

(To be continued.)

THE NEW MENANDER.

Fragments d'un manuscrit de Ménandre découverts et publiés par M. GUSTAVE LEFEBVRE, Inspecteur en chef des antiquités de l'Égypte. Le Caire. 1907. Pp. xix+221. £1.

IT was apparently at the end of 1905 that, under the circumstances narrated by him in his preface, M. Lefebvre, digging a little below the surface in a small Egyptian town, came upon the remains of a Roman building, and found in them a jar, which among a mass of business documents, such as have been discovered in great quantities in Egypt, contained the precious papyrus now published, consisting of fragments of four comedies. There survive altogether some 1300 lines, but many are imperfect or almost nothing. We may, however, well rejoice over what is left us, for the parts which are in a sound or nearly sound condition, amount to not less than 800 lines.

First comes a play, the name of which is not absolutely certain. It has a metrical argument prefixed to it, such as we find before comedies of Aristophanes, followed by a list of *dramatis personae*, and among these is one described as Ἦρως Θεός. We know that Menander wrote a Ἦρως, and may therefore reasonably infer that this is the play. It is seen from the argument to have turned in the familiar way upon the recognition of long-lost children. There remains only a passage of 50 lines, some incomplete, beginning the play, and this, like several of Aristophanes' openings, is a conversation between two slaves.

Of much greater importance and interest are the various fragments of the Ἐπιτρέποντες, a play which is mentioned by Quintilian, and from which we know that Terence derived, directly or indirectly, material for the *Hecyra*. Besides some imperfect bits, there are four from different parts of the play in good or very fair condition, two in particular, of 200 and 140 lines respectively. It is from ἐπιτρέπειν, in the sense of *refer to arbitration*, that the play takes its name, and the first fragment is the arbitration scene, but it is hardly more essential to the plot than the chorus of frogs to the comedy of Aristophanes. A shepherd named Davus has found a child exposed, and has handed it over to Syrus, a charcoal-burner. Syrus has heard subsequently that there were certain objects found with the child, and he demands that Davus shall give him those also. We find them arguing the point, and they refer it to a certain Smikrines who happened to pass by. He requires each of them to state his

case, and this is done in two excellent speeches. Davus narrates the discovery, pleading that he made it by himself, and that it was only on Syrus' urgent entreaty that he gave him the child. If he is not satisfied, let him give it back. Syrus in reply pleads that the things are the child's own, and may be most important presently to prove his birth, as in the famous case of Neleus and Pelias. How lucky were those heroes of old that they did not fall into Davus' hands! Much to Davus' disgust, Smikrines immediately gives judgment in Syrus' favour.

Next come two or three fragments of the *Περικειρομένη*, or *lady that has her hair cropped*. A few lines of the play are quoted in antiquity, and Drs. Grenfell and Hunt published in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* ii. a not very interesting fragment of fifty lines. The new bits are not of great interest either, except for one curious feature. Ignorance (*Ἄγνοια*) personified speaks a sort of prologue in fifty verses, explaining the situation with which the play opens. A prologue quite properly so called it is not, as something has evidently preceded it, though no doubt but little. The curious feature is the introduction into the very unimaginative New Comedy of this strange and tasteless personification. We know, however, that it did not stand alone. In another play by Menander *Ἐλεγχος*, an abstraction equally unfitted for the task, played the same part; and there is a fragment of Philemon, evidently from a prologue, spoken by Air (*Ἄήρ*). The Roman dramatist Afranius personified Wisdom (*Sophia*), as Aulus Gellius tells us, in a similar way. Menander's Ignorance perhaps suggested Afranius' Wisdom, but the borrowing may have been more direct. Diphilus wrote a comedy called *Ἄγνοια*: was *Ἄγνοια* personified there also? The other fragments of the comedy are very scanty.

Of the fourth and last play there is very much more. It is no doubt *The Samian Woman* (*Σαμία*), known previously only by Phrynichus' quotation of a single verse. The first scene is again the longest, extending to about 200 lines.

The four plays exhibit considerable liveliness and dexterity of dialogue, a natural yet neat turn of expression, pleasant humour, touches of feeling, occasional force or even dignity of language. There are also good dramatic situations, and we have reason to believe that Menander prided himself on his plots, and on the art with which they were worked out in detail. We are now to some small extent in a position to judge the merits of the famous writer, who, though usually defeated in the dramatic contests, especially by his great rival Philemon, yet, like Euripides, to whom the judges were equally unkind, took such strong hold upon later times. Hitherto out of his hundred plays—for, though he died, like Shakespeare and Molière, when he was but little over fifty, he had crowded that quantity of work, we are told, into his life—we have had nothing but a great collection of brief passages from his writings. He was famous for his moral reflections, pithy remarks, apophthegms ('evil communications corrupt good manners' is one of them), contained in a few verses or compressed into a single line, and we have dozens of such passages preserved to us in old quotations.

The fragments of Menander read, indeed, like the 'Beauties of Shakespeare,' except that too often these excellent bits are interspersed with passages cited by Athenaeus to illustrate a dinner, or by some grammarian to exemplify an out of the way expression. But we are now better able to form an opinion on the question that has often been vainly raised, whether Menander was really a dramatic writer of superlative merit, a writer (let us say) who could hold his own against Aristophanes. So far as the eight hundred lines of the new fragments enable us to judge, I think it will be the general verdict that he was not. Although they have very considerable good qualities, there is nothing in them to surprise and delight us, nothing to compare with the productions of the great humourists of modern Europe, or with those of Aristophanes. Caesar in some well known lines apostrophises Terence as *dimidiate Menander*, and makes it plain that, pleasing and elegant as he finds him, he misses that other half of Menander's greatness, a sufficient allowance of *vis comica*. But I fear the modern reader will feel that Menander is very like Terence in this respect, and that, however much he may please us, great comic force is not a quality which he possesses. Nor has he really any very marked excellence of style. It is simple and natural, admirably adapted to the purpose which he proposed to himself, the reproduction of the living language of men. But there is no particular felicity of expression, nothing either strong or subtle, only a certain neatness in the most noticeable lines. Poetry, of course, nobody would look for, but except for this occasional neatness the writing has not the qualities of first rate verse. It would be impossible, for instance, to put it on a level with the verse of Molière, which is equally far from being poetry. It is, indeed, difficult to see how it could have been otherwise, even if he wished it. Though most of the Greek dramatists, tragedians as well as comedians, were very prolific, a hundred or more plays produced in thirty years could not have any very great excellence of style running through them. But there is some ground for thinking that he was comparatively indifferent to the words. Plutarch tells the story how on someone's remarking that the Dionysia were at hand and Menander's play not ready, he rejoined, 'It is ready; I have finished the plot. I have only to write the verses.' Something similar is told of the elder Dumas, in whom it is credible, and of Racine, in whom it is not; I think, of Schiller too. In Menander's case it looks like a story for which there may be some foundation. He must, however, have had much humour, though little or none of Aristophanes' wit; no doubt much stage-craft, possibly increased by experience as an actor, if he actually trod the boards, as a passage in Alciphron's *Letters* (2, 4, 5) seems to imply, which would bring him still more into line with Molière and Shakespeare; above all, much knowledge of human nature, and much power of depicting it faithfully in all classes and circumstances. *Omnem vitae imaginem expressit*, says Quintilian, and Manilius to the same effect, *vitae vitam ostendit chartisque sacravit*. They were but latinising the old Greek question, did Menander copy life, or life Menander?

M. Lefebvre is indeed to be congratulated on his good fortune in finding so valuable an addition to our classical treasures, and we must all hope that, as is by no means improbable from his official position, such luck may befall him again. It is now time to consider how he has done his work as editor. The contents of the book are the following. As is usual in such cases, he has placed on the left-hand page the text as he deciphers it in the papyrus, of course not in facsimile, but in uncials like those of the MS., without any division of words, but with certain marks for guidance, indicating by dots what letters he considers doubtful. On the opposite page he prints the text as he would have us read it, with some corrections of the errors, and a considerable amount of conjectural supplement to fill gaps great and small. He has added brief critical notes, explanatory and miscellaneous notes to a trifling extent, and a complete French translation. The task to be performed was delicate and difficult, comprising as it did decipherment of a very old and much injured papyrus, amendment of its imperfections by conjectural restoration, interpretation of the sense throughout, establishment of the order in which various fragments were to be placed, and finally reconstruction, so far as was possible, of the plot of the play. In all these operations, except, as I understand, the actual decipherment, M. Lefebvre has had the assistance of Mr. Maurice Croiset, Professor at the *Collège de France*, and he speaks in the very warmest terms of the debt that he owes to him. The notes frequently state particular conjectures to be his. With very great gratitude to the two for what they have given us, I think it must be said that they have not executed all parts of their work with equal success. No doubt the reading of the papyrus has been as a whole well done, though there is a word to be said in a moment about that. In their text very few things will be noticed that are distinctly bad Greek. There are, however, two respects in which they seem deficient. One is an extraordinary want of the simplest metrical knowledge. They have no scruples about spondees or anapaests in any part of an iambic verse, now and then they allow hiatus to pass, now and then a syllable too few, or again one or two too many. This may be thought incredible. I will simply quote a few of their verses, and enable the reader to see for himself. That an impossible reading is in the papyrus cannot furnish an excuse, for the notes do not even draw attention to the fault, and in other cases it is actually a restoration. The error has simply not been detected.

Pe. 115. *μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐδ' ἔν. ΠΟΛ. οὐ γάρ; ἀλλὰ δεῖ, Πάτακέ, σε.*

Sa. 179. *πίνουσ' ἄκρατον ἄχρισ ἂν ἀποθάνωσιν καὶ.*

245. *τῶν τραγῳδῶν ὡς γενόμενος ὁ Ζεὺς ποτε χρυσὸς ἐρρῦη.*

451. *ἀλλὰ περιμενῶ καταφαγεῖν τὴν προῖκά μου.*

460. *κἀγὼ σοι ταῦτ' ἐμοὶ φρονεῖν ἀναγκάσω.*

The other deficiency is want of skill in filling up gaps, and in correcting errors of one kind or another of which they are aware. We cannot certainly complain of this as we may of inadequate knowledge of iambic and trochaic

metre, but it is a little disappointing. They have made a fair number of very proper and judicious restorations, but they have also frequently stopped short, or gone wrong, when the truth was not difficult to find.

I hinted a doubt whether the actual letters of the MS. have always been rightly read. Let me now cite two passages to justify my uncertainty. In *Sa.* 275 it is represented as having ἐξε . . νῦν | τελέως ἐμαντοῦ καὶ παρώξυμ . . σαρα. The accents of course are not there, and the σ in σαρα is as usual a C, marked by the editor as doubtful. This appears in his text as ἐξέστηκα νῦν | τελέως ἐμαντοῦ καὶ παρώξυμαι . . ἄρα. A few minutes' reflection should suggest to anyone at all conversant with Greek textual criticism that CAPA represents nothing but the last four letters of ΣΦΟΔΡΑ, and it would not be a surprise to find that ΟΔΡΑ is what the papyrus really has. In the same play 109, 110 are given as ΔΗΜ. στίξω σε, νῆ τὸν Ἥλιον. ΠΑΡ. στίξεις ἐμέ; ΔΗΜ. ἦ λῆγ'. ΠΑΡ. ἀπόλωλα, and ἦ λῆγε is translated *oui, si tu ne cesses pas de mentir*. It is strange that the two scholars should fail to see on a little consideration that what they give as ἦ λῆγε either represents or actually is ἦδη γε, *yes, this minute*. ἦδη is used so again in 155, ἴθι | ἐς κόρακας ἦδη. Nothing is more familiar in its way than this confusion of Δ Δ Λ.

Two wishes may be expressed in conclusion. One is for further and independent scrutiny of the papyrus itself. The other is that, since we have now so large an amount of Menander's writings, especially if we include the one line apophthegms which pass under his name, and of which a certain number no doubt are his, some scholar should undertake the editing of them separately with a complete commentary. More than eighty years have elapsed since Meineke published such an edition of them along with those of Philemon. It would be gratifying to Englishmen if the task were performed by a countryman of Phileleutherus Lipsiensis, perhaps by a member of his own university, if not of his own college. Rutherford was in many respects excellently fitted for the work, but his knowledge, insight and taste have been too early lost to us during the very year in which these fragments were given to the world.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

GRENFELL AND HUNT'S *TEBTUNIS PAPYRI* (PART II.).

The Tebtunis Papyri, Part II. Edited by B. P. GRENFELL and A. S. HUNT, with the assistance of E. J. GODSPEED. (University of California Publications.) London: Henry Frowde, 1907. Pp. xv+485. Two Facsimiles and Map. £2 5s. net.

IT is not easy for reviewers of Drs. Grenfell and Hunt's amazing volumes to find new things to say of the explorers and their work. Throughout the past twelve years they have more than kept up the average of a volume a year, one of them extending to nearly 700 pages, and seven others averaging some 350 pages apiece. The mere editing of the documents with translation and commentary, and the invaluable indices which accompany each volume, would justify any scholar in priding himself on his industry; but here we have editors who have been excavating for several months in each year, to spend the remaining months in manipulating, deciphering and publishing what they themselves have found. It is an old story by this time, but it is well to call upon Thaumias at the outset of our review, 'lest we forget' what must rank among the finest exhibitions of British industry and scholarship. The two volumes of *Tebtunis Papyri*, the largest of the whole series, owe their publication to the munificence of an American lady, Mrs. Hearst. The exceptional antiquity and interest of the documents published five years ago in the first volume prompt us to open a new instalment from *Tebtunis* with lively anticipation. On the whole, it can hardly be said that the collection matches its predecessor. The papyri are mostly of the Roman age, and a large proportion of them present nothing in their subject-matter that will interest any one outside the small circle of specialists in the topography of Egypt and the details of Roman administration. To me the documents appeal as material for investigation into the grammar and vocabulary of the Greek language when it had entered on its new career of conquest, as the *lingua franca* of the Roman Empire. For the linguistic study of the Hellenistic vernacular this volume will be as indispensable as most of its predecessors. It does not illustrate the early age of Hellenistic like the Petrie collection and our editors' earlier volumes from Hibeh and *Tebtunis*. But, on the other hand, there is no space wasted—as a student with my own proclivities accounts it—upon documents of the Byzantine age. From the third century B.C. to the third A.D., the vernacular changed remarkably little, and the papyri show throughout the marks of a real language of daily life, unspoilt by the

blundering bookishness which make the later documents often so irritating. The centuries just named mark the limits of this book, though only a small proportion belong to the first half of the period. Nothing better could be asked by the student who is seeking to illustrate the New Testament from those sources in which Adolf Deissmann taught us twelve years ago to find its closest linguistic parallel.

The preface tells us that we are to expect a third instalment, which will consist exclusively (like Part I.) of Ptolemaic papyri: on this Professor Smyly is working. In the present part Drs. Grenfell and Hunt have had the help of an American collaborator, Professor Godspeed of Chicago, who has himself previously given us two small collections of papyri, from Karanis and from the Cairo Museum. He has deciphered part of the documents here edited, and done the bulk of the indexing. As one who is constantly thumbing the superb indices which are one of the most helpful features of modern papyrus collections, I feel peculiar gratitude to scholars who are ready to undertake such drudgery, and to do it so well.

The classical fragments in this volume need not detain us. Two considerable scraps (ii/A.D.) from *Iliad* ii. and xi. present us with a few variants. I should leave these to the critics, but for an interesting remark of the editors on *Iliad* xi. 603 f., which in the papyrus run respectively]ἐκινήσεν το[and]λινπανε.[; with twenty-two letters missing at the beginning of each line. Like 610, which is]λετον οσσε ανακτος, these lines are totally different from the text as known to us. The editors note:

'If λινπανε is κατ- or απελινπανε the papyrus reading had the same sense differently expressed. The compounds of λιμπάνειν are not Homeric, and the occurrence of the word would point to a comparatively late origin for the variant.'

This is a little misleading, for the simplex is not Homeric either. The word's record is rather perplexing, for its relation to *linquo* shows that its stem (with or without the added -άνω—see Brugmann *Gr. Gram.*³ 289) must have been in existence from the first. Its emergence in Hippocrates, with a solitary appearance (in the perfective compound) in Thucydides, and later in Euripides (ἐκλ.), suggests to me that its *provenance* is really Ionic. It struggles into Attic popular speech in the second half of iv/B.C. (Meisterhans³ 176), and is found three times in Ptolemaic papyri (Mayser *Gram.* 402), also in LXX. I note one Byzantine example, P. Grenf. 60⁴⁶ (vi/A.D.). It is suggestive that its scanty N.T. record is supplemented by three additional appearances in the 'Western' Text: Ac. 8²⁴, 17¹³ D, and 2 Co. 4⁹ FG—elsewhere only 1 Pet. 2²¹ (Blass *N.T. Gr.* 55). If my guess is right, it fits in well with many other Ionic importations which only secured a precarious footing in the Koinḗ. Among these is τεσσεράκοντα, which is twice written in these Homeric fragments. It is clear that Ionic rhapsodists of the age of Hippocrates or earlier would account for these new lines: a late Hellenistic *littérateur* would perhaps have been less likely to invent the good Homeric ὅσσε (F)ἀνακτος.

Among the remaining literary papyri the Greek original of Dictys Cretensis takes the first place. The rest are medical and astrological, with one magical charm (which hardly claims a place in the literary section), and two very interesting acrostics. These last, whether for grammar, for spelling, or for vocabulary, seem decidedly less 'literary' than our own nursery A B C books. The repeated substitution of the vulgar *-is -iv* for *-ios -ion*, and the spellings *ἐλοιπήθην, περιπεσίτε, γεννέως, ἐματόν*, are noteworthy in the first half of i/A.D. At this period we may also recognise defective culture in the aoristic use of the perfect—*ἴσα οὕτωι ἦρκε, | κάλλιστον ἱμάτιν*, 'Just so he took it, my lovely garment'; and *νυκτὶ ἦρται, | ξένος ὁ ἄρας*.

I have little to say about the documents in the body of the book, which specialists will welcome for their subject-matter. The minute notes of the editors show us how many new points there are about the system of taxation in Roman Egypt. Those who like to prowl in this borderland between classics and mathematics will study the volume for themselves, and will find the versatile editors quite at home in columns of Greek figures, fractions and all, and capable of correcting mistakes in calculation. Much more interesting to most of us is the curious set of documents which exhibit the unblushingly mercantile principles of election to *προφητεῖαι* at the temple of Socnebtunis, the local form of the crocodile-god Sobk. The prophet was the chief of ten (or more) 'presbyters' who administered the temple and the glebe attached to it; and the office, which carried considerable emoluments, was bought from Government after a brisk competition. The god himself claims a moment's notice from his identification with the Greek Kronos. What was there in Kronos to prompt his selection to represent the divine crocodile? One is reminded of the queer leontocephalous creature, encircled by the great serpent, which in Mithraism is equated to Kronos, being in his own language Zrvan Akarana, or Boundless Time. Had Kronos any special affinity for reptiles, or is the association accidental? The familiar confusion of *Κρόνος* and *χρόνος* may of course account for the Mithraic use of the name. These twenty-five documents, nearly all found in houses within the temple area, and all but three dating from ii/A.D., throw much light on the priesthoods, with their characteristic rite of circumcision, and promotion by purchase within the limits of qualification. Among other interesting documents are No. 316, dealing with the registration of ephebi at Alexandria (one of them three years old!), and No. 407, in which a man tells his wife and daughter that if they raise difficulties about his emancipating some slaves he will leave his money to the Church—the Serapeum at Alexandria—instead of to them. The private letters (Nos. 407-424) are, as might be expected, much the most readable papyri here; and I cannot resist a great desire that we might have all the private letters Drs. Grenfell and Hunt can lay their hands on printed in full. These human documents are naturally better reading than those which mostly run in formulae; and as monuments of the purest vernacular *Κοινή* they are incomparably superior to other kinds of papyri. I find the description of

No. 583 most tantalising. It is a soldier's letter, 'in very poor Greek,' containing forty-four lines (incomplete); and we have only the address given us. I have visions of Greek as delightfully bad as that of the schoolboy who wrote O.P. 119. And what single papyrus gives us in similar compass so many solecisms that show us how the language is tending?

The value of private letters to the student of language history may well be exhibited from one or two letters in this volume. No. 414 adds several new items to the *Thesaurus Graecitatis* which will be undertaken some day, when no more papyri can be found to enlarge the Hellenic *pomerium*. It is good to know that παιδοτρόφιν (= -ιον) is the word for a feeding-bottle. The reader of the Greek Testament rises at once to ἐὰν κομψῶς σχῶ (Jn. 4⁵²), and the forms σφυρίδιν and γλωσόκομον. There are three exx. of acc. pl. in -ες, and one of acc. sing. (3rd decl.) in -αν: note also the Doric μκκός once, as not seldom in illiterate papyri. The sentence ἰ μὴ ὅτι ἡσθένηκα, πάλαι πεπόνφην σοι shows the dropping of ἄν in unfulfilled condition: on this phenomenon in the N.T. see my *Prolegomena* p. 200. These do not exhaust the lexical and grammatical notes one might make on this second century letter of less than forty lines. The shorter letter, No. 417 (iii/A.D.), is also rich in points of linguistic interest. 'The Greek is of the most vulgar type,' but none of its solecisms are without significance. The letter opens [χαί]ροις πολλά—the optative proper (common in Paul, who uses practically no other optatives) has not yet vanished even from illiterate vernacular, though naturally rare. The spelling εἴρηχε has several parallels in vulgar writing: ἀνερχέστο (= -έσθω) is a common lapse of the opposite kind. Κιθῶναν (= χιτῶνα) illustrates afresh the frequency of this Ionic form in the Κουή. Twice ὅτι serves for inverted commas, as constantly in N.T. (and earlier). If the editors' alternative ἐορτήν were supplied with εἰς Ἀντιόου, instead of πόλιν, we should have in τί θέλεις ἀγοράσομεν (= -ωμεν) εἰς Ἀντιόου;—a curious parallel to Jn. 13²⁹. No. 413, a 'badly written letter,' apparently from a slave to her mistress, suggests one or two special reflexions. It is sometimes assumed that a large use of compound verbs is a sign of a literary style in the late period. But of twenty verb forms, in as many lines, we find five to be compounds, viz. ἀπεκατέστησα (augment as in N.T.), διεπέμψου, συναλάβη (-ηλλάγη), ἀναχρονίζομεν, ἀπόδος. (The difficult sentence Εὐφροσύνη μετὰ τὸ τεμῖν τὸ δερματικὸν (= δαλματικὸν) Ἰσίδωρον ἐπῳθετο might even make the proportion 6:21, for the editors' 'E., after she had cut the robe, *inquired* ("ἐπύθετο?") of I.' makes very poor sense. Can it conceivably be ἐπωθεῖτο, in the sense 'put the blame on'?)

One or two notes may be brought together under the heading of proper names. The fusion of Greek and Egyptian is well seen in the hybrids Thenheraclea and Thenzoila. The use of abbreviated names has a peculiarly good illustration in No. 409 (A.D. 5), where the dioecetes Ἀκουσίλαος is addressed in the body of the letter, on the back of which is Ἀκούτι διοικητῇ. Among scanty traces of Semites in the Arsinoite nome we notice two names of villages, Σαμάρεια and Χαναανῆς, in the great list of places—a work of immense labour—

which occupies most of App. II. pp. 343-424. I have been wondering why in No. 372 the editors print Γεμῖνος (Γεμείνος) *ter*: have they authority for postulating a different quantity from that in *Gemīnus*? Of course ει may as well be short as long.

One or two lexical points may be set down. The wider meaning of ἀδελφός, important as foreshadowing the special N.T. usage (see Deissmann's *Bible Studies*, pp. 87 f.), is apparent here. Thus in No. 412 Damas writes τῇ ἀδελφῇ μου, and bids her salute τὴν μετέρα σου καὶ τὸν πατέρα σου. Clearly ἀδελφή here means *wife*, and need not therefore imply the consanguineous marriage; see further evidence in Witkowski's note, *Epist. Priv. Graec.* p. 38. Add with the editors No. 418, addressed Ὀριγένει παρὰ Σωτηρίχου φίλον, but with ἀδελφέ inside. Four examples from ii/A.D. may be cited for βαστάζω = *carry off*, which is important in the N.T. In No. 550 the line beginning περικαθ[looks as though it may supply us with the word which in 1 Cor. 4¹³ has the metaphorical sense (περικαθάρματα). In the light of M.Gr. it is interesting to observe πρὸ τῶν ὅλων in No. 418 instead of the usual πρὸ πάντων. The writer of this letter closes with a portentous aspiration—μεθ' ὧν ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐτυχευδοξοῦντα πανοικησία εὐχομαι. I could add many other lexical notes, but must close with one on grammar. In No. 317 ἐφ' ὧν ἐὰν ἄλλων δέον ᾦν we ought to read ᾦ{ν}, as often (see *Prolegomena* 49); but in 333 there is ἐὰν ᾦσάν τι παθόντες (A.D. 216) to show that ἐάν = *if* is not very particular. The sense here ("if anything should have happened to them") could be expressed by ὥσιν: I suspect that the frequent use of ᾦν for ᾦ caused analogy products in the plural. In 423 (early iii/A.D.) I should certainly print ἐὰν οὖν μὴ ᾦς λαβὼν τὰ πρόβατα, not ᾦς, as the editors: note again the remarkable periphrastic tense. For a different reason I should restore the ι subscript in 316, τέχνη ἀλιεύς (cf. Ac. 18³). The suggestion, if right, will serve as an appropriate jot-and-tittle criticism with which to close this notice of a book in which Momus himself could find nothing bigger to blame.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN ROME.

(See *C.R.* 1906, pp. 379 *sqq.*)

SINCE the date of my last report upon this subject there has been little to chronicle in regard to the excavations in the Forum. The work of clearing the superficial strata which cover the remainder of the site of the Basilica Aemilia is proceeding somewhat slowly, and the level at which interesting discoveries may be expected has not yet been reached. Nor is the Forum Museum as yet ready. New discoveries have been confined to small excavations on the S.E. and the S.W. sides of the Arch of Titus, where large blocks of travertine, which originally belonged to some other building, and floors in concrete and *opus spicatum*, with foundations and drains below them, have been found, orientated more or less in correspondence with the older Sacra Via. Two parallel walls at a lower level, however, of large blocks of tufa may well be connected with the earlier temple of Jupiter Stator, which preceded the massive concrete foundation of the temple as we have it, which is orientated with the temple of Venus and Rome and the Arch of Titus.

Close by are scanty traces of what seems to be another prehistoric necropolis.

The official reports in the *Notizie degli Scavi* continue to deal with the prehistoric necropolis near the temple of Antoninus and Faustina (1906, 5 *sqq.* 253 *sqq.*); but the description of the tombs found is not yet complete, though since the report on the *sacrarium Iuturnae* appeared in 1906 (*ibid.* 41 *sqq.*), we have had no description in detail from Comm. Boni's pen of any other part of the Forum.

Further, some of the as yet undescribed tombs have been uncovered, and their contents left *in situ*, being thus exposed (though the whole necropolis is covered with a roof) to alternations of heat and cold, and latterly to the overflow of a drain. It seems that the interest, great as it is, of being able to see the contents of these tombs *in situ* is being purchased at too high a price: for certainly the objects will not be the better for their long exposure.

A caution should be given to readers of the craniological portion of the two reports referred to. Prof. Mosso, who is responsible for the first report (pp. 46 *sqq.*), only had the skull from tomb B before him, which he pronounced to be that of a man of from 40 to 45 years of age. In the second report, on the other hand, which deals with tomb B as a whole and with tombs X and Y also, tomb B is pronounced by Prof. Tedeschi, who had the opportunity of examining the whole skeleton, to be that of a woman (pp. 259 *sqq.*). No reference, however, to the first report is given, though the most remarkable divergence, that in the cephalic index, given by Mosso as 73, 3, and Tedeschi as 75, 5, may well be due to a misprint.

The discoveries made by Comm. Boni in connexion with the Column of Trajan up to June 1906 were described in *C.R.* 1906, 379 *seq.* Further investigation showed that immediately to the north-west of the column, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the level of the time of Trajan, lay the pavement of a road, flanked by a concrete wall faced with broken tiles (cf. *Papers of the British School at Rome*, iv. 99), attributable to the 1st cent. A.D., and below this a drain; while below it again, 13 feet below the level of the Forum, was a pavement of rammed tufa fragments, and between the two a considerable amount of pottery (see my article in *Builder*, Dec. 15, 1906, p. 679, and the detailed report by

Boni in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1907, 361 *sqq.*, which contains many interesting details as to the structure of the column, and some admirable drawings). Remains of earlier concrete foundations were also discovered in the north-eastern *exedra* of the Forum. It is noticeable that similar discoveries were made in 1812-14, and were described by Nibby in his edition of Nardini's *Roma Antica* (1818), ii. 351; but though their importance was at the time appreciated, they have since been forgotten.

It is now clear that the opinion of many writers that the column denotes the actual height of a ridge connecting the Capitol and the Quirinal, can no longer be held, and that some other interpretation must be given to the last phrase of the inscription, 'ad declarandum quantae altitudinis mons et locus tantis operibus sit egestus.' The first question is, whether we are to abandon the traditional rendering of the inscription, or whether we can still translate it as Dio Cassius did.¹ Comm. Boni himself is in favour of the former course. He (*Nuova Antologia*, Nov. 1, 1906; cf. March 1, 1907) interprets it as a statement that the column had been erected to show to what height the mountain (the Quirinal) and the valley had been raised by such great buildings as those of Trajan. But to this rendering there are many objections. In the first place, *ad declarandum* is explained by Comm. Boni to mean that the column had been erected as a belvedere, *i.e.* that one would see from the top the height and magnificent proportions of the edifices erected—in which case one would expect to find the inscription at the top, not at the bottom, of the column. Next, the rendering of *egestus* as 'raised' has no parallels, except the somewhat remote one of Plin. *H.N.* ii. 82, where it is used of a volcanic upheaval (*alibi egestis molibus, alibi emissis amnibus*); and though analogy may be quoted in its support, Mau (cf. *infra*) is probably right in maintaining that with so common a word usage must be decisive as to the meaning. And further, as he says, *quantae altitudinis* must belong to *mons*, not to *egestus*, *i.e.* given that Boni's interpretation of *egestus* were correct, the reference must be to a newly raised *mons*, not to the raising or elevation of an already existing one.

Locus too is taken in a somewhat strained sense as meaning valley. Nor would matters be improved if *mons* were taken to refer to the 'mountain-high' buildings erected by Trajan. In short, while Boni's interpretation of the facts is perfectly correct (except in regard to the remains which he attributes to the 'Servian' wall), his rendering of the inscription has not met with general acceptance. Another, proposed by Comparetti (*Rendiconti dei Lincei*, xv. (1906), 575 *sqq.*), does not commend itself any more than the last. He supposes that the height of the column indicates the side of a cube equal to the total mass of the stone quarried for these works (*mons egestus tantis operibus*).

Among the latest suggestions in regard to the interpretation of the inscription, is one made by Mau in *Römische Mitteilungen*, 1907, 187 *sqq.* He returns to Dio Cassius' interpretation of the text, which he translates 'in welcher Höhe der Berg und der Platz für die Bauten abgetragen würde,' taking *locus tantis operibus* in close conjunction,² and noting that Hülsen agrees with this rendering. He attributes the ambiguity of the expression simply to lack of space upon the tablet intended for the inscription. He comes to the conclusion that, as there is no room for it either to the north (outside) of the line of the Servian wall as prolonged eastward to the Quirinal in the straight line of its course (as indicated in Lanciani's *Forma Urbis*, 22) at the point where it leaves the east side of the Capitol, or to the south of the wall (for here the Fora of Caesar and Augustus come too close), the *mons*

¹lxviii. 16. παντὸς γὰρ τοῦ χωρίου ἐκείνου ὀρεινοῦ ὄντος κατέσκαψε τοσούτον ὅσον ὁ κίων ἀνίσχει, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκ τούτου πεδιὴν κατεσκευάσε.

²I think Costa in *Rivista di Storia Antica*, xi. 482, is quite right in pointing out that *mons et locus* should be taken to be a hendiadys (χωρίον ὀρεῖον, as Dio has it): this is why we have the singular *sit egestus*.

Tantis operibus he too takes as a dative. He points out in detail that Boni's interpretation will not hold from the philological point of view, and suggests that the *mons* should be sought further to the N.E. on the site of the temple of Trajan and the E. side of the Basilica Ulpia—whether rightly, I rather doubt.

can only be identified with the *agger* of the Servian wall, which would have been necessary to reinforce it at this point, where it crossed a natural line of access to the centre of the ancient city. It is difficult, if not impossible, to believe that the *agger* can ever have been so high: and Mau supposes that either the measurement is an exaggerated representation of the truth, or that the height of the *mons* was in reality only that of the base of the column (some 8 mètres with plinth and steps).

But if the obstruction in the valley were comparatively so small—for an *agger* hardly 200 mètres long and perhaps 25 to 30 thick would not have offered by any means an insuperable obstacle—one hardly understands how it was that the solution of what must have been one of the greatest traffic problems of ancient Rome (as it certainly is in modern days) was not adopted long before. Cicero indeed, in a well-known letter (*ad Att.* iv. 16) gives us an account of Caesar's plans in that direction (cf. *C.R.* 1906, 282). But it is quite possible that here, as elsewhere, Caesar intended to do much more than he was actually able to do: for, now that it is clear that the valley between the Capitol and the Quirinal already existed, there does not seem much reason for supposing that the site of the *atrium Libertatis* was at all far from the N.E. hemicycle of the Forum of Trajan, which is represented in a fragment of the *Forma Urbis* (Jordan, 25) with the inscription *LIBERTATIS* (HülSEN, *Röm. Mitt.* 1889, 241). In short, it is possible that Caesar intended to do what Trajan eventually did: though we are still met by the question, why the solution of the difficulty was so long deferred. That the Forum of Trajan was begun by Domitian (Boni, *Not. Scavi cit.* 415, following Nichols, *Roman Forum*, 271) seems improbable. The true reading in Aurelius Victor, *Caes.* 13, seems to be 'adhuc Romae a Domitiano coepta atque alia multa plusquam magnifice coluit,' *fora* being interpolated. We may ask again, why the Via Flaminia did not leave Rome at the lowest possible point, *i.e.* by an aperture in this *agger*, instead of doing so by a gate placed part of the way up the slope of the Capitol, the site of which, at the highest point of the Via di Marforio, is indicated on sheet 22 of Lanciani's *Forma Urbis* quoted above. Why should it have climbed up the hill and down again?

Mau is obviously not prepared to accept Boni's attribution of two blocks of tufa, resting upon a foundation of concrete (*Not. Scavi cit.* 401 *sqq.*), found a little to the west of the Column of Trajan, to the 'Servian' wall;¹ and I must say that I too do not consider the evidence as yet obtained to be at all sufficient. The position of this supposed fragment too, does not in the least fit in with the position of the Porta Ratumena(?) and of the fragments of wall adjacent to it; and it is to me quite incomprehensible that, supposing Boni's attribution to be correct, the wall should not have turned to cross the valley at the Tomb of Bibulus, instead of following the east slope of the Capitol for some 125 yards. (Cf. Mau, *op. cit.* 192.)

The conclusion of the whole matter to my mind is this—that, provisionally, it is safest to return to the traditional translation of the inscription, which, with the variation suggested by Costa, would then run 'to show to what a depth the hilly site was removed for so great buildings,' and to adopt HülSEN's interpretation of its meaning. He explains it (*Roman Forum*, p. 21) thus: 'The very site (of the Forum of Trajan) had to be obtained by a vast piece of engineering; the most southern point of the Quirinal hill, which had hitherto extended very close to the Capitoline, was excavated by working in from the plain until so much of the shoulder had been cut off that the height of the side thus laid bare was one hundred Roman feet [the height of the column without the base].'

The great objection to this view is, that a hundred feet is a considerable overstatement of the truth. Boni's diagram (*Not. Scavi cit.* p. 362) shows clearly enough that the difference between the level of the Forum of Trajan (16.06 mètres above sea-level) and that of the Quirinal behind the north-eastern hemicycle at the point where some remains of the 'Servian' wall are visible in the Via Nazionale (37.44 mètres) is

¹ This would of course bring its line considerably further N. than Mau is inclined to do.

considerably less—21.38 mètres are roughly 72 Roman feet. (The column itself without the pedestal has recently been accurately determined to measure 29.77 mètres, giving the length of the Roman foot as 0.2977 mètre.) But the objections to the other theories propounded seem to me stronger still.

Important and interesting excavations have recently been begun upon the Palatine, at the top of the so-called *Scalae Caci*, but are for the moment at a standstill. Pinza deals with the remains at the S.W. (more strictly W.) angle of the hill, as known before these excavations, in a lengthy and very complicated memoir, entitled *L'angolo sudovest del Palatino* (more strictly the west angle), reprinted from the *Annali della Società degli Ingegneri ed Architetti Italiani* for 1907. Still, a summary of the article may be interesting.

The remains of walling of the earliest period (A in Pinza's classification), formed of small thin blocks of gray lamellar tufa, are far too scanty at present to justify Pinza's reconstruction, according to which they were coextensive with the various walls of blocks of brown granular tufa. Pinza, on the other hand, despite the considerable differences of level, connects all these fragments, and supposes that they formed the substruction of a large trapezoidal area, enclosing the space occupied by the temple of Cybele and the buildings to the E. of it as far as the house of Livia.

He assigns them to a date not much anterior to the last century of the Republic (p. 11 *fin.*), and is not inclined to believe the substruction to be of a defensive character. The access to the upper terrace he places somewhat to the W. of the *Scalae Caci*, at the point where the wall forms a right angle to the S. To the next period (H) belongs the substruction in concrete which supports the portico of *opus quadratum* and *reticulatum* below the temple to the S. This portico took the place of the previous means of access to the upper level of the hill (p. 19 *init.*).

Further restorations of the substructions took place early in the imperial period (K, L), and again later on under the empire (N, O). He also considers, and apparently rightly, that the so-called *Scalae Caci* are the rock-cut foundations of a comparatively late 'cordonata' or paved path.

Pinza is inclined (pp. 45 *sqq.*) to seek the Porta Romanula or Romana of the primitive Palatine city not at the N.W. angle of the hill (as many topographers have done), but at the S.W. angle, reading in Varro, *L.L.* v. 164, 'alteram (portam) Romanulam, ab Roma dictam, quae habet gradus in Navalía ad Volupiae sacellum.' The reading *in nova via*, generally adopted by the editors, and first of all by Scaliger (whom Pinza on p. 46 manages to transform into a manuscript!), is not found in the MSS. which have *novalia* (except b, which has *ovilia*), whence the Vulgate *navalia* arose; and this Pinza proposes to revive. The phrase *in navalia* would have to be translated not 'into' but 'towards' the Navalía, which were at some distance off, near the mouth of the Cloaca Maxima.

The placing of the gate at the W. angle has the additional advantage that the description of it as *infimo clivo victoriae* (Festus, p. 262, Müll.) is better satisfied. And the other passage of Varro, *L.L.* vi. 23, 'Angeronalia ab Angerona, cui sacrificium fit in curia Acculeia, et cuius feriae publicae is dies. . . . Hoc sacrificium fit in Velabro, qua in novam viam exitur, ut aiunt quidam ad sepulcrum Accae, ut quod ibi prope faciunt diis manibus servilibus sacerdotes; qui uterque locus extra urbem antiquam fuit non longe a porta Romanula,' where there is no suspicion of any variety in the reading, does not oblige us to suppose that the Porta Romanula was at the N. angle of the Palatine: for the Nova Via 'encircled the hill on its north-east and north-west sides, and finally ended in the Velabrum under the Porta Romana (in the neighbourhood of S. Teodoro)' (Hülsen, *Roman Forum*, 206 and *reff.*).

Pinza would thus make the *Scalae Caci* a short cut leading down from the W. part of the hill to the Porta Romana, and this in view of Varro's description (v. 164) of the Palatine as having two gates, without mention of the *Scalae Caci*, seems not unreasonable.

The last excavations were begun in April 1907, and, with laudable promptitude, four interim reports, from the pen of Prof. Vaglieri, who, with Conte Cozza, has been responsible for the excavations, have already appeared. A wall of well laid tufa blocks, six feet wide, and resting on the natural tufa of the hill, was found for a length of about 30 feet, running N.W. towards the W. angle of the hill. It was found to be covered with 'Etrusco-Campanian' pottery of the third and second century B.C., and the blocks taken from it had been made use of in some of the surrounding buildings, which were erected upon a stratum of similar pottery. The wall, on the other hand, was found to have been partly built over a tomb 'a fossa' which lay on its S.W. side: the tomb was covered with a slab of tufa, and in it was a *scyphos*, apparently of local manufacture, attributable to the fourth century B.C.; the paste is reddish, and the black varnish leaves only a red decorative band, with black splotches, at the level of the handles. The wall was at once assumed to be part of the fortifications of the Palatine, constructed after the invasion of the Gauls—which would of course put the so-called wall of Romulus later than it (as the wall of Romulus is outside it, running as it does halfway down the hill) and the so-called Servian walls later still. But I do not think, despite the authority of Prof. Pais and others, that there is as yet at all sufficient evidence of its fortificatory character.

To the N.W. of this wall a level surface of rock was found with various small holes cut in it, to contain wooden posts: these were thought to have supported some roof or covering for a much earlier tomb 'a pozzo.' It is therefore supposed that there were two successive primitive settlements. The conical cistern in front of the house of Livia would belong to the second period, its walls being 'packed' on the outside with material of the earliest period.

Thus far the first report (*Not. Scavi*, 1907, 185 *sqq.*). It has already met with some sharp criticism from Prof. Pigorini (*Rendiconti dei Lincei*, 1907 (xvi.)). He points out, and, I think, justly, that the evidence for considering the holes alluded to as the remains of tombs is insufficient, considering that nothing was found in them, and that the pottery that was found cannot be affirmed to be sepulchral in contradistinction to ordinary pottery. Further, that the supposition that fragments of Villanova ossuaries were found is erroneous—they were merely some of the many pieces of Latin pottery. This goes back to the eighth century B.C. According to the report, one fragment of proto-Corinthian ware was found, and above the 'tombs' was a stratum of black earth, which contained no objects later than the sixth century B.C. There thus seemed to be a gap until the fourth century B.C., to which the inhumation tomb belonged. Gatti states indeed (*Bull. Com.* 1907, 202) that some of the sepulchral pottery found on the Palatine is as late as the second century B.C.; but this, as Pigorini points out, is probably erroneous.

The second report (*ibid.* 264 *sqq.*) deals with the continuation of the excavations towards the N.E., *i.e.* towards the interior of the hill. Several drains were found here, at different levels and in different directions, which can be divided into three groups, one previous to the fourth century B.C., the second, at a higher level, later than the demolition of the fortification of large blocks (third century B.C.?), while the third belongs to the end of the Republic, when the ground was again and for the last time considerably raised. The total artificial elevation of the level in front of the house of Livia is estimated at about 25 feet (p. 185), the material having, it is supposed, been obtained from the S.W. slope, which would account for the destruction of the upper portion of the 'tombs of the earliest period.'

There are also three types of walling traceable in the foundation which fronts on the approach by the *Scalae Caci*. The earliest, running N.W., consists of small blocks of *cappellaccio*, resembling the wall in the Comitium which forms the front of the *suggestus* (Hülsemann in *Röm. Mitt.* 1905, 30; cf. *C.R.* 1906, 133 *fin.*); the next is a well built wall of

blocks of brown tufa, with masons' marks, forming a part of the fortifications (not earlier, therefore, according to Vaglieri, than the invasion of the Gauls), cutting through the conical cistern in front of the house of Livia, and running N.E.; while the third, going N.W. again, is formed of blocks from various places. It obstructs the road from the *Scalae Caci*, having been constructed to support a building (a temple perhaps), the second wall being also used for this purpose after it had ceased to serve for its original use, and continues to the N.W. and N.E.: in places it is no less than 16 blocks high, and rests on the solid rock. A portion of similar walling is found in the centre of an earlier circular cistern, some 20 feet in diameter, formed of thin slabs of *cappellaccio*, and coated externally with clay. In this clay were found four proto-Corinthian vases (sixth century), which should therefore give the date of this cistern. The fact that a winding staircase descends into it renders it improbable that it was roofed; and in other respects the construction is quite different to that of the conical cistern nearer the house of Livia.

The third and fourth reports (*ibid.* 444 *sqq.*, 529 *sqq.*) deal mainly with the portion of the site to the N.W. of the first part excavated, and describe some cuttings in the rock—narrow channels which enclose three roughly rectangular areas, probably huts of brushwood, the channels serving to support their sides. These huts, too, are supposed to have been, not for habitation, but the coverings of tombs; and the pottery found, some Latin, some Etruscan in character, is again considered not to invalidate this hypothesis: some small *foculi* were found, but they have, it is stated, hardly any traces of use. In view of Pigorini's criticisms, it may be well to reserve one's judgment concerning this point.

The remainder of the reports deals with the various terra-cottas discovered further to the N.E., and which belonged apparently to the decorations of a temple—cf. also the second report, pp. 273 *sqq.* The earliest of them belong to the sixth century B.C.

As will be seen, the excavations have already produced results of considerable importance, though it is as yet too early—nor has the work gone far enough—to pronounce with certainty as to their results. It has now been decided that the excavations on the Palatine shall for the future be, with those of the Forum, under the charge of Comm. Boni. We may perhaps be allowed to express a hope that their continuance may not be long delayed and may lead to further interesting discoveries.

The interest of excavations in the heart of ancient Rome is so paramount, that a certain impatience is perhaps excusable—and not altogether unjustified by the delays in publication which have taken place both in Rome and elsewhere in Italy. Perhaps one of the most striking cases is that mentioned by Prof. Orsi in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale delle Scienze Storiche*, Rome, 1903, vol. v. (*Archeologia*), p. 201, who informs us of what many scholars very likely do not know, that after the first campaign of excavations at Locri in 1889–90 (in which an Ionic temple, the only one in Magna Graecia, was discovered) two others followed in 1890–1, in which a large number of archaic terra cottas and some large 'fosse' containing over 14,000 *scyphoi* arranged in rows were discovered near the temple, and the walls of the city traced for a perimeter of nearly five miles, the city being divided into three parts, and very strongly fortified. The results of these important excavations are still unpublished!

Returning to the Palatine, we may note that the Villa Mills has at last passed into the possession of the Italian Government. The demolition of parts of the Villa has already been carried out, but, as it has largely incorporated the walls of the central portion of the *Domus Augustana*, as restored by Domitian (cf. Hülsen—Jordan, *Topographie*, i. iii. 93 *sqq.*), it will not be necessary to remove the whole of it; and it will probably serve as a local museum. In one of its chambers some badly preserved frescoes have been found, attributable to the fourth or fifth century A.D., and belonging no doubt to the ancient oratory of S. Cesario, the first Christian place of worship established on the Palatine. In another chamber are later

frescoes of the twelfth or thirteenth century, connected with the Greek monastery which we know to have been founded here in the eighth or ninth century. (Cf. Bartoli in *Nuovo Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1907, 191 *sqq.*)

The clearing of the site for the new hall of the Chamber of Deputies at Monte Citorio has resulted in the discovery of a square area enclosed by six travertine *cippi* on each side, with an iron railing between them: within this area are fragments of a marble plinth moulding, some of them *in situ*.

It appears to have been an *ustrinum* similar to that of the Antonini discovered a little to the S.W. in 1703 (Jordan—Hülsen, *Topographie*, i. 3. 604; *Not. Scavi*, 1907, 525).

Another interesting discovery made in July 1906 only became widely known in the course of last spring, that of several inscriptions and other fragments belonging to the *Lucus Furrinae*, the grove, on the right bank of the Tiber, below the Janiculum, where Gaius Gracchus sought his last refuge from his pursuers, and when they pressed him close, ordered his slave Philocrates to kill him (ὁ δὲ φθάνει μικρὸν εἰς ἱερὸν ἄλσος Ἐρινύων καταφυγών, κακεῖ διαφθείρεται, τοῦ Φιλοκράτους ἀνελόντος ἐκείνον, εἶτα ἑαυτὸν ἐπισφάξαντος: Plut. *C. Gracch.* 16). The finds were made at a depth of about fifteen or twenty feet, in sinking the foundations for a house in the garden of the former Villa Sciarra, now the property of Mr. G. Wurts.

The discoveries are described by M. Gauckler in *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1907, 135 *sqq.*, and *Bull. Com.* 1907, 45 *sqq.*, and by Prof. Hülsen in *Röm. Mitt.* 1907, 225 *sqq.*

The objects discovered consist of (1) a group of finely sculptured architectural fragments, all of white marble, three of which are blocks bearing fragmentary inscriptions in Greek; (2) a block of white marble 4 feet square, 1 foot thick at the edges and about 5 inches thick elsewhere: in the centre is a hole 7 inches in diameter at the top, and only 2½ at the bottom.

The upper surface of the block bears the inscription

δεσμὸς ὅπως κρατερὸς θῦμα θεοῖς παρ[έ]χου | ὃν δὴ Γαιωνᾶς δειπνοκρίτης ἔθετο.

Gauckler considers the block to have served as the orifice of a fountain: on the under side, indeed, in the interior of the cavity, there were traces of mortar, as though it had covered a solid foundation, with the fountain pipe in the centre. Hülsen, on the other hand, compares it with the lid of a stone chest for offerings in money, found on the island of Thera,¹ and considered that this block had originally served for the same purpose, while admitting that the calcareous deposit which covered the surface of the stone showed that it had been for a long time under water.

The inscription is brief and somewhat ambiguous. M. Gauckler renders it 'by this mighty conduit [δεσμὸς = *captation* in French] Gaionas the master of the feast has enchained the spring to make it serve for sacrifices to the gods.' M. Clermont-Ganneau (*C.R. Acad. Inscr. et B.-L.*, 1907, 256) suggests the translation 'that the powerful charm may furnish a victim to the gods, Gaionas the δειπνοκρίτης has placed it,' supposing that the hole served for the insertion of lead tablets with *defixiones* written upon them. Hülsen, on the other hand, treats it as incomplete, the main sentence being omitted, and translates '. . . that a strong fetter may keep the sacrifice for the gods, which Gaionas the δειπνοκρίτης has made.' In any case the Greek is not very correct nor clear.

Three inscriptions relating to Gaionas have already come to light, including his tombstone (now lost), the text of which ran thus: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum)*. ἐνθάδε Γαιωνᾶς, ὅς κίστιβερ ἦν ποτε 'Ρώμης, καὶ δέπνοις κρέινας πολλὰ μετ' εὐφροσύνης, καίμαι [sic] τῷ θανάτῳ μηδὲν ὀφειλόμενος. *Gaionas animula*.

¹ See F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Thera I. Die Insel Thera in Altertum und Gegenwart*, 258 *sqq.*

M. Gauckler, considering that the banquets at which Gaionas presided must have been sacred, wishes to interpret *cistiber* as an equivalent of *cistifer*, i.e. a bearer of the *cista mystica*: he pronounces against the obvious sense of *cistiber* = *quinque vir cis Tiberim*, i.e. one of a committee of five officials who were responsible for the safety of the streets and were subordinate to the *tresviri capitales*, holding that Gaionas was too rich a man to have held, and still less to have been proud of, so subordinate a post. I must confess, on the other hand, that even the lowest official position at Rome would probably have seemed to an Oriental (as a government post to a Babu to-day) of considerable importance. Hülsen (*op. cit.* 244) refuses to accept Gauckler's rendering. (3) Fragments of a dedication carved on the lintel of a door (?) to Belus, the well-known Babylonian deity. (4) An altar dedicated to Adad, a Syrian divinity, with the epithets $\Delta\iota\beta\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\acute{\omega}\tau\eta\varsigma$ and $\text{'}\text{Α}\kappa\omega\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$ ¹ (perhaps = 'adored on the summits of the mountains,' as M. Gauckler suggests). (5) An Altar bearing the following dedication: *Sacr(um) Aug(usto) | Iovi Maleciabrudi | M. Oppius Agroecus | et T. Sestius Agathange [Ius d(onum) d(ederunt)]*. Clermont-Ganneau in *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1907, 250 *sqq.*, maintains that the reading *Maleciabrudi* is contrary to analogy, and that *Malec Iabrudi(tano)* is better. The city of Iabruda was to the east of Heliopolis, and it is natural that we should have dedications to the Jupiter (Baal) of both cities. The provenance of *C.I.L.* vi. 420 = 30764, is not known, but *ibid.* 432 (cf. *add.* p. 3005), another dedication to Jupiter Heliopolitanus, was found in 1803, near S. Cosimato, immediately below the Villa Sciarra. It is a high square base with a representation of the Dea Syria on the top of it; while *ibid.* 422, seen by Fra Giocondo and others in the sixteenth century in the church of the Santi Quaranta (now S. Pasquale Baylon), near S. Cosimato, runs thus:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) H(eliopolitano) Sacr(um) Genio Forinarum et cultoribus huius loci Terentia Nice cum Terentio Damarione filio sacerdote et Terentio Damarione iun(iore) et Fonteio Onesimo filio sacrorum signum et basim voto suscepto de suo posuit lustro eiusdem Damarionis.

That this *Genius Forinarum* had any connexion with the archaic Roman Furrina² was denied by Mommsen and doubted by Hülsen (in Jordan, *Topographie*, i. iii. 625 n. 8), but a recent discovery in the Villa Sciarra decided the question in the opposite sense. This was (6) an altar bearing the following inscription:

$\Delta\iota\iota$ Κεραννίω Ἀρτεμὺς ἥ καὶ Σιδωνία Κυπρία ἐξ ἐπιταγῆς ἀνέθηκεν καὶ Νύμφες (sic) Φόρριβες (sic).

The *rapprochement* between the Forinae, the Νύμφες Φόρριβες, and Furrina is obvious; while that with the Erinyes came from a supposed connexion between Furia and Furrina or Furina (Cicero, *de nat. deor.* iii. 18. 46), and, as Hülsen conjectures (*op. cit.* 249), may well have been the origin of the *caput Gorgonis* (probably a street name) which appears in the Regionary catalogues of the fourth century A.D.

In Piazza Dante, S. of the site of the Porta Esquilina and E. of the line of the 'Servian' wall, in constructing the foundations for a new savings-bank, a group of buildings has been brought to light, belonging to the Horti Lamiani; and here was discovered a statuary group composed of two girls, one carrying her companion on her shoulders, a representation of the game of ἐφεδρισμός as it was called (Mariani in *Bull. Com.* 1907, 34 *sqq.*). It has been placed in the municipal Antiquarium.

A statue of Hercules, representing an Attic type of the fourth century, was found at about 30 feet below ground level, among remains of an ancient villa near the Ponte Margherita (*ibid.* 41 *sqq.*).

The statue of a daughter of Niobe found in June 1906, in property belonging to

¹ The inscriptions are on three sides of the altar:

(1) ΘΕΩΑΔΑ | ΔΩΑΝΕΘΗ (incomplete).

(2) ΘΕΩΑΔΑΔΩ patera ΛΙΒΑΝΕΩΤΗ.

(3) ΘΕΩΑΔΑΔΩ urceus ΑΚΡΩΠΕΙΤΗ.

² Her name appears in the calendar, the *Furrinalia* being celebrated on July 25th.

the Banca Commerciale Italiana, on the site of the Horti Sallustiani, may also be noted (Lanciani in *Bull. Com.* 1906, 157; Rizzo in *Not. Scavi*, 1906, 434).

In making the foundations for the new Ministry of Agriculture on the N.W. side of the Via Venti Settembre, portions of the 'Servian' wall were brought to light, consisting of remains of the outer wall of the *agger*, and of a few blocks of an inner wall, one stone high only, which formed its inner limit. Within this again, there was, as at the Villa Spithoever, a piece of walling of smaller blocks about a foot high, and under this was found an inhumation tomb. Similar tombs were also found in the Villa Spithoever, though, according to Pinza (*Mon. Lincei*, xv. 248, 748), not under the original *agger*, but below a later enlargement of it. Between the two outer walls was found pottery of the early Latin type (eighth to sixth century B.C.). Considerable remains of structures of the Imperial period were also found. (*Not. Scavi*, 1907, 504.)

A very interesting suggestion, and, I think, a correct one, is made by Prof. Tomassetti in *Bull. Com.* 1907, 82 *sqq.*—that the well-known fable of Pope Joan (which first makes its appearance at the end of the thirteenth century, referring to an event supposed to have occurred after the death of Leo IV. in 855), originated from the existence of a statue, supposed vulgarly to represent the female Pope with her son, and an inscription relating to the event. Stephen of Bourbon, the first to mention the fable, wrote in 1283, *ibi mortua fuit ibi fuit sepulta, et super lapidem supra ea positum scriptum est versiculus*:

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In the *Mirabilia* of the thirteenth century (Parthey, p. 56) we read *in platea iacet ymago que dicitur papa femina cum puero cuius corpus ad sanctum Petrum in bonio (?) est sepultum*.

The statue Tomassetti identifies with the Juno suckling Hercules of the Museo Chiaramonti, which is known to have been brought to the Vatican from the garden of the Quirinal,¹ constructed by Sixtus V., to whom is due the restoration of the direct road (Via di S. Giovanni in Laterano) past S. Clemente to the Lateran—which during the Middle Ages, and up to his time, was abandoned, so that the papal procession in the ceremony of the *posse* (or taking possession of the papal dignity) passed by the church of the SS. Quattro Coronati.

In the comparative ignorance of the Middle Ages, the statue was misinterpreted, and the inscription taken to mean (as the chroniclers tell us) *parce pater patrum papissae prodere partum*, or *papa pater patrum peperit papissa papellum*. And the abandonment of the direct road past the statue was taken as a protest against the scandal.

Yet another reason for the acceptance of the legend was the custom of the Pope's taking his seat in one or both of the two marble seats (really seats for the bath, but supposed, from their form, to be *sellae stercorariae*) which stood in the *platea* of the Lateran, with the bronze wolf, the statue of M. Aurelius, etc., while the singers intoned the versicle *et de stercore erigens pauperem*.

The ceremony is first traceable in the case of Paschal II., in 1099, and recurred until Hadrian VI. refused to submit to it. It, too, was misinterpreted, so that we find the *Mirabilia* (*ed. cit.* p. 51) saying 'supra palatium ante sancta sanctorum sunt duae sedes in quibus consideratur papa an masculus sit an femina.'

THOMAS ASHBY.

¹The original provenance given by Amelung, *Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, is Otricoli, quoted from Clarac, 423, 748; but this statement, which does not occur elsewhere, e.g. in Visconti, *Museo Pio Clementino*, i. pl. 4 and text (where one would have expected it), is probably incorrect:

for the statue is spoken of as already in the Quirinal gardens by Winckelmann, *Mon. Ined.* i. xiv. p. 14 (1st edition, 1767), whereas the Papal excavations at Otricoli began in 1775. (Guattani, *Mon. Antichi Inediti per l'anno 1784*, 1.)

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

Hermathena. No. 33. 1907.

(*A Synopsis, Analytical and Quotational of the Verbal Forms in the Baskish New Testament printed at La Rochelle in 1571*, Edward Spencer Dodgson.) *Notes on Theon of Smyrna*, J. Gilbert Smyly. *On an Inscribed Sarcophagus at Penrice Castle, South Wales*, T. K. Abbott (with an illustration). *Thucydides Book I. Ch. 69*, E. S. Brown. (*The Human Element in the Gospels*, Newport, J. D. White. *Note on the Register of Archbishop Alan*, H. J. Lawlor. *The Apostolic Preaching of Irenaeus and its Light on his Doctrine of the Trinity*, F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock.) *The Contracted Cases of Deus*, Charles Exon. *Notes on Apuleius*, L. C. Purser. *Notes on Licinianus*, R. Ellis. (*Ethics and Theism*, A. R. Eagar. *An Old Problem in Logic*, R. A. P. Rogers. *On a Source of O'Clery's Glossary*, E. J. Gwynn.) *Studies in Attic Law*, W. A. Goligher. Sir R. C. Jebb's *Translations into Greek and Latin Verse*, R. Y. Tyrrell. *The Latin Writers of Mediæval Ireland*, Mario Esposito. Reviews: Clark's *Asconius*. Prescott's *Some Phases of the Relation of Thought to Verse in Plautus*. (*Ériu: the Journal of the School of Irish Learning, Dublin*.) Kenyon's *Hyperides*. Burnet's *Platonis Opera*, vol. v. Farnell's *Cults of the Greek States*. (Dodgson's *The Leifarragan Verb*.) Butcher's *Demosthenis Orationes* (II. i.). John Jackson's *Meditations of Marcus Aurelius* (trans.). Cornford's *Thucydides Mythistoricus*. Proceedings of T.C.D. Classical Society.

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T. L. Shear. Summaries of Periodicals. Brief Mention: Nilsson's *Die Kausalsätze im Griechischen bis Aristoteles*, I. *Die Poesie*, Cornford's *Thucydides Mythistoricus*, the Editor. Walter W. Greg's *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, W. P. M. Grandgent's *Introduction to Vulgar Latin*, G. L. H. Chabert's *Histoire sommaire des études d'épigraphie grecque*, Tucker's *Life in Ancient Athens*, Janell's *Ausgewählte Inschriften*, D. M. R.

Classical Philology. Vol. 2. No. 3. 1907.

The Inter-relations of the Greek Dialects, Carl Darling Buck. *Field Museum Inscriptions*, Edgar J. Goodspeed. *Travel in Ancient Times as seen in Plautus and Terence*, Charles Knapp. *The Death of Menander*, William Scott Ferguson. *Some Unfamiliar Uses of idem and isdem in Latin Inscriptions*, E. H. Sturtevant. *Prohibitives with πρὸς and the Genitive*, John A. Scott. *Notes upon MSS. containing Persius and Petrus Diaconus*, Frank Frost Abbott. *Friedrich Blass*, T. D. Seymour. Notes and Discussions: Agnus Curio in *Plautus Aulularia* 562-3, Henry W. Prescott. *Laconian ὄρκος in Thucydides V. 77*, A. G. Laird. *An Interpretation of Longus II. 15*, Campbell Bonner. *Emendation of Plato Charmides 168 b*, Paul Shorey. *Horace carm. i. 34. 14*, J. Elmore. *The Secondary Accentuation of Latin words of the Type of consuluisti*, Charles Exon. *Reply to Professor Exon*, Albert Granger Harkness. Book Reviews: Meier-Schömann-Lipsius' *Das attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren*, R. J. Bonner. Jacobsthal's *Der Blitz in der orientalischen und griechischen Kunst*, F. B. Tarbell. Pais's *Ancient Legends of Roman History*, S. B. Platner. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* (vol. xviii.), W. A. Heidel. Boas's *De epigrammatis Simonideis*, C. E. Bishop. B. Powell's *Erichthonius and the Three Daughters of Cecrops*, D. M. Robertson. Prellwitz's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*, F. A. Wood. Rostowzew's *Bleitesserae*, Minton Warren. Baumann's *Sprachpsychologie und Sprachunterricht*, Hanns Oertel. Decharme's *Euripides and the Spirit of his Dramas* (tr. Jas. Loeb), P. Shorey. H. B. Foster's *Dio's Rome*, F. F. Abbott. S. Angus's *The Sources of the First Ten Books of Augustine's De Civitate Dei*, Edward A. Bechtel. H. N. Sanders's *The Cynegeticus*, A. G. Laird. League's *Roman Private Law*, William C. Morley. Postgate's *Tibulli aliorumque Carminum libri tres*, B. O. Foster. Martini et Bassi *Catalogus Codicum Graecorum bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, J. W. White. Endt's *Studien zum Commentator Cruquianus*, G. L. Hendrickson. Dieterich's *Mutter Erde*, C. H. Moore.

No. 4. 1907.

On Certain Roman Characteristics, Elmer Truesdell Merrill. *The Meaning of Parachoregema*, Kelley Rees. *Notes on Greek Inscriptions*, William Scott Ferguson. *The Jurisdiction of the Athenian Arbitrators*, Robert J. Bonner. *Enoplic Metre in Greek Comedy*, John Williams White. *The Accent in Vulgar and Formal Latin*, Frank Frost Abbott. Notes and Discussions: *Lucretiana*, Edwin W. Fay. Στραπών in *Aristoph. Frogs* 22, Charles W. Peppler. *Mons and Collis*, Samuel Ball Platner. *Caesar* Bell. Gall. vi. 30. 4, Charles Knapp. 'Simius iste' *Fannius?* George Dwight Kellogg. *Note on ὡς ἀπὸ λόγου Aeschylus Prometheus* 46, J. E. Harry. Book Reviews: Leo's *Der saturnische Vers*, Thulin's *Italische sakrale Poesi und Prosa*, Du Bois's *Stress Accent in Latin Poetry*, F. F. Abbott. Ryan's *Petronius: Cena Trimalchionis*, Lowe's *Petronii Cena Trimalchionis*, Friedländer's *Petronii Cena Trimalchionis*, Chas. Knapp. Goodwin's *Demosthenes against Meidias*, P. Shorey. Croiset's *Aristophane et les partis à Athènes*, A. A. Bryant. Wagner's *Symbolae ad comicorum Graecorum historiam criticam*, Ed. Capps. Helbig's *Sur les attributs des Saliens*, C. H. Moore. Blass's *Die Rhythmen der asianischen und römischen Kunstprosa*, F. G. Moore. Fränkel's *Griechische Denominativa*, W. C. Gunnerson. *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. iii., S. B. Platner. C. Pascal's *Seneca*, J. M. Burnam. G. F. Hill's *Historical Greek Coins*, F. B. Tarbell. Heidel's *Qualitative Change in Pre-Socratic Philosophy*, A. D. Lovejoy. W. W. Baden's *Principal Figures of Language*

and *Thought in Isaeus and the Guardianship Speeches of Demosthenes*, T. C. Burgess. Henrietta J. Meeteer's *Artists of Pergamum*, P. Baur. H. V. Canter's *Infinitive Constructions in Livy*, E. A. Bechtel. Conybeare's and Stock's *Selections from the LXX.*, F. E. Woodruff. Solmsen's *Inscriptiones Graecae ad inlustrandas dialectos selectae*, C. D. Buck. E. K. Rand's *Johannes Scotus*, C. U. Clark. Dreyer's *History of the Planetary Systems from Thales to Kepler*, P. Shorey. Hirschfeld's *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian*, J. H. Drake. O. Scherling's *De vocis σκηνή quantum ad theatrum graecum pertinet significatione et usu*, R. C. Flickinger. Index, 4 pages.

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. 19. 9. 1907.

W. Volgraff, *Dulichion-Leukas*. Marée's article (N.J. 1906, pp. 233 sqq.) criticised. The author believes that Thiaka is Ithaca: the Polis harbour was once better than it is now: even now, it is as good as ancient sailors, who drew their vessels ashore, required. Nothing in the *Odyssey* proves that Dulichion belonged to Odysseus, and the modern Leukas corresponds to the geographical requirements of the mention in the Catalogue. O. Apelt, *Die beiden Dialoge Hippias*. The result of the discussion in *H. Minor* is unsatisfactory: the theme of the *H. Maior* is τὸ καλόν, and the definition ὠφέλιμον (= χρήσιμον ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν) is meant by Socrates to be final, in spite of the objections he himself raises. The longer dialogue is intended to clear up a misconception of the purpose of the smaller one, whose theme is really τὸ καλόν and τὸ αἰσχρόν, though some, deceived by Socratic irony, regarded it as an apology for sin. E. Stemplinger, *Mörike's Verhältnis zur Antike*. Debt mainly to the Greeks, esp. Homer and Theocritus. Owes something to Catullus, Tibullus and Horace. *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: W. Wundt's *Mythus und Religion* reviewed by R. M. Meyer, Furtwängler's *Aegina etc.* summarised by W. Amelung, E. Mayser's *Grammatik der griech. Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* very favourably noticed by H. Meltzer.

Rheinisches Museum. 26. 4. 1907.

O. Seeck, *Neue und alte Daten zur Geschichte Diocletians und Constantins*. *Inter alia*, a defence of the date assigned by the author to Constantine's defeat of Licinius (324) and of his essay on the chronology of the Cod. Theodosius, published in *Z. f. Rechtsgeschichte (Rom. Abt. X)*—in both cases against the objections of Mommsen and Schwartz. Also an examination of a papyrus from Theadelphia (with text appended), important alike for the date it bears and its contents. E. Petersen, *Zu Thukydides, Urathen und Tettix*. F. Weege and F. Buecheler, *Neue italische Dialektinschriften*. Oscan and Messapian; esp. a devotion tablet in which Latin and Oscan words are combined. H. Rabe, *Aus Rhetoren-Handschriften*. 3. The Sources of Doxapatres in the *Homiliai to Aphthonius*. The only old collection of Aphthonius scholia of any size is represented by P, Coisl. 387 contains fragments of another collection. On a later one (about 1000 A.D.) are based D.'s homilies in the main and II, a collection represented by Pβ, Pκ, R, etc. 4. That Athanasius wrote a commentary on Hermogenes may perhaps be inferred from certain lists in Coisl. 387, based possibly on Hesychius' Pinax. F. Reuss, *Hellenistische Beiträge*. 1. Bactra and Zariaspa. 2. Against Lehmann-Haupt's view that after Lysimachus' death Seleucus Nicator was acknowledged king of Macedon. F. Wilhelm, *Maximianus und Boethius*. No systematic use of the *Consolatio*: there are a few echoes, perhaps, but most of the parallelisms are due to the use of commonplaces by both. J. M. Stahl, *Ueber irrealen Wunschsätze bei Homer*. In such cases as Il. 8. 366 sqq. γάρ has concessive force and the εἰ is purely conditional. *Miscellen*: F. Marx, *Der blinde Sänger von Chios und die delischen Mädchen*. Read ἀμφ' ἡμέων in l. 171 of the hymn to Apollo. W. Crönert, *Eine Telesrede und Anderes*. Mainly a defence of

his conjecture Πιταναίος for πλούσιος in Teles (Hense, p. 36) and of others made by him on Philodemus' περὶ τῶν Στοικῶν. A. Brinkmann, *Rhetorica*. J. W. Beck, *Eine verkannte Ode des Horaz*. Od. 4. 8 defended as genuine: no confusion of the two Scipios involved. K. Brugmann, Βάνασος, μαναύεται, βανόν. Older form of βάνασος μάνασος, conn. w. μανός 'isolated'; 'the man with the small horizon.' F. Solmsen, *Weiteres zum Suffix -άσιον*. M. Siebourg, *Ungewöhnliche Schreibung von γυνή und uiuo*. Inscription QVINE IVIVAS=γύναι, *euiuas*. F.B., *Vxor bene morientissima*.

Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie. 1907.

4 Sept. M. C. P. Schmidt, *Kulturhistorische Beiträge*. I. *Zur Entstehung und Terminologie der elementaren Mathematik* (W. Nitsche), favourable. *Ciceronis in M. Antonium oratio XIII*, con introduzione e note di P. Fava (Nohl). 'Deserves thanks.' E. Rosenberg, *Horazens Mutter* (K. Löschhorn). 'Interesting.' J. Gossen, *De Galeni libro qui Σύνοψις περὶ σφυγμῶν inscribitur* (R. Fuchs), favourable. W. Scherer, *Klemens von Alexandrien und seine Erkenntnisprinzipien* (J. Dräseke), very favourable.

11 Sept. W. L. Westermann, *Interstate Arbitration in Antiquity* (Schneider). 'A learned study.' J. H. Breasted, *Ancient records of Egypt*. V. *Indices* (A. Wiedemann). Fr. Lehner, *Homerische Göttergestalten in der antiken Plastik* (Chr. Harder), favourable. D. M. Robinson, *Ancient Sinope* (P. Goessler), favourable. Th. L. Shear, *The influence of Plato on Saint Basil* (H. Gillischewski). 'Shews diligence, circumspection, and tact.' A. Boericke, *Quaestiones Cleomedae* (S. Günther), favourable. A. P. M'Kinlay, *Stylistic tests and the chronology of the works of Boethius* (Th. Stangl).

18 Sept. W. Süss, *De personarum antiquae comoediae Atticae usu atque origine* (J. W.), favourable on the whole. P. Klimek, *Kritische Studien zu Xenophons Memorabilien* (K. Löschhorn), favourable. R. Richter, *Kritische Bemerkungen zu Caesars Commentarius VII. de bello Gallico*. II. (W. Nitsche), favourable. Th. Bögel, *Inhalt und Zerlegung des zweiten Buches von Cicero de legibus* (K. Löschhorn). 'Interesting.' *Taciti Annalium libri*, by H. Furneaux. Vol. II. Books XI-XVI. 2. ed. by H. F. Pelham and C. D. Fisher (G. Andresen), favourable. *Atti del Congresso internazionale di Scienze storiche*. I (Schneider).

25 Sept. A. Solari, *Ricerche Spartane* (Schneider), unfavourable. R. Oehler, *Bilderatlas zu Caesars Büchern De bello Gallico* (E. Wolff), very favourable. D. Detlefsen, *Ursprung, Einrichtung und Bedeutung der Erdkarte Agrippas* (J. Partsch), favourable.

2 Oct. H. Steuding, *Denkmäler antiker Kunst*. 2. Aufl. (A. Busse), favourable. J. Zehetmaier, *Leichenverbrennung und Leichenbestattung im alten Hellas* (H. Blümner). 'A useful introduction to a future book.' *Xenophontis Apologia Socratis*, rec. Vil. Lundström (W. Gemoll), favourable. *Hyperidis orationes et fragmenta*, rec. F. G. Kenyon (H. Gillischewski), favourable. C. Thulin, *Scriptorum disciplinae Etruscae fragmenta*. I. (H. Steuding). E. H. du Bois, *The stress accent in Latin poetry* (H. G.), favourable on the whole. F. Knoke, *Neue Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Römerkriege in Deutschland* (Ed. Wolff), favourable. E. Löfstedt, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der späteren Latinität* (Th. Stangl), very favourable.

9 Oct. J. Vahleni *Opuscula academica*. I. (Th. Stangl). P. Meltzer, *De Aeschyli Euripidis Accii Philoctetis* (K. Löschhorn), favourable. L. Lützen, *De priorum scriptorum argenteae, quae dicitur, latinitatis studiis scholasticis*. I. (K. Löschhorn), favourable. P. Frisch, *De compositione libri Plutarchei qui inscribitur περὶ Ἰσίδος καὶ Ὀσίριδος* (E. Neustadt), very favourable. M. Schönfeld, *Proeve eener Kritische Verzameling van Germaansche Volks- en Persoonsnamen, voorkomende in de litteraire en monumentale Overlevering der Grieksche en Romeinsche Oudheid* (Ed. Wolff), favourable.

16 Oct. M. Bieber, *Das Dresdner Schauspielerrelief* (H. Blümner), very favourable. Br. Kaiser, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Samniten*. I. (K. Löschhorn), favourable.

Tacitus, *L'Agricola e la Germania*, a cura di C. Annibaldi (M. Ihm). 'Account of a MS. (N. 8) in the library of the Balleani family in Iesi.' Th. Steinwender, *Die Marschordnung des römischen Heeres zur Zeit der Manipularstellung* (R. Oehler), rather unfavourable.

23 Oct. E. M. Rankin, *The rôle of the μάγειροι in the life of the ancient Greeks* (H. Blümner), favourable on the whole. S. Eitrem, *Aischylos, Populaere forelaesninger over graekernes aeldste drama* (F. Gustafsson), favourable. H. Richards, *Notes on Xenophon and others* (W. Gemoll), very favourable. D. Steyns, *Étude sur les métaphores et les comparaisons dans les œuvres de Sénèque le philosophe* (W. Gemoll). 'Wanting in method.' K. Cybulla, *De Rufini Antiochensis commentariis* (J. K. Wagner), favourable. *Boethii operum pars I. In isagogen Porphyrii commenta*, rec. S. Brandt (Th. Stangl), favourable. M. Bang, *Die Germanen im römischen Dienst bis zum Regierungsantritt Constantius I.* (Ed. Wolff), favourable. *Der Obergermanisch-Rätische Limes des Römerreiches*. Lief. 28 (M. Ihm). L. Hahn, *Rom und Romanismus im griechisch-römischen Osten* (A.), favourable. J. H. Hessels, *A late Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary* (P. Wessner), favourable.

30 Oct. G. Finsler, *Die olympischen Szenen der Ilias* (Chr. Harder), favourable. A. Chudzinski, *Tod und Totenkultus bei den alten Griechen* (H. Blümner), rather unfavourable. E. Abicht, *Der gegenwärtige Stand der Handschriftenfrage bei Arrian und kritische Bearbeitung des ersten Buches von Arrians Anabasis* (W. Gemoll), favourable. A. Blanchet, *Les enceintes romaines de la Gaule. Étude sur l'origine d'un grand nombre de villes françaises* (M. Ihm), favourable. Goodspeed, *Index Patristicus sive Clavis patrum apostolicorum operum* (J. Dräseke). C. Pascal, *Poesia latina medievale*. Saggi e note critiche (M. Manitius), favourable.

6 Nov. Sophocles, *The Ajax*, with a commentary abridged from the larger edition of Sir Richard Jebb, by A. C. Pearson (H. Steinberg), favourable. J. Westenberger, *Galenii qui fertur de qualitatibus incorporeis libellus* (Bonhöffer), very favourable. J. K. Wagner, *Quaestiones neotericae imprimis ad Ausonium pertinentes* (H. G.). 'Deserves consideration.' J. Turcevič, *Philologische Studien und Notizen*. I. (J. Lezius), favourable.

13 Nov. Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur*, fortgeführt von P. Arndt. Lief. 116-120 (W. Amelung). 'Needs no recommendation.' S. May, *Die Oligarchie der 400 in Athen* (Schneider), favourable. W. J. Oudegeest, *De Eunuchi Terentianae exemplis Graecis disputatio* (J. Lezius), unfavourable. F. C. Wick, *Virgilio e Tucca rivali?* (A. Körte), favourable. E. de Marchi, *Un enigmatico epigramma attribuito a Virgilio* (A. Körte), favourable. H. R. Fairclough, *The Helen Episode in Vergil's Aeneid II, 559-623* (A. Körte), unfavourable.

20 Nov. E. Neustadt, *De Jove Cretico* (H. Steuding), favourable. H. Reuther, *De Epinomide Platonica* (B. v. Hagen), rather unfavourable. U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Die Textgeschichte der griechischen Bukoliker* (M. Rannow) I. *Bucolici Graeci*, rec. U. de Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (M. Rannow) I. W. Dahms, *Curae Hirtianae* (Ed. Wolff), favourable. *Columellae opera*, rec. V. Lundström. Fasc. VII. *rei rusticae librum XI continens* (W. Gemoll), favourable. Pargoire, *L'église byzantine de 527 à 847* (F. Hirsch), very favourable.

27 Nov. F. G. Stegemann, *De scuti Herculis Hesiodaei poeta Homeri carminum imitatore* (R. Peppmüller). 'A diligent and careful dissertation.' U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Die Textgeschichte der griechischen Bukoliker* (M. Rannow) II. *Bucolici Graeci*, rec. U. de Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (M. Rannow) II. Nencini, *L'Elegia di Catullo ad Allio* (K. P. Schulze), rather unfavourable. K. Boetticher, *Zur Kenntnis antiker Gottesverehrung* and K. Boetticher, *K. F. Schinkel und sein baukünstlerisches Vermächtnis* (H. Stending). 'Fresh and clearly written.'

4 Dec. W. H. Roscher, *Enneadische Studien. Versuch einer Geschichte der Neunzahl bei den Griechen, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des älteren Epos, der Philosophen*

und Aerzte (Pagel), favourable. J. W. White, 'Logaoedic' metre in Greek comedy (H. G.), favourable on the whole. W. M. Lindsay, *Syntax of Plautus* (H. Blase), very favourable. Fr. Skutsch, *Gallus und Vergil. Aus Vergils Frühzeit*, Part II. (A. Körte). 'Very stimulating.' *Der römische Limes in Oesterreich*. Part VIII. and *Bericht des Vereins Carnuntum für die Jahre 1904 und 1905* (M. Ihm). *Excerpta historica*, ed. Ph. Boissevain, C. de Boor, Th. Büttner-Wobst. II. *Excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis*, pars I., rec. Th. Büttner-Wobst, ed. cur. A. G. Roos. IV. *Excerpta de sententiis*, ed. Ph. Boissevain (F. Hirsch), favourable.

11 Dec. H. Francotte, *L'organisation des cités à Rhodos et en Carie* (Fr. Cauer), favourable. H. Wolf, *Die Religion der alten Griechen* (H. Steuding), rather unfavourable. L. Weniger, *Feralis exercitus* (H. Steuding), favourable.

18 Dec. E. Szanto, *Ausgewählte Abhandlungen*, herausg. von H. Swoboda (Fr. Cauer), favourable. O. Scherling, *De vocis σκηνή quantum ad theatrum graecum pertinet significatione et usu* (W. Dörpfeld), very favourable. 'I. Γ. Βορτσέλας, Φθιώτις ἡ πρὸς νότον τῆς Ὀθρυος' (G. Wartenberg), favourable. *Caecilii Calactini fragmenta*, ed. E. Ofenloch (J. Tolkiehn), very favourable. H. T. Karsten, *De commenti Donatiani ad Terenti fabulas origine et compositione* (P. Wessner), unfavourable. G. N. Olcott, *Thesaurus linguae Latinae epigraphicae*. Vol. I. fasc. 8-10 (M. Ihm), favourable.

25 Dec. V. Inama, *Omero nell' età micena* (Chr. Harder), unfavourable. G. Hoffmann, *Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung der pseudoxenophontischen Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* (Schneider), favourable. P. Goessler, *Das römische Rottweil* (M. Ihm). C. Abel, *Gegensinn und Gegenlaut* (Bartholomae), very unfavourable.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL.

Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. 27. 1907. Part 2.

1. G. Macdonald: Early Seleucid Portraits. (Two plates.)
 2. H. J. W. Tillyard: Instrumental Music in the Roman Age. (Eight cuts.)
 3. J. L. Myres: A History of the Pelasgian Theory.
 4. E. L. Hicks: Three Inscriptions from Asia Minor.
 5. W. Miller: Monemvasia. (Two plates; four cuts.)
 6. Cecil Smith: The Central Groups of the Parthenon Pediments. (Three cuts.)
 7. E. N. Gardiner: Throwing the Javelin. (Four plates; sixteen cuts.)
 8. W. C. Compton and H. Awdry: Two Notes on Pylos and Sphacteria. (Seven cuts.)
 9. R. M. Dawkins: Archaeology in Greece.
 10. W. Miller: Monemvasia; additional notes.
- Notices of Books; Rules, Proceedings, etc.

American Journal of Archaeology. 1907. Part 3.

1. H. E. Everett: Antoniazio Romano. (Four plates.)
2. W. N. Bates: New Inscriptions from the Asclepieum at Athens. (Five cuts.)

Publishes a stone with four inscriptions: (1) a dedication to Asklepios by Kallias, about 350-300 B.C.; (2) a third-century dedication by Apollodoros and Lysandrides; (3) mentioning Philios of Phaleron, a ἱερεὺς, who also occurs in *C.I.A.* 1505, whence this and (2), the letters being similar, may be dated 224-223 B.C. On the back (4) is an inscription to Menander, a λειτουργός, the stone being set up τάξαντος τοῦ θεοῦ, but by the people, probably in response to a dream sent by the god to some official, Menander being an attendant in his shrine.

3. B. W. Bacon: A New Inscription from Upper Galilee. (Two cuts.)
A Greek inscription of A.D. 304-305 found near Caesarea Philippi, on a boundary stone between two estates, perhaps having reference to the fixing of land values by the Edict of Diocletian.
4. O. E. Tonks: An Interpretation of the so-called Harpy Tomb. (Eleven cuts.)
Discusses the whole meaning and symbolism of the reliefs, citing parallels from the Spartan reliefs and Egyptian mythology. Scenes in Hades are depicted, the seated figures being Persephone, Minos, and Rhadamanthos. The 'Harpies' are the Egyptian Ba-birds in form, and represent the souls of the deceased carrying their bodies.
5. Archaeological News, Jan.-June, 1907, *ed.* J. M. Paton.

1907. Part 4.

1. C. Ward: The Temple of Helios (?) at Kanawât. (Four plates; six cuts.)
Attempts restoration of temple at Kanawât (anciently Kanatha) in Syria, a peripteral temple with Corinthian capitals, on a podium.
2. W. W. Hyde: Lysippus as a Worker in Marble. (Six cuts.)
Claims the Agias as representing the work of Lysippus, relegating the Apoxyomenos to a later date, and, by comparison with the head of the Agias, identifies as a Lysippian original a marble head from Olympia representing Philandridas, a victor in boxing about 372-368 (the statue mentioned by Pausanias). Thinks that there is no positive evidence that Lysippus did not work in marble.
3. Gisela M. A. Richter: Three vases illustrating Women's Life in Athens. (Seven cuts.)
Publishes three vases at New York: a pyxis with domestic scene; lekythos with woman spinning top; and kotyle with woman preparing a basket for a Dionysiac procession.
4. W. N. Bates: A Tyrrhenian Amphora in Philadelphia. (Seven cuts.)
Publishes a vase with two interesting subjects: Achilles in ambush for Troilos, and diskos-throwers.
5. E. J. Goodspeed: Greek Ostraca in the Haskell Museum.
Publishes nine ostraka of the Roman period from Thebes.
6. E. L. Hewitt: Announcement.
7. D. M. Robinson: Corrections to *A.J.A.* 1905, pp. 319, 328.
8. Archaeological Discussions, Jan.-July 1907, *ed.* J. M. Paton.

Supplement.

Annual reports of Archaeological Institute and Schools.

Jahrbuch des k. deutschen archäologischen Instituts. XXII. 1907. Heft 2.

1. F. Winter: The Base of the Parthenos. (Five cuts.)
Discusses the dimensions and ornamentation of the base, with reference to the statue of Athena Parthenos found at Pergamon; shows it to have been double the length given in Michaelis' restoration, and 4 ft. in depth, the figures of the relief about 2 ft. 9 in. high. On the Pergamon base are remains of figures from the Pandora episode, but too fragmentary to reconstruct.
2. F. Koepf: The West Frieze of the Gjölbaschi Heroon. (Three cuts.)
Regards the subject as a combat of Bellerophon with Amazons, obviously appropriate to Lycia.
3. R. Hackl: Two Early Attic Vases in the Munich Collection. (Two plates; twenty-five cuts.)
Publishes a krater of Phaleron style, with chariot-scenes and lions in two friezes, and an early B. F. amphora with an outlined female head and a horse's head in panels, the former resembling the *Στροῖβος καλός* series; discusses heads on vases generally, and gives lists of early vases with analogous subjects.

4. G. Weicker: A Polychrome Lekythos at Bonn. (Plate.)

Subject of youth hunting a hare up a hill (cf. Brit. Mus. D 60); such subjects rare on later polychrome lekythi; merely represents deceased in a favourite occupation.

Anzeiger. (1) Annual Report of German Arch. Inst.

(2) Archaeological Discoveries in 1906.

(3) Meeting of Berlin Arch. Gesellschaft, Feb. 1907.

(4) Bibliography.

XXII. 1907. Heft 3.

1. E. Pfuhl: Representations of Book-rolls on Sepulchral Reliefs. (Twelve cuts.)

Corrects and supplements some of Birt's conclusions in his recent book, by reference to representations on reliefs.

2. F. Studniczka: The Delphi Charioteer. (Two cuts.)

Deals with identification of charioteer as from Battos group mentioned by Pausanias (who gives Kyrene as the ἡνίοχος, but it is suggested that the goddess stood by the horses); the figure is too youthful for Battos, and is probably Arkesilas, who won in 462, or his charioteer Karrhotos. Pausanias gives Amphinon of Knossos as the sculptor, but this head seems to suggest Aeginetan influence.

3. F. Studniczka: Laokoon-sculptures. (Cut.)

Additional suggestions in explanation of the Laocoon vase in *Jahrbuch* xxi. (1906), p. 15.

4. R. Hackl: Two early Attic vases in Munich.

Additions to list of vases in previous article.

5. E. Maass: The old name of the Acropolis.

Suggests that the error complained of by Apollodorus (*apud* Strab. vii. 299) was not the giving of Glaukopion as the old name of the Acropolis, but the confusing it with Lycabettus.

6. F. Studniczka: Racing-chariots in the Syro-Phoenician region. (Thirty-seven cuts.)

Aims at completing Nuoffer's work on early Oriental types of racing chariots; describes (1) Syrian and Cappadocian, (2) Phoenician and Cypriote types, discussing Assyrian and Persian influences in their forms. An account of Greek and Italian types is to follow.

Anzeiger.

1. Lost fragments of the Iphigeneia group at Kopenhagen (with cut).
2. Recent excavations in Palestine (Megiddo and Thaanach), with fifty-one cuts.
3. Finds in Egypt (nine cuts).
4. Acquisitions of Louvre, Brit. Mus., Ashmolean, and Boston Museum, 1906.
5. General meeting of American Archaeological Institute.
6. March-July meetings of Berlin Arch. Gesellschaft.
7. Notices, etc.
8. Bibliography.
9. Obituary notice (A. Furtwängler).

Mittheilungen des deutschen arch. Instituts, Athenische Abtheilung.

XXXII. 1907. Heft 2-3.

1. This part is almost entirely devoted to a report on the excavations at Pergamon in 1904-05, under the following headings:

(1) W. Dörpfeld: Architecture. (Six plates; fifteen cuts.)

Describes buildings in triangle of streets north of lower Agora, house of Attalos the Consul, the middle and upper Gymnasia, the Greek theatre on the Acropolis, and tumuli on the Kaikos plain. The house of Attalos was built outside the walls at the beginning of the regal period and rebuilt by the consul in the second century after Christ. The Gymnasia are a continuation of the work of 1902-03, not as yet

completed. Further investigation of the theatre has thrown important new light on its history, and on the Greek theatre in general. The tumuli are shown to be the tombs of Pergamene kings of the Roman period.

(2) H. Hepding: Inscriptions. (Eleven cuts.)

Publishes 153 inscriptions, of which the most important are No. 4, relating to the political services of Diodoros Paspáros in 127 B.C., and No. 8, a series of public resolutions with reference to his activity as a Gymnasiarch. The list comprises twenty-one decrees, ten dedications, sixty-seven honorary inscriptions, and nine sepulchral.

(3) H. Hepding: Isolated finds. (Plate; fourteen cuts.)

Sculptures include a head of Herakles, a torso of Herakles Epitrapezios, part of a Poseidon resembling one at Eleusis, and an ideal figure of a youth. Other finds are: Marble table-legs and architectural fragments; terracottas, pottery, lamps, and objects in various materials; nearly all are of the Hellenistic period.

(4) W. Kolbe: Lists of ephebi.

Publishes over 100 additional fragments, dating from various periods, not, as was previously supposed, all from 133 B.C.

2. J. Kirchner: *I.G.* ii. 1194.

Shows Finlay's copy of this inscription to be more accurate than Böckh's or Martha's (the latter given in *Corpus*).

H. B. W.

NUMISMATIC.

Nomisma (Berlin: Mayer and Müller). Part 1. 1907.

This is the first number of a new periodical edited by Dr. H. Von Fritze and Dr. H. Gaebler. It will contain numismatic essays dealing with ancient coins, no doubt chiefly of the Greek and Roman series, and I understand that it will appear from time to time, but not at fixed intervals. The present part contains an interesting study of the coins of Sestos by Von Fritze and an article on Beroia by Gaebler. The two editors in combination also contribute a paper on Terina, which is, in part, a criticism of Dr. Regling's elaborate monograph on the coinage of this town. The money of Terina well deserves, if only on artistic grounds, the minute attention that has, of late, been bestowed on it. *Nomisma* is well printed and illustrated. It has the same, or nearly the same, *format* as the Berlin *Corpus* of coins. One advantage of this is visible in the plates, each of which contains a greater number of coins, or at any rate of specimens less crowded together, than the plates of the ordinary numismatic periodicals which are of small octavo size.

The Numismatic Chronicle. Part 3. 1907.

Mr. M. P. Vlasto publishes nineteen rare or unpublished coins of *Tarentum* from his own collection. No. 1 is a finely preserved specimen of the archaic didrachm (*circ.* B.C. 560), with the kneeling Apollo holding in one hand a lyre and in the other an object usually called a plectrum, but which on this coin is clearly seen to be a flower (hyacinth?).—Mr. P. H. Webb continues his descriptive lists of the coins of *Carausius*.—M. A. Blanchet contributes (p. 351) a brief note on coins of the ancient Britons found in France. Such finds are very uncommon, and apparently only of isolated coins. The recent finding of a stater of Cunobeline is recorded. The writer remarks that finds of Gaulish coins in England are also of rare occurrence, and 'are mostly limited to those of *Vartice* and of the *Aduatuci*. We may conclude that during the second half of the first century B.C. there was little connexion either by trade or otherwise between the two countries.'—Short notice of Regling's *Sammlung Warren* by G. Macdonald.

Rivista italiana di numismatica. Part 3. 1907.

A. Sambon. *L'aes grave Italico*. This paper deals chiefly with the coins (bronze, gold and silver) inscribed ROMANO or ROMA. The writer disputes their attribution to Capua on historical and stylistic grounds, and on account of their usual provenance. He would assign the first issue of ROMANO coins in silver and bronze to B.C. 303 (not B.C. 338 as others have proposed). The coinage was issued to supply the requirements of the extensive commerce of Apulia, Samnium and Latium. It was probably issued chiefly at the mint of Cales (*Calvi*), which had become a Roman colony in B.C. 334, and also at the mint of Arpi. There may have been mints also in Etruria, in Samnium, and Apulia.—L. Laffranchi. *I diversi stili nella monetazione Romana*. On the Alexandrian coins of Saturninus, etc.: certain specimens are declared to be modern forgeries.—F. Gneccchi. *Appunti di numismatica Romana*. On two medallions, one of Antoninus Pius ('Puellae Faustinae'), the other of Commodus with the jugate heads of the Emperor and a woman in the dress of an Amazon. The female head on the latter medallion (a specimen of which is described in the British Museum Catalogue of Medallions) has been called Marcia the favourite of Commodus. Gneccchi suggests that it is Roma.

Revue numismatique. Part 3. 1907.

A. Blanchet. *Représentations de statues sur les statères de Corinthe*. The representations of figures, in most cases presumably reproducing a sculptured original, found among the numerous 'symbols' on the autonomous staters of Corinth (B.C. 425–300) are of no ordinary interest. Blanchet has done well to bring together some of the more interesting instances, illustrated by a plate of coins, in the French collection. It is to be hoped that Blanchet himself, or some other worker familiar with Greek sculpture, will find time to work out further the identification of these figures. Each of them, indeed, deserves a little commentary, and it might be well in such a case to enlarge considerably the photograph of each coin, and perhaps also to make a careful drawing of the symbol.—G. Amardel. *Une trouvaille de monnaies gauloises 'à la croix.'* A recent find at Castelnau d'Aude near Narbonne.—C. M. Soutzo. *Les lourdes monnaies de bronze de l'Italie centrale*. A criticism from several points of view of Dr. Haeberlin's theories as to Italian aes grave. Some criticisms made by Regling are also endorsed.—Froehner. *Hilaritas et Laetitia*. The words HILARITAS or LAETITIA often occur on Imperial coins accompanying figures of goddesses. But the goddesses represented are not, it is shown, Hilaritas and Laetitia, but various divinities or personifications, such as Annona, Abundantia and Providentia. The legends *Hilaritas* and *Laetitia* are thus not descriptive of the types, but, like the later coin-legend *Gaudium Romanorum*, are an expression of the public sentiment that prevailed, or was assumed to prevail, when the coins were issued. According to Froehner's conjecture, the joyful occasion when such coins were struck was the safe arrival in Italy of the ships from Egypt, 'Africa' and Sicily which bore their welcome cargoes of corn for gratuitous distribution to the people. Laetitia—the feeling of joy—and Hilaritas—its outward expression—thus practically vanish from the Roman pantheon.—Blanchet compares the type on a bronze coin of *Cos*, two doves drinking from a vase, with monuments in mosaic with similar designs.

WARWICK WROTH.

IN MEMORIAM

THOMAS DAY SEYMOUR, Professor of Greek in Yale University, and Associate Editor of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW, 1889–1906, and of THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY, 1907. Born April 1, 1848, at Hudson, Ohio, died December 31, 1907, at New Haven, Connecticut.

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

JULY 1908.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO A NEW TEXT OF THE CHARACTERS OF THEOPHRASTVS.

(Continued from page 122.)

x 6 πάντα φάσκειν <ἐν ἴσῳ> εἶναι (AB πάντα φάσκων εἶναι): ICΩI (ἴσῳ) by confusion with ΚΩΡ (-κων) led to the reading φάσκων εἶναι; the close proximity of the syllables, -ειν, ἐν, εἶν-, was in favour of the corruption. In later Greek ἐν ἴσῳ εἶναι is frequent, e.g. Apollon. *de Synt.* 33, 16 τὸ . . . ταχὺ λέγειν . . . ἐν ἴσῳ ἐστὶ τῷ ταχέως λέγειν. In classical Greek, cf. Eur. *I.A.* 1199 ἐν ἴσῳ γὰρ ἦν τόδε; Thuc. 2. 60 ἐν ἴσῳ εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐνεθυμήθη; Xen. *Cyr.* 7. 1. 4. ἐν ἴσῳ ἔπεσθαι 'to follow in even line'; Dem. 59. 114 ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ φαίνεσθαι μετέχουσας τῇ . . . 'sharing equally with.' For a similar phrase in Theophrastus cf. *C.P.* 1. 22. 2 ὥστε ταῦτα μὲν ἐν ἀμφιδόξῳ, προσδεόμενα δὲ τινος διορισμοῦ. This is perhaps nearer palaeographically to the text than Jebb's φάσκειν εἶναι <ἄγαν>. For confusion between Κ and IC see note on xxx 20.

7 οἰκέτου χύτραν ἔννην ἢ λοπάδα κατάξαντος, 'if a slave breaks last year's [or a year-old] pot or dish' (AB χύτραν εἶναι ἦ: Leipzig Edd. omit εἶναι: Petersen χύτραν παλαιὰν ἦ): cf. Ar. *Ran.* 985 τὸ τρύβλιον τὸ περυσινὸν τέθνηκέ μοι, and Theophr. *H.P.* 4. 4. 4. ἀφίησι δὲ ῥίζας οὐκ ἐκ τῶν νέων ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἔνων καὶ ἔτι παλαιότερων; *Ibid.* 3. 4. 6 ἔνος κάρπος 'last year's fruit,' et al.; Dem. 25. 20 εἶναι ἄρχαι 'last year's magistrates'; Hesych. ἔνοι οἱ περυσिनὸι ἄρχοντες. ἔνος ἐπέτειος κάρπος; Suid. ἔνην παλαιάν. On the corruption of this word in MSS see L. and S.

22-28 [καὶ τὸ ὅλον δὲ . . . ῥυπαίνεται ταχύ.]: this passage should certainly be reckoned as one of the spurious additions. It resembles the others in the following features:—

(1) Use of the Plural referring to the subject of the chapter, cf. iii τοὺς
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τοιούτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, vi ἐργώδεις δὲ εἰσιν οἱ . . . , viii τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων and εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ, xv τῶν τοιούτων.

(2) 'Summing-up' phrases, cf. i τοιαύτας φώνας, ii καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον, iii τοὺς τοιούτους, viii τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων, xv τῶν τοιούτων, xxvii οὕτως, xxix καὶ τὸ ὅλον.

(3) Naming the Character, cf. i εἴρωνος (?), ii κόλακα, viii λογοποιοῦντες, xxix φιλοπονηρία.

(4) Use of the phrase ἔστιν ἰδεῖν or its equivalent, cf. ii ἔστι θεάσασθαι.

The phrase τὸ μέσον τῆς ἡμέρας, to which Diels takes exception (*Deut. Littz.* '98, p. 750), is preferred by Herodian to μέση ἡμέρα, and also occurs below, xxvi 15; cf. also Xen. *An.* i. 8. 8 ἤδη ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας, et al. But ἰωμένας would seem to be found nowhere else.

xiii 9 τὸν στρατηγὸν προσελθὼν ἐρωτῆσαι . . . τί μετὰ τὴν αὔριον παραγγέλλει (so AB): the present is possible, 'what his orders are for the following day.'

xiv 8 ὑπὸ <τῆς> κυνὸς τῆς τοῦ γείτονος: insert the article similarly xx 9.
15 τὰ παῖδιά <τὰ> ἐαυτοῦ.

xvi 2 ἐπιχρωνῆν ἀπονιψάμενος: for V's ἐπιχρωνῆν I should like to suggest ἐπ' Ἑννεακρούνου, comparing Isocrates *Antid.* 287 ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑννεακρούνου ψύχουσιν οἶνον: there may have been an early corruption to ἐπ' ἐννέα κρούνων (or κρηνῶν); the numeral ἑ may very likely have been corrupted, for such a corruption occurs in the same MS xxiii 21 (twice), κδ' becoming καὶ δέκα and κατὰ X (for χιλίας) καθ' ἑξακοσίας (see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Hermes* xxxiii). The following corrupt readings of V may be noticed here: xvi 12 ἀλφίτην for -ων (see Diels l.c.), xx 7 πανουργιῶν for -ον, xxiii 24 αὐτῶν for -ῶ, xxv 17 ζητεῖν for -ῶν, xxvi 4 ἀποφήνας ἔχει for ἀποφήνασθαι (εχει for θαι), xxix 14 δικαστηρίῳ for -ου (Meier), xxx 8 ἐπὶ θεάτρων for ἐπιθέατρον, xxx 37 V originally read ἐαντῶ for ἐαυτοῦ.

15 ἀποτραπὴς ἐκλύσασθαι (so O): needlessly changed to ἐκθύσασθαι; cf. Pollux i. 33 μύσος λύσασθαι, ἀπολύσασθαι.

17 κὰν γλαῦκες βαδίζοντος αὐτοῦ <αὐτῶσι> (?): I suggest this as an alternative to Foss's <ἀνακράγωσι> (from Menand. *Fr.* 534 K. ἀν γλαῦξ ἀνακράγη, δεδοίκαμεν); the resemblance to the preceding αὐτοῦ might account for the loss. But I am unable to find that it is ever used of birds, though Oppian uses it of the bleating of a lamb, *Cyn.* 4. 93; of a leopard, *Hal.* 3. 390; of bulls fighting, *Cyn.* 2. 58; and *ibid.* 542 of the language of elephants. Homer uses it of the noise made by inanimate objects, *Il.* 12. 160 κόρυθες δ' ἀμφ' αὖρον αὐτέων. Theophrastus is fond of the mock-heroic, e.g. διφᾶν x 10, ἀπογυμνώσῃ vii 12, ἐπίδῃ below.

23 εἰσελθὼν εἶσω <θύσαι> στεφανῶν τοὺς Ἑρμαφροδίτους ὄλην τὴν ἡμέραν: cf. Menander *Geneva Frag.* καταλαμβάνω . . . τοὺς θεοὺς στεφανομένους, τὸν

πατέρα θύοντ' ἔνδον. This would seem to confirm the present participle στεφανῶν; ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν is a pardonable exaggeration.

xix 4 φῆσαι ταῦτα εἶναι αὐτῷ συγγενικὰ ἀρρωστήματα (Ο αὐτῷ).

5 ἔχειν γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν πάππον (Ο αὐτὸν, which would be possible *after* καί, but not *before* it).

17 ἀναβαλλόμενος εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐξελθεῖν (V ἀναβαλλόμενος): the aorist is more natural here; whereas in xxi 14 ἀναβαλλόμενος δὲ θοιμάτιον . . . κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιπατεῖν needs no change. Cf. Xen. *Mem.* 1. 2. 61 βελτίους γὰρ ποιῶν τοὺς συγγιγνομένους ἀπέπεμπεν. For uncertainty between λ and λλ cf. iii *Addit.* ἀπαλάττεσθαι, xiv 16 ἐμβαλεῖν. Jebb reads the aorist in both passages.

xx 5 περιπατήση: the Ep. Mon. gives the rarer word βηματίση, for which the chief authorities are as follows:—Dionys. Chal. (5th cent. B.C.) ap. Athen. 15. 668 F ὄμματι βηματίσαισθε τὸν αἰθέρα, speaking of the game of Kottabos; Polyb. 3. 39. 8 ταῦτα γὰρ νῦν βεβηματίσται καὶ σεσημειῶται κατὰ σταδίους ὁκτὼ διὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιμελῶς; cf. Strabo 7. 7. 4. In these passages the meaning is 'to measure with the feet, by the stride,' or metaphorically 'with the eye.' This meaning is obviously derived from βῆμα = *passus*, as in Ar. *Eq.* 77 τοσόνδε δ' αὐτοῦ βῆμα διαβεβηκότος; Xen. *Cyr.* 7. 5. 6. ὀλίγα βήματα προΐόντες, *Anab.* 4. 7. 10 προέτρεχεν . . . δύο ἢ τρία βήματα. Cf. Athen. 10. 442 B βηματιστής, 'one who measures by paces.' According to Hesychius βηματίζειν is a Macedonian word. Is it possible that it was used colloquially in the latter half of the 4th century at Athens, meaning 'to take a walk'? It has the meaning 'to walk' in medieval Greek, e.g. Eustath. 649. 24 οὐκ ἐν τάξει ἐβηματίζεν ἡ Ἀνδρομάχη ἐπὶ πύργον βαίνουσα, and Id. *Orusc.* 27. 40 κἂν βηματίζη . . . κἂν ἐθέλη τρέχειν. So Aesop. *Fab.* 122 (ed. Fur.) εὐθὺς ἠγέρεθι ἀκόπως βηματίζων (sc. ὁ ὄνος). We have the close parallel of xxiii 6, where πλεθρίζων (not found elsewhere) is used in the colloquial sense of 'exaggerating,' 'talking big,' this sense being supported by the literal use of ἐκπλεθρίζειν (Galen) and πλέθρισμα (Hesychius and Photius), as well as by the context.

xx 10 ὥς ζωμοῦ . . . αὐτῷ μελαντέρα ἢ χολή (Ο αὐτῷ).

14 ὅτι ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ . . . ἐστὶ παρ' αὐτῷ λακκαῖον (Ο αὐτῷ).

xxi 5 ἐπιμεληθῆναι . . . ὅπως αὐτῷ ὁ ἀκόλουθος Διθίοψ ἔσται (Ο αὐτῷ).

xxiii 1 προσδοκία τις ἀγαθῶν οὐκ ὄντων (so O: edd. προσποιήσις): προσδοκία seems to occur nowhere else in the sense of 'acceptance, taking to oneself, assumption,' but need not necessarily be rejected. Cf. Hesychius προσδέχεται προσποιεῖται, and see L. and S. s.vv. προσδοχή and παραδοχή; for the form cf. δωροδοκία and ξενοδοκία (Meisterhans supports the κ).

3 διηγείσθαι . . . ὡς πολλὰ χρήματα αὐτῷ ἐστίν (*O* αὐτοῖς, edd. αὐτῶ): a similar correction of the breathing should be made in lines 14, 15, 18 and 32.

xxiv 16 τῷ παιδί συντάξαι . . . γράφαι αὐτῶ εἰς λόγον (*O* αὐτῷ).

xxv 2 ἐν φόβῳ or ἐν φόβοις (*O* ἔμφοβος): all the quotations for ἔμφοβος in the sense of 'frightened' are late, e.g. LXX *Maccab.* 1. 13. 2. For the prepositional phrase in the definition cf. xxvii et al.

xxvi 1 . . . εἶναι ἡ ὀλιγαρχία φιλαρχία τις ἰσχύος καὶ κέρδους γλιχομένη (*O* ἰσχυρῶς κέρδους): the Papyrus fragment (*Oxyrh. Papp.* iv no. 699, early 3rd cent. A.D.) reads ἰσχύος followed by an obscure letter which Professor Smyly kindly informs me may be κ. The rest of the line is torn away, but καὶ κέρδους would just fill the gap. Jebb had conjectured ἰσχύος οὐ κέρδους.

2 ὀλιγαρχικός (*O* ὀλίγαρχος): here again it is a question of letter-space in the Papyrus; but Professor Smyly is rather inclined to prefer ὀλιγαρχικός, which agrees with Casaubon's conjecture. [For the corruption cf. H. Richards on Xen. *Hell.* 6. 2. 39, *Xenophon and Others* p. 182.]

22 ὡς ἀχάριστόν ἐστι <τὸ> τοῦ νέμοντος καὶ διδόντος, 'how thankless the task is of the man who has to pay': cf. τὸ τῆς τύχης viii 25. This is simpler than Ast's <τὸ πλῆθος καὶ αἰ>. The meaning 'thankless' would seem to be supported by Xen. *Anab.* 1. 9. 18 εἴ τίς τι αὐτῷ προστάξαντι καλῶς ὑπηρετήσκειν, οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἀχάριστον εἶασε τὴν προθυμίαν, '. . . in no case did he ever allow zeal to go unrewarded'; and Lys. 21 12. ἐμοὶ ἀχάριστα εἶναι τὰ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀνηλωμένα.

24 ὡς αἰσχύνεται . . . ὅταν παρακαθῇται τις αὐτῷ (*O* αὐτῷ).

xxviii 1 ἀγωγή ψυχῆς is perhaps nearer to ἀγὼν τῆς ψυχῆς (so *O*) than Casaubon's ἀγωγή τῆς ψυχῆς: for the omission of τῆς cf. xiv and xxv. init.

22 τῇ γὰρ αὐτοῦ γυναικὶ . . . , ἐξ ἧς παιδίον αὐτῷ γεννᾷ, τρεῖς χαλκοὺς εἰς ὄψον δίδωσι καὶ τῷ ψυχρῷ λούσθαι ἀναγκάζει αὐτὴν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ὁσημέραι (*V* . . . παιδίον αὐτῷ . . . λούεσθαι ἀναγκάζει τῇ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἡμέρᾳ): ἐξ οὗ is an unnecessary change; for ἐξ of the mother cf. Dem. 44. 26, and translate 'by whom he is getting himself a child,' i.e. she is pregnant, which increases the imputed cruelty. For αὐτὴν corrupted to τῇ cf. *V*'s τῷ for αὐτῷ in xxix 13. See also Jannaris *Hist. Gr. Gram.* § 530. For haplography in AB see note on viii 26. ἡ Ἀφροδίτης ἡμέρα was used in Christian times for 'Friday' (Clem. Alex. 877): this and similar phrases may have helped the corruption.

29 <τὸ> κακῶς λέγειν ἀποκαλῶν παρρησίαν . . .

xxx 3 δανείσασθαι παρὰ ξένου παρ' αὐτῶ καταλύοντος (*V* αὐτῷ).

20 μέτρῳ πύνδακα εἰσkekrousménw: this is nearer than Casaubon's ἐγκεkrousménw to AB's ἐκεkekrousménw (EIC, as often, became EK; cf. AB's ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας for εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν vii 18) and Meisterhans vouches for the form without σ:

cf. Pherecr. ap. Poll. 10. 79 λαβούσα μὲν τῆς χοίνικος τὸν πύνδακ' εἰσέκρουσεν. ἐγκρούω has a different meaning, cf. iv 29 and Ar. *Vesp.* 130 'to knock' nails 'into' something.

39 πρὸ χρόνου τινὸς ἀποδημῆσαι ἵνα προπέμψῃ προσφοράν (so V): all edd. insert μὴ after ἵνα. May we keep the MS reading and translate 'so that he may *send* a present *beforehand* [instead of taking it himself on the proper day]'? This would enable the αἰσχροκερδής to get off with a cheaper present. For this use of προ- cf. προαποστέλλειν xxiv 13 and προσκοπέισθαι xxv 15. Th. apparently coins compounds ii 22, vii 19, xiii 18, xix 23, xxvii 14, xxix 20, xxx 29 (bis).

J. M. EDMONDS.

Repton.

CATVLLVS II^b.

IN the second poem of Catullus, verses 9 and 10 :

tecum ludere sicut ipsa possem
et tristis animi leuare curas,

are followed by three :

tam gratum est mihi quam ferunt puellae
pernici aureolum fuisse malum
quod zonam soluit diu ligatam,¹

which, in spite of the inappropriateness² of the simile, some scholars have attempted to join with them. Grammatical justification for the indicative *est* has been half-heartedly offered,³ or *possem* has been changed to *posse*,⁴ or to *passer*,⁵ or to *possum*,⁶ or, on the theory of a lacuna,⁷ such a verse as

tecum ludere sic ut ipsa ludit⁸

has been proposed for insertion between lines 10 and 11, or *est* has been either replaced by *id*⁹ or ejected that the reader might supply mentally a *foret*,¹⁰ or *tam gratum est* has been altered to *gratum sit*,¹¹ or, finally, a lacuna of more than one line has been assumed.¹² Others, feeling that verses 1-10 make a unit and have

¹ My text is that of the 1904 edition of Ellis. Well known editions I cite by page.

² Compare Baehrens (I use the Baehrens-Schulze edition), *Comm.* p. 80, especially the words: 'mala Atalantae tulerunt nuptias: quid auicula Catullo? non (quod expectares) Lesbiae amorem, quo iam gaudet ille quamquam etiam tunc cum curis mixto, sed solacium: quae comparatio est ridicula.' Palmer, *Hermath.* iii. p. 302, offers the best defence that I have found.

³ Ellis, *Comm.* p. 6; Baehrens, *Comm.* p. 80. Riese, p. 5, is, however, satisfied with the parallels adduced.

⁴ Voss, *Observ.* p. 7; Owen, p. 150.

⁵ Housman, according to Postgate, p. 2.

⁶ Birt, *Comment. Cat. Tertius*, pp. v ff., and *Philol.* 1904, pp. 426-428. Although one must admire the ingenuity that Birt shows in these articles, he seems to me to play a sorry joke on Lesbia when he makes vs. 9-13 a *iocus* of hers to which *iocari* in vs. 6 refers. However *carus* a *iocus* containing such sentiments might be to Catullus the lover, as a poet he could hardly welcome the text that Birt gives him. Not to mention the pointless

presence of *ipsa* (= *domina*) before his emendation *possum* and his interpretation of line 8, the explanations: (p. vi) 'sperat enim poeta Lesbiam a lusu uenusto quem cum passere habeat, mox eo progressuram ut zonam diu ligatam religet et ipsa,' and (p. x) 'ad zonam denique soluendam propensioem reddet Lesbiam lusus hic quem gerit cum passere' speak, it seems to me, their own condemnation.

⁷ Cf. Huschke, *Anal. Lit.* p. 67; Pfeiffer, *Symb. Cat.* p. 20, note.

⁸ Ellis, *Comm.* p. 6; cf. text (1878), p. 7: 'dixerat fortasse peream nisi tecum ludere tam gratum est.' Merrill, p. 5.

⁹ *E.g.* by Heyse, p. 4, and Uschner, p. 4.

¹⁰ Doering, p. 3; Hand, *Obs. Crit.* p. 41; Sillig, p. 6; Pohl, *Spec. Lect. Cat.* p. 25; Conington, acc. to Ellis (1904 ed.), note on II. 11.

¹¹ Palmer, *Hermath.* iii. p. 301.

¹² Fröhner, *Philol.* xiv. p. 575: 'die mangelnden Verse vor *tam gratum* standen (weil obscön) schon hier nicht mehr.' For such a lacuna we have the dubious testimony of Alex. Guarinus and of Perreius, acc. to Lachmann (1829 ed.), p. 2. Schulze, p. 5, notes a marginal sign in O.

a perfectly satisfactory close,¹ have deemed the following three lines a fragment, and seek to unite it with other verses of the poet, with poem XXXVIII,² or with the three lines that constitute XIV^b.³

si qui forte mearum ineptiarum
lectores eritis manusque uestras
non horrebitis admouere nobis,

assuming, then, that the new six-line poem belonged either before II.⁴ or after II. 1–10.⁵ One scholar has even ventured to claim a place for it after III. 15.⁶

But no ingenuity has made the simile a natural⁷ addition to XIV^b,⁸ and we would gladly spare Catullus such a succession of tenses⁹ as we should have in *eritis* and *est*. Upon the whole, the view that II. 11–13 are the fragment of a lost poem¹⁰ of the Lesbia-cycle would seem the most probable. Earle¹¹ proposed to make it a four-line poem by prefixing *passer deliciae meae puellae*, the verse which some expel from III. 4. The repetition of *puellae* would, of course, explain why the line might be omitted, but, not to speak of the grammatical objection, the principle of *uariatio*,¹² which seems to be observed in the first fourteen poems of Catullus, would be broken, since we should then have three sparrow-songs in succession.¹³

If the fundamental requisite of a poet's simile is that the thing compared shall resemble that to which it is compared, the subject of the erotic poem to which I should assign this fragment is not quite beyond our ken. Catullus says that the golden apple brought about the union of Atalanta and her lover. In his own love-affair, then, we must find something that brought about his union with Lesbia. Evidently that will be what he terms as *gratum* to him as the *malum* was to Atalanta. His own verses tell us of the initial difficulties which he had in meeting his married mistress. These were finally removed by Allius, whose great services he cannot refrain from celebrating in LXVIII^b. 1 f.:

non possum reticere, deae, qua me Allius in re
iuuerit aut quantis iuuerit officiis,

¹ The words of Westphal, p. 51: 'Man wird zugeben müssen dass jeder weitere Vers, der noch hinzukommen würde, der Schönheit des Gedichtes Abbruch thun müsste,' have my cordial assent.

² Froehlich, *Abh. d. I. Cl. d. k. Ak. d. Wiss.* v. Bd. iii. Abth. p. 1.

³ Pleitner, *Des. Q. V. Cat. Hochzeitgesänge*, pp. 90–91, note, shows how the separation might have arisen. Cf. Süß, *Catulliana*, i. pp. 2 ff.

⁴ Pleitner, p. 90, note; Schwabe, *Quaest. Cat.* p. 298, and others.

⁵ Süß, *Catulliana*, i. p. 2; Baehrens (text, 1876 ed.), p. 5; Benoist, p. 361.

⁶ Weise, *Zur Kritik des Catull*, p. 17.

⁷ The objections of Pohl, *Lect. Cat. Spec.* pp. 21–22; Schöll, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, cxxi. p. 495; Richter, *Catulliana*, p. 1, and Riese, p. 5, far out-

weigh with me such interpretations as those of Baehrens, *Comm.* p. 81, and of Benoist, p. 362. Cf. Schmidt, p. cix.

⁸ XIV^b. may be the beginning (Süss, *Catulliana*, i. p. 3) of a lost introductory poem. See von Leutsch, *Phil.* xxxv. p. 695. Westphal, p. 200, would connect it with the poems to Furius and Aurelius.

⁹ Richter, *Catulliana*, p. 1, and Baehrens, *Comm.* p. 81, have done their best to support this sequence.

¹⁰ Cf. Munro, *Crit. and Eluc.* p. 9.

¹¹ *Rev. de Phil.* 1903, p. 270.

¹² Westphal, pp. 2 ff.; Süß, *Catulliana*, i. p. 28; Harnecker, *Beitrag zur Erklärung des Catull*, pp. 3–4.

¹³ Spengel also (acc. to Ellis, Text ed. 1878, p. 7) thought that its subject was the sparrow. Cf. Schmidt, *Prolog.* p. xcvi.

and in 109 f.:

hoc tibi, quod potui, confectum carmine munus
pro multis, Alli, redditur officiis.

How sore his need had been appears from 23 ff.:

hic, uelut in nigro iactatis turbine nautis
lenius aspirans aura secunda uenit
iam prece Pollucis, iam Castoris implorata,
tale fuit nobis Allius auxilium

in conjunction with 103 ff.

nec tamen illa mihi dextra deducta paterna
fragrantem Assyrio uenit odore domum,
sed furtiua dedit mira munuscula nocte,
ipsius ex ipso dempta uiri gremio.

The *auxilium* which Allius bore him consisted in introducing him to some *matrona*, at whose house he met Lesbia on that *mira nocte* and, no doubt, often later. See 27 ff.:

is clausum lato patefecit limite campum,
isque domum nobis isque dedit dominam,¹
ad quam communes exerceremus amores.
quo mea se molli candida diua pede
intulit . . .

Compare also 90-92.

If, then, we have in 11^b a poem of gratitude, set between the two sparrow-songs, it makes a pleasing variety in subject matter. The comparison drawn between the *auxilium*² and the *malum* would, of course, be even closer for Lesbia than for Catullus, if poems LXXXIII. and XCII., which apparently antedate the *mira nox*, when compared with v. and VII., which surely postdate it, justify the belief that she did not feel the full force of her passion for Catullus until this *auxilium* had removed the irritating difficulties of their earlier association; for Theocritus, III. 42, says that it was at sight of the apple³ that Atalanta ἐς βαθὺν ἄλατ' ἔρωτα. But I should hardly venture the theory that this poem, 11^b, stood in Lesbia's name. If one begrudges the recipient of the long, formal poem LXVIII^b, these earlier verses of gratitude, composed, I imagine, at the time that the service was performed, they are not too indelicate to bestow on that *lenonia domina*, on whose head Catullus calls down blessings in 115-116:

seitis felices et tu simul et tua uita,
et domus in qua olim lusimus et domina.

¹ I subscribe fully to the views of Postgate in the *Journ. of Phil.* xvii. p. 252.

² We need not, of course, insist on this particular noun, nor, in fact, on a noun-construction at all;

various suggestions as to the actual words in the preceding line or lines are possible.

³ Ovid, however, makes Atalanta already in love with Hippomenes. *Met.* x. 635.

The poet would then be showing his benefactress that gratitude which Hippomenes (or Milanion) failed to accord to his, the goddess Venus, with such tragic results.¹ If the reader is to see in LI. 15-16,

otium et reges prius et beatas | perdidit urbes,

an allusion to the fatal love of Paris for Menelaus' wife,² and a subtle significance in the comparison of Lesbia's love to that of Laodamia in LXVIII. 33 ff.,³ he may suspect that in this reference to the myth of Atalanta our poet was similarly half-conscious that he was courting Nemesis, the *Rhamnusia uirgo*, as well as his *candida diua*, Lesbia.

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¹ Servius on the *Aen.* iii. 113.

² Westphal, p. 49.

³ This is perhaps dubious. Cf. Merrill, p. 185, note on 73-130.

ON SOME FRAGMENTS OF MAECENAS.

MAGNI uir ingenii fuerat (Maecenas) si illud egisset uia rectiore, si non uitasset intellegi, si non etiam in oratione diffunderet. uidebis itaque eloquentiam ebrii hominis inuolutam et errantem et licentiae plenam. MAECENAS DE CVLTV SVO.* quid turpius 'amne silisque ripa comantibus?' uide ut § 'alueum lyntribus arent uersoque uado† remittant hortos.' quid? si quis 'feminae cincinnos** crispat et labris columbatur incipitque suspirans, ut ceruice lassa fanantur nemoris tyranni.' 'inremediabilis factio rimantur epulis lagonaque temptant domos et spe mortem exigunt.' SEN. *Epp.* cxiv 4-5 (as printed in Hense's edition).

* litteris non uncialibus BA: interpolatori tribuit Hirzel Dial. 2. 6³. § uide ut Senecae dedit Harder. † uada BA, corr. σ. remittunt A et ut uid. B. ** cinno BA, cincinno σ, -os Haase, cirros, Harder.

An evil star seems to watch over the passages cited by ancient critics as specimens of a style which they wish to censure. We find it hard to follow Aristophanes when he ridicules lines of Euripides simply because they possess a penthemimeral caesura. We know that the grammarian Flavius Caper cited from Cicero's own letters examples of a word, the existence of which *in lingua Latina* the orator had denied in the Thirteenth Philippic, and there is reason to doubt if *contumeliam facere* was the solecism he tries to make it out in the Third. A glance at Conington's notes on Persius i. 92 *sqq.* will shew that opinions differ greatly as to the exact point of much of the ridicule which the satirist casts upon the lines he quotes. And I think anyone who tries to translate the Maecenas fragments as printed above will feel that such a style, more suggestive of the *Hisperica famina* than of the Latin of the Augustan period, merits something stronger than the censure Seneca gives it.

I believe however that the copyists are responsible for a good deal of the difficulty. Take for instance the fragment beginning *feminae cincinnos*. That an effeminate person is described is clear enough, but with the word *ut ceruice* we begin to get into difficulties. Hense ad loc. quotes from Buecheler: 'Locus describit trossulum amatorem mollem: cf. Pers. i. 98 (ubi *laxa*) ut tenellum furentis libidine ac uagantis amatoris suspirium uideas pingi. fanatici sunt cerui similesue ferae nemorales,' and adds '*Gallos* potius interpretatur *nemoris tyrannos* Norden' (A.K.P. i. 294). Neither of these explanations gets over the difficulty of the verb *fanantur*. Buecheler's seems the less objectionable of the two. I cannot believe that any Latin author would expect his readers to guess that 'lords of the grove' meant priests of Cybele: a writer like

Maecenas might very possibly venture to describe stags by that periphrasis. But is it certain that we are to understand Maecenas as the author of these words? If not, the probability of *nemoris tyrannos* being in some way corrupt is distinctly worth considering.

In spite of the hints dropped by Juvenal, Suetonius and others, the weaknesses of Maecenas' character would hardly have attracted our notice but for their frequent mention in Seneca, whose attacks on the glorious patron of Vergil and Horace were not forgotten by Dryden in an indictment of the philosopher which Diderot answers in a long note to his famous *Essai sur les règnes*, etc. In this particular letter, where the minister of Augustus is chosen as a manifest example of one whose morals were reflected to his style, the effeminacy of both is the leading thought. *Delicatus* he calls him in §4, *mollis, non mitis* in §7: *etiam in oratione diffluit* he implies in the extract printed at the head of this paper. So in *Epp.* 19. 9 he says of Maecenas 'magnum exemplum Romanae eloquentiae daturus, nisi illum enervasset felicitas, immo castrasset.' That Augustus had ridiculed the *mollitia* of his minister's style we know from Suetonius and Macrobius.

Suetonius' account is of great help towards the interpretation of our passage. Cacozelos, he says, 'exagitabat' (Augustus), especially Maecenas, 'cuius myrobrechis, ut ait, cincinnos usque quaque persequitur' (*Aug.* 87). The epithet *uirilis* is constantly applied by writers on style to such words as *compositio sermo* or *oratio*, to denote that the things so denoted eschew all but legitimate ornament. Mere prettiness on the other hand, as opposed to real beauty, is regarded as unmanly, and branded with such adjectives as *tener*, *mollis* and *effeminatus*. Cp. esp. Quint. 5. 12. 18 and 19. Cicero had used *cincinnati* along with the very feminine *fucus* to denote this failing, and Augustus very naturally applied the term to the affected, coquettish style of Maecenas.

Is it a mere coincidence that in what the editors regard as one of the very few fragments of Maecenas' work which Fortune has bequeathed us, we find not merely a description of a fop like Maecenas, but the very word *cincinnati* which Augustus applied to his mannerisms of language? For my own part I think such a coincidence extremely improbable, and prefer to suppose that we have here Seneca's comments on the Maecenas quotation *amne—hortos*. On the quotation (or quotations) which follow this passage Seneca appends the comment: 'When you read such a style, don't you at once realise that this is the man whose laxity of dress was a by-word at Rome?' Some such comment I believe is contained in the words we are now considering.

Another consideration points the same way. The words *quid si quis* which precede the supposed quotation can hardly be regarded as yielding a satisfactory meaning. Before going into this it will be well to consider the words which introduce the preceding quotations (or, as I believe, quotation). The construction of *amne* is surely exceedingly bold. In the Senecan context it is the abl. of comparison after *turpius*: in the original passage of Maecenas

it was probably one of accompanying circumstances. That Seneca of all men would have tried to burn the candle at both ends in this inelegant way seems to me highly improbable. I believe *quid turpius* is a question complete in itself, and that the reference is not forward, to the quotation that follows, but back, to the description which Seneca has just given of Maecenas' style. Probably we ought to read '*quo quid turpius?*': the words 'Maecenas de cultu suo' are almost certainly interpolated¹ and may well be responsible for the expulsion of a word. Much the same difficulty arises in reference to what Hense regards as the second quotation: he must explain the subjunctives *arent* and *remittant* as representing, in the construction which Seneca has given the sentence, an original *arant*, *remittunt* of Maecenas. I do not know on what grounds Harder assigned the words *uide ut* to the quotation, but I believe he was right: such a course removes a second difficulty—the inadequacy of that phrase to denote the strong disapproval which Seneca evidently feels. We have now reached our passage again, and must decide whether the words '*quid? si quis feminae cincinnos crispat*' can possibly mean 'Again, can we approve of anyone writing "he curls his hair as though 'twere a woman's"?' or require emendation. I certainly prefer the latter alternative. And once we recognise that the whole passage is spoken by Seneca, emendation is easy. *Si quis* is a corruption of *sic uir*: whether we keep *quid?* or read for it *quis* is not very material.² 'Would anyone who deserved the name of man give way to such feminine tricks?' 'Ite nunc,' says the philosopher's father (*Contr.* I. pr. 9), 'et in istis uulsis atque expolitis et nusquam nisi in libidine uiris quaerite oratores,' having just before said that these people care only 'capillos frangere et ad muliebros blanditias extenuare uocem, mollitia corporis certare cum feminis.' 'Haec fierent, si testiculi uena ulla paterni uiueret in nobis?' says Persius (I. 103 *sqq.*).

But what of *fanantur*? Buecheler has done good service in pointing out the *laxa ceruice* of the Persius passage. *Laxa* must be read, but the picture is rather that of Lucretius' Venus 'tereti ceruice reposta' or Catullus' 'adplicansque collum iucundum os oculosque sauiabor': in other words, for *fanantur* read *sauiat*. This will of course necessitate altering *ut* to *et*. That *incipitque suspirans* is wrong is also clear: the Lucretius passage suggests *inhiatque*, but I do not feel on firm ground here.

And now before we deal with *nemoris tyranni*, it will be well to examine the next quotation. Neither Buecheler nor Norden have troubled to say what an *irremediabilis factio* could be, and I am quite unable to form any conception of it that is consistent with the *rimantur epulis* here predicated of it. The key to the passage lies, I think, in the last words: the revellers by refusing

¹The words *de cultu* suit the context in Seneca rather than the sentences quoted; besides, the use of a title implies a continuous extract rather than several selected sentences, and is surely inadmissible when such comments as *quid turpius* etc. are interpolated between those sentences.

²On the whole I prefer *quis*. Cp. Cicero's criticism of Antonius' phrase 'contumeliam facere: quis sic loquitur?' (*Phil.* 3. 22). The confusion of *c* and *qu* is extremely common in the Senecan MSS.

to look on the dark side of life drive away all thoughts of death. Death is an idea which the word *inremediabilis* suits admirably, and all we want is some word denoting it with which the adjective can be taken. Such a word presents itself in the word *tyranni* which the editors have assigned to the previous quotation: it obviously may denote the king of the realm below, and the application to him of the epithet *inremediabilis* is no bolder than we may expect of Maecenas: see more on this below. As for the word on which the genitive depends, that too must be borrowed from what has hitherto been regarded as the preceding quotation: *nemoris* is no doubt a corruption for *memores*, which, if *factio* is really sound, agrees with it by the same sense construction as justifies *rimantur* immediately afterwards. I believe however that the *o* of *factio* represents a *Q*. of some capital MS, and that what Maecenas wrote was *fatigue*. Nor does this exhaust the corruptions of the passage, for *domos* should surely be *modos*: the *comissatio* would be incomplete without its music.

And now, in conclusion, a word or two as to the peculiarities which Seneca means these quotations to illustrate. Maecenas was affected, licentious and effeminate. The first two failings were reflected in his bold use of words and the intentional disorder in which he sometimes arranged them. In §7 Seneca says 'haec uerba tam improbe structa . . . tam contra consuetudinem omnium posita.' In the *memores tyranni* sentence I think Seneca disapproved of the use of *inremediabilis* and *rimari*. In the first extract, I take it that the reference is to people rowing on water which reflects quite clearly the foliage of the trees upon the banks, and M. has avoided the natural order, 'siluis amne ripaque comantibus' by using *que* in a manner familiar to us mainly from certain lines from the odes of Horace. Quintilian (9. 4. 28) speaks of hyperbata 'quae in hoc ipsum petuntur ut exultent atque lasciuant,' and he illustrates at once from Maecenas with sentences like 'sōle ēt āurorā rūbēnt plūrīmā, ne exsequias quidem ūnūs īntēr mīsērrimōs uīdērēm mēās.' From order of words to questions of rhythm is a short step. In the fragments of Maecenas his love for a rhythm in which cretic feet predominate is unmistakable. So in the Quintilian citations,¹ and a sentence given by Servius on *Aen.* 8. 310 ('dulcīs iūuēntaē rēdūcīt bōnā'), whilst of the Seneca passages the first begins with three, the third² concludes with four, and the second contains a series of four and perhaps³ five cretics. I do not know that any of the ancient critics definitely tells us that such a tendency was regarded as a sign of *mollitia*, but when we reflect that it was to the rhythm that they looked first for such evidence and that the Seneca citations at any rate must in some way or other be intended to reflect the notorious effeminacy of Maecenas, we can hardly help drawing such an inference. And this will render more intelligible some

¹ A third passage given by him l.c. runs 'inter sacra | mouit aqua | fraxinos.'

² It is not printed above, and seems very corrupt. The last six words however on which

the statement in the text is based seem sound enough.

³ Five if *fatigue* be read for *factio*: 'tīquē rīmāntūr ēpūlis lāgōnāquē tēptānt mōdōs.'

words used by Seneca in the earlier part of the letter. Speaking there of varieties of *explicatio* he stigmatises as *infracta* the kind that is 'in morem cantici ducta.' It is of course in the Plautine *cantica* that cretic metres abound.

The passage as amended will run :

uidebis itaque eloquentiam ebrii hominis inuolutam et errantem et licentiae plenam. [MAECENAS DE CVLTV SVO] *quo* quid turpius? 'amne silisque ripa comantibus uide ut alueum lyntribus arent uersoque uado remittant hortos.' quis sic uir feminae cincinnos crispat et labris columbatur †incipitque suspirans et ceruice laxa sauiatur? 'memores tyranni inremediabilis fatique rimantur epulis lagonaque, temptant modos et spe mortem exigunt.'

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NOTES ON MANILIUS II. AND III.

IN the *Classical Quarterly*, vol. ii. No. 2, reviewing Breiter's recent text of the *Astronomica*, together with Housman's edition of Book i., I made a number of suggestions of my own on some of the principal difficulties in the text and interpretation of Manilius. I did not, however, bring my notes down beyond Book i. In the present paper I propose to traverse some of the more thorny places of ii. and iii. I shall try to make what I have to say to some extent a continued review of Breiter (and even of Housman).

BOOK II.

- 1-5. Maximus Iliacae gentis certamina uates.
 Et quinquaginta regum regemque patremque
 3. †Hectoreamque facit† tutamque sub Hectore Troiam
- i. 766. castra †ducum et caeli† uictamque sub Hectore Troiam
 4. erroremque ducis totidem quot uicerat annis
 instantis pelago. . . .
 7. ore sacro cecinit.

That 3 and i. 766 are alternative versions of the same line is now generally agreed. So both Housman and Breiter. And that *uictamque* and not *tutamque* is the true reading seems certain from *uicerat* in 4: so Br. Housm.: although Bechert clings to *tutamque*. But what are we to make of such variants as

{ Hectoreamque facit
 castra ducum et caeli?

I fancy that there underlies *facit* and *et caeli* an original *et sati* = *et satum* = *aestatum*: and that Manilius wrote

castra decem aestatum uictamque sub H. Troiam.

totidem annis in 4 echoes *decem aestatum* just as *uicerat* echoes *uictamque*.

sati at 3 was very easily emended to *facit*, and more audaciously at i. 766 to *caeli*—which Breiter keeps. *Hectoreamque* in 3 probably arose from an accidental transposition of *Hectore Troiam* from the end to the beginning of the line, causing the complete loss of *castra decem et*.

7-8. patria quae iura petentem
dum dabat eripuit

I had some time ago conjectured here

patriam cui cura potentum

(potentum = regum quorum cliens erat Homerus): but I now find that Housman has anticipated this, save that he writes *petentum*.

72. nec sua dispositos seruarent sidera cursus.

Breiter retains *sua*: but if his reason for doing so is no better than Bechert's, I should think him ill-advised. I would write *stata*: Plin. *N.H.* 18. 29. 69 'stati cursus siderum.' See however Housman *C.R.* xiv. p. 31.

87. nec minus est quaerenda fides.

nimis, Bentley, and most editors. Perhaps *procul*: *minus* may be due to a suprascript *eminus*. Breiter reads *comminus* after Scaliger: but a connecting particle is wanted.

105-115.

quis dubitet post haec hominem coniungere caelo?
†eximium† natura dedit linguamque capaxque
ingenium uolucrumque animum, quem denique in unum
descendit deus atque habitat seque ipse requirit.
mitto alias artes quarum est permissa facultas
infidas adeo nec nostri munera census,
mitto quod aequali nihil est sub lege tributum,
quod patet auctores summi non *pectoris* esse,
mitto quod et certum est et ineuitabile fatum,
materiaeque datum est cogi sed cogere mundo.
quis caelum possit nisi caeli munere nosse
et reperire deum nisi qui pars ipse deorum est?

111. *pectoris* scripsi: *corporis* codd. The confusion is one of the commonest: cf. e.g. i. 720: ii. 254. 'The authorities on the subject are not men of consummate talents.' In no passage of Manilius is it more difficult to seize the connection of thought. Yet I doubt whether any line is to be ejected, and to eject with Jacob 111-113 is to ruin the passage entirely. The much-vexed *eximium* (*eximum* M) is, I suspect, the *origo mali*. I would write 106-107 thus:

*eximo quod*¹ natura dedit linguamque capaxque
ingenium uolucrumque animum, *quod* denique in unum.

The argument will then proceed as follows: 'Who could hesitate to connect

¹*eximo quod* became *eximioq.*, and the -q was then omitted *metri gratia*; *eximiam* followed, for which *eximium* is a mere blunder. Reviewing this

passage I now think that *eximum* perhaps stands for *consilium* = *csilium* = *exilium*. Cf. *consilium* in 4. 900 (a closely parallel passage).

man with heaven? I set aside the fact that nature has given him speech and talent and mind, that in man alone the god dwells and seeks himself in man's seekings of him (105-108): I say nothing of other arts which have been allowed to us that are uncertain and beyond our competence (109-110): I say nothing of the fact that the disposition of things is ill-adjusted and that the authorities to guide us are of inferior talents: I say nothing of the fact that fate is sure and inevitable and that it belongs to matter to endure, and to *mundus* to exercise, compulsion (111-114): but how could man come to know the heavens and to discover god unless he were a part of god? (115-116). The real difficulty lies obviously in 111-114. Apart from these lines everything is plain sailing. Man's study of the heavens is in itself a sufficient proof that he partakes of the divine: and other indications of the same fact, *e.g.* his possession of speech and intelligence and various arts may be left aside [what the *infidas artes* are is doubtful]. In 111-114 among these 'other indications' of man's participation in the divine are reckoned the facts (1) that the order of the world is confusing (111), (2) that the guides to the study of it are poor, (3) that while fate is sure and inevitable matter is compelled, *mundus* (= *deus*) compels. The meaning of 113-114 can only be that man, despite fate, is not mere *materies*, but somehow shares in the compelling power, the cogency, of the *mundus*. I understand 111-112 to mean that a proof of man's relation to the divine is the fact that though he can rely only on poor *auctores* he yet surmounts the difficulties of a world where *aequali nihil est sub lege tributum*. The passage is no doubt one of many which never received Manilius' *ultima manus*.

333-334.

quadrati si forte uoles effingere formam,
aut trinis paribus facies tu membra trigoni.

334. *tu* scripsi: *cum* codd. For the position of *tu* cf. Lucret. 2. 492 ('si forte uoles' . . .)-495 ('si *tu* forte uoles'): or Hor. *Odes*, i. 9. 16 'nec dulces amores sperne puer neque tu choreas.'

358.

quin dubia alternis data sunt commercia signis.

quin dubia scripsi: *dubiaque* G *dunaque* or *diuiaque* M: i.e. *u* for *b*. See note on i. 40.

433-4.

his animaduersis rebus quae proxima cura
noscere tutelas adiectaque numina signis.

Both Bechert and Breiter print a note of interrogation at *cura*: betraying, I think, a lamentable want of feeling for the language. *quae proxima cura* must, as Scaliger saw, be parenthetical. Bentley, recognising this, altered *rebus*

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to *restat*, which is palaeographically unsatisfactory, and makes *quae proxima cura* somewhat tautologous. For *rebus* I would suggest *debes*.

501-503.

libra suos sequitur sensus solumque uidendo
lanigerum atque animo complexa est Scorpion infra.
ille uidet pisces auditque per omnia libram.

501. 'sensus uocat hic auditum,' says Scaliger. No: *sequitur suum auditum* would be nonsense when the sense demands *suos sequitur sonitus*. *sensus* is here used in its meaning of 'opinion,' 'view,' and = *consilia*. *Libra* listens to no one's advice but her own: exactly as *Aries* is said at 485 to be *consilium ipse suum* which = *neminem audit*.

520.

quin aduersa meant †etiam† trigona trigonis.

etiam^a G: *-que* is the most palpable stopgap. Yet Bechert reads it. Breiter writes *coniuncta*. Nearer to the MSS. would be *sociata*. *Manilius* has, again, *cognata* (= *9 nata*) *trigona* at 578.

534-535.

quo mirer ab illis
nascentis Librae superari posse trigonum.

'nascentis *suspectum*,' says Bechert: *ingentis Bentley*, *Jacob: fulgentis Pingré*. I would suggest *armentis*.

592-600.

at quanta est scelerum moles per saecula cuncta
quamque onus inuidiae non excusabile terris!
imposuit Phoebus noctem terrasque reliquit.
uenalis ad fata patres matrumque sepulcra
quid loquar euersas urbes et prodita templa
.
.
.
in populo scelus est.

Between 593 and 594 there has been lost, I think, some such line as

quid loquar ut subitam sceleratis gentibus olim,

and between 594 and 595 a line of this sort:

quid loquar infectos fraterno sanguine fratres?

106-115 is just such another catalogue of things which *Manilius* finds it unnecessary to mention,¹ since he has a crowning and self-sufficient argument. It is unnecessary to mention the crimes famous in ancient mythology and

¹In that passage, too, some of the difficulties may come from omissions. One or more lines beginning *mitto quod* may very well have dropped out.

among the great families: crime we have always with us: *in populo scelus est*. 594 can hardly be sound as it stands.

uenalis ad fata patres ad stupraque matres
is violent, but gives something like the sense required.

772--775.

ac uelut in nudis cum surgunt montibus urbes,
conditor et uacuos muris circumdare colles
destinat, ante manus quam temptet scindere fossas,
uertit opus.

775. *uersat opus* Bentley, *feruit opus* Ellis, followed by Bechert. Breiter retains *uertit*, which I cannot understand. We should read, I think, *quaerit opes*. The initial of *querit* became lost, and the correction of *uerit* to *uertit* was then inevitable [iv. 169, *opus* for *opes* M].

849-850.

qua pars occasus †interminumque† sub orbem
descendit, regit haec maturae tempora uitae.

849. So M: interimumque L: interimum quam G.

M's reading points to

quae pars occasu contermina quaeque sub orbem,

which will give the same sense as Bentley's correction. *conterminus* is another distinctively Ovidian word. [For the form of the expression cf. Hor. *Od.* 3. 24. 38 'finitimum Boreae latus.']

BOOK III.

108-109.

format amicitias et saepe cadentia fulcit
officia.

fulcit scripsi: *frustra* codd.

fulcit is some way from the MSS.: but it seems to me to give the sense required while *frustra* spoils the meaning of the whole passage:—it is not the province of the third *statio* to form friendships which come to nothing.

120-122.

quintus coniugio gradus est per signa dicatus
et socios tenet, et comites hospitis una
iungitur et similis coniungens foedus amicos.

121. *committem* for *et comites* M. *committens hospita iura* Housman. Nearer would be *hospita uincla*. Perhaps

et socios tenet et comites, hinc hospitium<que>

(*hinc*=*hc* dropped out before *hosp*:- *hospitis una*=*hospit' unu*=*hospitium*).

328-9. ergo ubi conscendes orbem scandesque rotundum
degreidere simul.

Surely ergo ubi conscendes orbem *condesque* rotundum.
rotundum, subst. not adj. as in 375.

For *condo* in this sense of 'making to disappear from sight,' 'putting behind one,' cf. Val. Flacc. 2. 442-3 'urbes nauita *condebant*,' for which *abscondo* (Virg. *Aen.* 3. 291) is more usual. Virgil's *condere soles* (*Ecl.* 9. 52) is perhaps not dissimilar.

417-418. haec erit horarum ratio ducenda per orbem :
illa quod stadiis oriantur quaeque cadentque.

Breiter now reads in 418 *illa et quot*. Previously he suggested *accipe quot*, which, if further from the MSS., is yet more like what Manilius might have written. The parent of GLM had, I suspect, *olli quod* pointing to
collige quod (=quot) stadiis oriantur, etc.

450-452. quoque ad iusto superauerit umbras
et trepidant lucas, eius pars tertia signo
tradenda est medio semper.

In 450 perhaps
quoque adgesto (? adjecto) superauerit umbra

509. denaque in proprias uires sortesque accedant.

The question of correcting this line cannot be kept indistinct from the question of its genuineness. It ought, I think, to be athetised (with 508). And if it is not genuine *denaque* probably points to *deuiaque*.

530-531. non annis anni nec menses mensibus usque
conveniunt, seque ipsa dies alia usque requirit

531. *alia usque* scripsi: *aliumque* codd. *alia usque*=semper se mutans.

548-552. difficile est in idem tempus concurrere cuncta
unius ut signi pariter sit mensis et annus :
mitius at signum fit uti si ceperit annum
uis agat asperior mensem, si mensis in astrum
laetius inciderit signum sit triste diei,
si fortuna diem foueat sit durior hora.

Between 549 and 550 I have inserted a verse something like what must have been lost. Anyone who looks at Breiter's restoration will see how desperate is the refusal to recognise a lacuna. In 550 I have changed the MS. *asperior* to *agat* to *uis agat asperior*. The error arose from the accidental transference

of *asperior* to the beginning of the line. With *asperioris* it is well nigh impossible to construct a satisfactory 'lost' line.

567-8.

bis quinos annos aries unumque triente
fraudatum dabit.

Surely *aries annos*?

611-615.

at qui praecedit surgentis cardinis horam
*tricen*os ternosque dabit nascentibus annos,
uix degustatam rapiens sub flore inuentam.
quod super occasus templum est *per* dena remittit
annorum spatia † et decimam tribus applicat auctis.†

612.

*tricen*os scripsi: *uicen*os codd.

614. *per* scripsi: *ter* M, om. cett.

Before I make any suggestion on 615 I feel obliged to point out how lazily editors have dealt with the whole of 599-615. With this very simple correction of *uicen*os to *tricen*os we get a numerical system:

- 8. 68-5
- 7. 63-6
- 6. 57-7
- 5. 50-8
- 4. 42-9
- 3. 33-10
- 2. 23-11
- 1. 12-12
- 0. 0

of which the *n*th term is given by the formula

$$\frac{1}{2}n(25-n).$$

*tricen*os is thus one of the few emendations which can be proved mathematically.¹ As for my *per dena* in 614, the old *hoc dena* would do as well: but my suggestion is nearer to M (*per* and *ter* are confused again at 607): 'lowers the number of years by ten,' i.e. brings them to 23: Breiter's *ter sena* and Housman's *ter trina* are equally useless.

This would give a perfectly satisfactory sense quite apart from the puzzling 'et decimam tribus applicat auctis.' Any attempt to correct these words must be hopelessly conjectural. I can think of nothing better than

haecque (et *codd.*) decem et (decum M) tribus applicat auctis,
'and adds these (dena annorum spatia) to those who possess 13.' *annis* for *auctis* is tempting: *auctis* may have come from *peractis* in the line following.

H. W. GARROD.

¹Bentley's (or Huet's: cf. Ellis *ad loc.*) correction *decuma* at 5. 53 is just such another mathematically demonstrable emendation.

ON MANILIVS III. 590-617.

MR. GARROD has earned the gratitude of all students of Manilius by his detection of the ratio of the series in iii. 599-615, and he is fully justified in his contention that *tricenās* in 612 is 'one of the few emendations which can be proved mathematically.' I owe him a special acknowledgment, inasmuch as his discovery enables me to add one more to the list and affords me an opportunity of establishing what was correct and correcting what was erroneous in my discussion of the whole passage (590-617) in *Silva Maniliana*, pp. 30 sqq. Let me do the last first. My suggestion of *uix* for *bis* in 616 of course disappears; *bis sex* is required by the series: and in 595-6 (of which more presently) the number meant is 75, not 76.

The complete list of the years allotted by the twelve *templa* will then be as follows, the figures in italics being those obtained by conjecture, while those within brackets are the successive decreases according to the law of the series:

i. 78 (0)	vii. 57 (6)
ii. 77 (1)	viii. 50 (7)
iii. 75 (2)	ix. 42 (8)
iv. 72 (3)	x. 33 (9)
v. 68 (4)	xi. 23 (10)
vi. 63 (5)	xii. 12 (11)

The number of the third *templum* is given in lines 595-6, which stand thus in Breiter's text:

bis quadragenos occasus diues in ortus
solis erat, numero nisi deesset olympias una.

The construction of this sentence I understand no better than I did eleven years ago. But the number presented conforms to the law of the series, provided that *olympias* be understood as a five-year period. Why certain Roman writers should have made an olympiad consist, like a *lustrum*, of five years, it may not be easy to say; but that they did so is beyond dispute. Such is its invariable use in Ovid and in Martial. See the passages in Friedlaender's collection on Martial iv. 45. 3, 4.¹

¹ I fail to appreciate Friedlaender's difficulties about vi. 85. 7, 8: 'heu qualis pietas, heu quam brevis occidit aetas! | uiderat Alphei praemia *quinta* modo.' It may be a question whether *quarta* should be read on the ground that the tradition varies between *quinta*, *quanta* and *quinque*: but *quinta* need involve no inconsistency in Martial's usage. Rufus Camonius had reached the age of 20 'creuerat hic uoltus bis denis fortior annis' (ix. 76. 3). He died

between the production of the fifth and the sixth book of the Epigrams vi. 85. 1, 2: 'Editur en sextus sine te mihi, Rufe Camoni, | nec te lectorem sperat, amice, liber,' i.e. between A.D. 89 and 90. Now there was an Olympian festival in 89, and, reckoning inclusively, it would be the fifth *quinquennial* celebration from that in 69. This we may take as the year of Rufus' birth, so that he would not have been 21 till 90 when book vi. was published.

The number of the fourth *templum* (597-8) has been recovered by my conjecture *messibus* for *mensibus* (*Silua Manil.* l.c.), and is now seen to obey Mr. Garrod's law, *tricenās* reinstates the tenth in its rights, and only the eleventh is left. Here I will not add (as I could) to Mr. Garrod's just dissatisfaction with his own proposals for the restoration of 615. As to his *per* in 614 it must be observed that, did we not know the sense that had to be obtained, we should never guess that *remittit annorum spatia per dena* meant it 'lowers the number of years by ten,' and by owning that '*hoc dena*' would do as well Mr. Garrod allows that this *per* can be dispensed with. The problem is how to account for the MSS variants '*templatum est dena*' and '*templatum est ter dena*.' In the *Silua* l.c. I suggested that *ter* might point to *tⁱ*, i.e. *tibi* (addressing the reader as in 565). But since the change of *l* is already attested for *temptatum*, which must have come from *templ-*, it is possible that M's *ter* is a misreading of *-lor*, a correction written over *temptatum*. So that *templorum*, of which Prof. Ellis writes, *Noctes Manilianae*, p. 113, that it is not '*prorsus abiciendum*' may be right. In any case *dena* stands firm, and *remittit* has the sense of 'concedes' 'allows.' For the rest I see no difficulty which is not met by the conjecture in the *Silua* (which, like *messibus*, has been taken up into Bechert's text), '*ac decumum tribus applicat actum*.' The sense it gives to *actus*, 'term' or 'course,' I have already shown (l.c.) is supported *inter alia* by the present context (595), and the use of *applicat* for *addit* is confirmed by Martial, vi. 28. 8 sq. The required meaning is thus obtained. The *templum* above the setting 'grants ten terms of a year (10), and to three courses adds a tenth' (i.e. 13). That is 23 in all.

J. P. POSTGATE.

EMENDATIONS IN ATHENAEVS.

THE following emendations are a selection from adversaria made during repeated readings of Athenaeus. The material to hand during the several perusals has consisted chiefly of Kaibel's recension (to which the references are made throughout), the variorum edition of Schweighhäuser, and Meineke's *Comic Fragments*. The editor of the *Classical Quarterly* has been kind enough to check my suggestions by reference to other material, and I have to thank him for the excision of sundry emendations for which I cannot claim priority. As the full discussion of the several passages here touched upon would require considerable space, I have contented myself with a brevity which is not intended to be in any way dogmatic; but which aims simply at economy of paper and type. I hope at an early date to enter more fully and systematically into the emendation and interpretation of this interesting and instructive writer.

Athenaeus 4 F (from Antiphanes)

†οὔτοι δὲ τὰ δεῖπνα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει
ἀφορῶσιν καὶ πέτονται δεξιῶς†
ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἄκλητοι.

Meineke, followed by Kaibel, reads

οὔτοι δὲ <πρὸς> τὰ δεῖπνα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει
ἀφορῶσιν <ἀεὶ> κ.τ.λ.

But it is not easy to see why either *πρὸς* or *ἀεὶ* would be omitted in these places. Moreover *τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει* is much too vague. Since *δὲ*=*δαι*=*δαι*, while *α'* (standing for some part of *πρῶτος*) would easily, if not almost certainly, be lost before *ἀφορῶσιν*, we may better emend with

οὔτοι δ' ἀεὶ τὰ δεῖπνα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει
<πρῶτων> ἀφορῶσιν κ.τ.λ.

13 A οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Θρινακίᾳ ἐκεχάλκευτο τὰ ἄγκιστρα, ἀλλ' ἐπεφέροντο ἐν τῇ πλῆθι δηλονότι.

Kaibel reads *ἐκ τοῦ πλοῦ*. Why not rather *ἐν τῇ πλοίῳ*?

13 C οὐ μόνον δὲ ἰχθύσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀστρείοις ἐχρῶντο, καίτοι τῆς τούτων ἐδωδῆς οὐ πολὺ ἐχούσης τὸ ὠφελιμον καὶ ἡδύ, †ἀλλὰ κὰν τῷ βυθῷ κατὰ βάθος κειμένων.

Kaibel suggests *ἄλλως τε κὰν . . .* Nearer is *ἅμα κὰν . . .*

22 C Ζήνων δὲ ὁ Κρής ὁ πᾶν Ἀρταξέρξη προσφιλέστατος.

‘Fort. ὁ πάντων’ Kaibel. Rather ὁ <τῷ> πᾶν . . .

23 A-B (from Eubulus)

<A.> Σίκων ἐγὼ

βεβρεγμένος ἤκω καὶ κεκωθωνισμένος.

B. †πέπωκας οὗτος; A. . . . πέπωκ’ ἐγώ,

μὰ Δία τὸν Μενδαῖον†.

Perhaps B. <τί> πέπωκας <ὄντως> οὗτος; A. <ὅ τι> πέπωκ’ ἐγώ;

μὰ τὸν Δί’ οὐ Μενδαῖον.

34 C (from Amphis)

οὐκ ἔστιν, ὥς ἔοικε, φάρμακον μέθης

οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ὥς τὸ προσπeseῖν ἄφνω

λύπην τιν’ οὕτως ἐξελαύνει γὰρ σφόδρα

†λήρον ὥστε τὰς ραφάνους οὕτω δοκεῖν.

The property of ράφανοι is to cure κραιπάλη. Kaibel suggests ‘velut τὸν οἶνον ὥστε τὰς ραφάνους λήρον δοκεῖν’, but this is hardly emendation. Rather

οὕτως ἐξελαύνει γὰρ <κάρων>

σφόδρ’ ὥστε λήρον τὰς ραφάνους οὕτω δοκεῖν.

After the loss of κάρων (as κάρ’ following γὰρ) σφόδρα naturally filled the line.

35 D (Diphilus)

ὦ πᾶσι τοῖς φρονούσι προσφιλέστατε

Διόνυσε καὶ σοφώταθ’, ὥς ἡδύς τις εἶ

ὅς τὸν ταπεινὸν μέγα φρονεῖν ποιεῖς μόνος,

τὸν τὰς ὀφρῦς αἴροντα συμπίθεις γελᾶν

τόν τ’ ἀσθενῇ τολμᾶν τι, τὸν δειλὸν θρασύν.

Since θρασύν has no construction Kaibel marks the passage as unfinished. This is not a natural way for Athenaeus to quote; συμπίθεις is very weak; and, if we substitute συμπαθῶς, the whole passage following ποιεῖς depends upon that verb.

35 E (Ion of Chios)

ἄδαμνον

παῖδα ταυρωπὸν, νέον οὐ νέον, ἥδιστον πρόπολον

βαρυσγούπων ἐρώτων, οἶνον ἀερσίνοον,

†ἀνθρώπων πρύτανιν.

Kaibel marks a lacuna of — before ἀνθρώπων and would fill it with οἶνον. Wilamowitz offers ἀθανάτων πρύτανιν. Probably we should read

ἀδέων ὑπνων πρύτανιν

37 A (Panyasis)

οἶνος <γὰρ> πυρὶ ἴσον ἐπιχθονίοισιν ὄνειαρ,
ἐσθλόν, ἀλεξίκακον, πάσῃ συνοπηδὸν ἄνιη.

Stobaeus (Fl. 18. 22) has πάσης . . . αἰοίδης. The sense of ἀνιη is obviously the contrary to that required. Both ἀνιη and αἰοιδῆς would easily spring from ἀδείη.

The result of wine-drinking is ἄδεια.

14 C ὁ δὲ παρὰ Φαίαξι Δημόδοκος ἄδει Ἄρεος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης συνουσίαν, οὐ διὰ τὸ ἀποδέχεσθαι τὸ τοιοῦτον πάθος, ἀλλ' ἀποτρέπων αὐτοὺς παρανόμων ἰδῶν.

Kaibel places ἔργων in his text. But why this corruption? Rather read ὁρᾷ <ξ>ων.

15 A (from Antiphanes)

Phaenestius the παιδοτρίβης invented the game of φαίνινδα, and hence Antiphanes has

φαίνινδα παίζων ἦεις ἐν Φαινεστίου.

Read ἦ τις . . .

16 F-17 A

The πεττεία of the μνηστῆρες is described.

ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταιχμίῳ τούτῳ μίαν τιθέναι ψῆφον, ἣν καλεῖν μὲν αὐτοὺς Πηνελόπην, σκοπὸν δὲ ποιεῖσθαι εἴ τις βάλλοι ψήφῳ ἑτέρᾳ· καὶ κληρουμένων τὸν λαχόντα στοχάζεσθαι ταύτης. εἰ δέ τις τύχοι καὶ ἐκκρούσειε πρόσω τὴν Πηνελόπην, ἀποτίθεσθαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τὴν τῆς βληθείσης καὶ ἐξωσμένης χώραν, ἐν ἣ πρότερον ἦν· καὶ πάλιν στάντα† τὴν Πηνελόπην, ἐν ᾧ τὸ δεύτερον ἐγένετο χωρίῳ, ἐντεῦθεν βάλλειν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ.

Kaibel's note is 'τὴν Πηνελόπην del. Wilam, fort. στάντα corruptum.' Rather read καὶ πάλιν στάντα <κατὰ> τὴν Πηνελόπην . . . He now takes his stand opposite the 'Penelope,' in its new position.

40 C (from Alexis)

τοῦ μεθύω τὴν φρόνησιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον μόνον,
τὸ διορίζεσθαι βεβαίως τῷ στόματι τὰ γράμματα.

Kaibel's note is 'οὐ μεθύω γὰρ simil., τὸ τοσοῦτον Cas.' Rather the speaker stammers (cf. Ar. Av. 310, Plaut. Most. 316) and we should write

οὐ μεμεθύω τὴν φρόνησιν, ἀλλὰ τοτοσοῦτον μόνον,
τὸ διορίζεσθ' οὐ βεβαίως τῷ στόματι τὰ γράμματα.

40 E (from Alexis)

τοὺς εὐτυχοῦντας ἐπιφανῶς
δεῖ ζῆν, φανεράν τε τὴν δόσιν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ
ποιεῖν ὁ γὰρ ἰδεδωκὼς τὰγαθὰ
ᾧ μὲν πεποίηκεν οἶεται χάριν τινὰ
ἔχειν αὐτῷ†.

Hermann (to whom is due $\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ for $\tau\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\omega\upsilon\upsilon$) inserts $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ before $\delta\epsilon\delta\omega\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$. Musurus changed $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega$ to $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega$. I do not see why $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ (even as $\Theta\bar{C}$) should have fallen out. Rather read

$\acute{o}$ γὰρ $\langle\delta\eta\ \delta\iota\alpha\rangle\delta\epsilon\delta\omega\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$ τὰγαθὰ
 $\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ πεποίηκεν οἶεται $\langle\chi\rho\eta\nu\alpha\iota\rangle$ χάριν
ἔχειν τιν' $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega$.

44 A-45 B

Λασύρτας $\langle\acute{o}\rangle$ Λασιώνιος οὐδὲν προσεδεῖτο ποτοῦ καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι, οὖρον δὲ προῖετο καθάπερ πάντες ἄνθρωποι, καὶ πολλοὶ διὰ φιλοτιμίαν ἐπεχείρησαν παρατηρῆσαι καὶ $\dagger$ ἀπέστησαν πρὸ τοῦ εὐρεῖν τὸ πραττόμενον. θέρους γὰρ ὥρα καὶ τριακονθήμερον προσεδρεύοντες καὶ οὐδενὸς μὲν ὀρῶντες ἀπεχόμενον ἀλμυροῦ, τὴν κύστιν δ' $\dagger$ αὐτοῦ ἔχοντα, συνεπίσθησαν ἀληθεύειν.

Commentators leave ἀπέστησαν. For αὐτοῦ ἔχοντα Cramer suggests αὐτὸν εἶ ἔχοντα. I should read $\eta\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ and $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$.

49 C (from Epicharmus)

τί δὲ τόδ' ἐστί; B. δηλαδὴ τρίπους. A. τί μὰν ἔχει πόδας τέτορας; οὐκ ἐστὶν τρίπους, ἀλλ' $\langle\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu\rangle$ οἶμαι τετράπους. B. ἐστὶ δ' ὄνομ' αὐτῷ τρίπους, τέτοράς γε μὰν ἔχει πόδας. A. $\dagger$ Οἰδίπους τοῖνον ποτ' ἦν, αἰνιγμά τοι νοεῖς $\dagger$.

The second line is given as filled in by Dindorf. I should prefer . . οὐκ ἐστὶν τρίπους $\langle\mu\grave{\alpha}\ \Delta\iota\alpha\ \gamma'\rangle$ ἀλλ' οἶμαι τετράπους. ($\langle\text{MA} \dots\dots\rangle$ $\text{A}\Lambda\Lambda\dots$). In the last line Grotefend suggests αἰνίγματ' Οἰδίπου νοεῖς. But the riddle is not complete, and we should further emend with

$\alpha\iota\ \delta\iota\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ τοῖνον ποτ' ἦν ($\eta\varsigma?$), αἰνίγματ' Οἰδίπου νοεῖς.

50 E (from Crates)

πάνν γάρ ἐστιν ὠρικώτατα
τὰ τιτθί', ὥσπερ μῆλον ἢ μιμαῖκυλον.

Kaibel notes 'ὠρικωτάτη CE, ὠρικά Dobr.' Since πάνν with superlative is doubtful and CE do not assure it (inasmuch as there is conflict of evidence as to the termination), we should perhaps read

πάνν γάρ ἐστιν ὠρίκ', ὦ τάτα.

60 A (from Alexis)

τὴν τράπεξαν ἦκ' ἔχων,
ἐφ' ἧς ἐπέκειτ' οὐ τυρός $\dagger$ οὐδ' ἐλαῶν γένη,
οὐδὲ παρέχουσαι $\dagger$ κνίσαν ἡμῖν πλείονα
παροψίδες καὶ λῆρος.

Read

οὐ τυρός, ἐλαῶν οὐ γένη,
οὐδὲ παρέχουσαι κνισμὸν ἡμῖν πλείονα κ.τ.λ.

These things do not satisfy appetite, they only 'provoke it more'.

68 D

βρωτὰ μὲν ἀπαλὰ τῷ περικαρπίῳ σικυὸς καὶ πέπων ἄνευ τοῦ σπέρματος, πεττόμενον δὲ τὸ περικάρπιον μόνον.

Kaibel remarks '〈ἄμα〉 τῷ περικαρπίῳ Villebrun, sed videntur plura intercidisse, velut ὅλα σὺν τῷ περικ. requiro'. The same sense may be got more simply from αὐτῷ περικαρπίῳ. Perhaps also we should further read ἀπλᾶ.

79 B (of the digestion of figs)

διαλύεται μὲν οὖν ταχέως, διότι πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ὄγκων εἰσενεχθέντων μετὰ μικρὸν χρόνον λαγαροὶ γινόμεθα καθ' ὑπερβολήν. ἀδύνατον δ' ἦν τοῦτο συμβαίνειν διαμενόντων καὶ μὴ ταχὺ διαλυομένων τῶν ἱσσωμάτων.

So A, but τῶν σύκων CE. Kaibel says 'fort. delendum'. The expedient is facile, but it is better to read τῶν σαρκῶν, i.e. the 'flesh' of the figs.

84 A-B (from Antiphanes)

ἀλλὰ ταυτὶ λάμβανε,
παρθένε, τὰ μῆλα. B. καλὰ γε. A. καλὰ δῆτ', ὦ θεοί!
νεωστὶ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα τοῦτ' ἀφιγμένον
εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐστὶ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως.
B. παρ' Ἑσπερίδων ῥῆμν γε, νῆ τὴν Φωσφόρον,
φησὶν τὰ χρυσᾶ μῆλα ἱταντὶ εἶναι τρία
μόνον ἐστίν. A. ὀλίγον ἐστὶ τὸ καλὸν πανταχοῦ
καὶ τίμιον.

The latter half is meaningless. Kaibel notes 'ῥῆμν σε . . . φήσιν K hoc sensu: *credebam Hesperidum mala esse dicturum te, nam tria sunt*'. Musurus wrote ταῦτ' εἶναι, which is commonly accepted. Rather read—

B. παρ' Ἑσπερίδων ῥῆμν γε. <A.> νῆ τὴν Φωσφόρον,
φασὶν τὰ χρυσᾶ μῆλα ταυτί. <B.> καὶ τρία
μόνον ἐστίν; A. ὀλίγον κ.τ.λ.

64 C (from the parodist Matron)

βολβίνας θ', αἱ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου εἰσὶν ἱαιοδοί,
ἃς ἐν χέρσῳ θρέψε Διὸς παῖς ἄσπετος ὄμβρος.

Kaibel 'αιοδοί vix verum, requiro γενέθλη vel νεοσσοί, ἐδωδή Wilam.' Why not rather ἄωτοι?

102 B (from Damoxenus)

διόπερ μάγειρον ὅταν ἴδῃς ἀγράμματον
μὴ Δημόκριτόν τε πάντα διανεγνωκότα,
μᾶλλον δὲ ἱκατέχοντα καταγέλα ὥς κενούτ',
καὶ τὸν Ἑπικούρου κανόνα, μινθώσας ἄφες.

Of the third line Kaibel remarks 'totum versum delevit Herm., alteram partem K.' The procedure is easy, but scarcely satisfying. The line is parenthetic, and we may read

μὴ Δημόκριτόν τε πάντα διανεγνωκότα
(μᾶλλον δὲ κατὰ χέοντα κατὰ γέλων κενόν)

105 A (from Archestratus)

ἀλλὰ παρὲς λῆρον πολὺν ἀστακὸν ὠνοῦ
τὸν τὰς χεῖρας ἔχοντα μακρὰς ἄλλως τε βαρείας.

Kaibel notes 'χηλὰς τε βαρείας Ribb., praestat adverbium velut ἀφάτως'. I agree; but an adverb more like ἄλλως was αἰνῶς, in the colloquial sense (cf. δεινῶς).

172 A-B (from Menander)

χοιρίδιον ἐν θύομεν,
ὁκτὼ ποιήσοντες τραπέζας δ' ἢ μίαν,
τί σοι διαφέρει τοῦτο; παράθες ἴσημίαν.

Kaibel 'σημίαν videtur versus antecedentis correctio esse, praeterea hiat oratio'. Doubtless σημίαν is the outcome of a confusion with the end of the preceding line, but what the comedian wrote was

τί σοι διαφέρει τοῦτο; παράθες τήμερον.

(The impatient *hodie* familiar in comedy.)

172 B

ἔπειθ' ὁ δειπνῶν μὲν τραγηματίζεται,
μυρισάμενος δὲ καὶ στεφανωσάμενος πάλιν
δειπνεῖ τὰ μελίπηκτα ταῖς κίχλαις.†

Read δειπνεῖ τὰ μελίπηκτ' <ἐγκατάμεικτ>α ταῖς κίχλαις.

179 D μετὰ γὰρ τὸ δειπνῆσαι σπονδὰς τέ φησιν ποιῆσαι καὶ τὸν θεὸν παιωνίσαντας τοῖς νομιζομένοις γέρασι† παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶν.

Wilamowitz marks a lacuna after γέρασι. Rather read γεῖραι in place of γέρασι.

190 D (concerning Telemachus, when visiting Menelaus, *Od.* 4. 104 sqq.)

τοῦ δὲ δακρύσαντος πρὸς τὴν μνήμην, ὁ μὲν ἐφίστησι, κὰν τοσοῦτ' τῆς Ἑλένης ἐπεισόδῳ (al. ἐπεισόδιον), κἀκείνης ἐκ τῆς ὁμοιότητος τεκμηραμένης κ.τ.λ.

Wilamowitz writes κὰν τοσοῦτ' <...τῇ> τῆς Ἑλένης κ.τ.λ., taking ἐφίστησι apparently as intransitive. Kaibel suggests κὰντὸς ἑαυτοῦ <γενόμενος τῇ> τῆς Ἑλένης κ.τ.λ. Neither offers any explanation of the losses. These were, as so frequently in the text of Athenaeus, due to homoeoteleuton. Read

ὁ μὲν ἐφίστησι <τὴν διήγησιν>, κὰν τοσοῦτ' τῆς Ἑλένης <γενομένης> ἐπεισόδου, κἀκείνης κ.τ.λ.

192 E (from Philetas)

θρήσασθαι δὲ πλατάνῳ †γαίῃ ὑπο.

Heinrich suggests λασίῃ. Rather γραιίῃ.

203 F—204 A

πηδάλια δ' εἶχε τέτταρα τριακονταπήχη, κόπας δὲ θρανιτικὰς ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα πηχῶν τὰς μεγίστας, αἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ μόλυβδον ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς ἐγχειριδίοις καὶ γεγονέναι ἱλίαν εἴσω βαρεῖαι κατὰ τὴν ζύγῳσιν εὐήρεις ὑπῆρχον.

Kaibel's mild comment is 'λίαν εἴσω vix sana'. Read <τε>λείαν ἰσοβάρειαν: 'because complete equipoise was secured'.

207 C ἦν δὲ ἡ ναῦς τῇ μὲν κατασκευῇ εἰκόσορος, τριπάροδος δέ· τὴν μὲν κατωτάτῳ ἔχων ἐπὶ τὸν γόμον, ἐφ' ἣν διὰ κλιμάκων πυκνῶν ἡ κατάβασις ἐγίνετο· ἡ δ' ἑτέρα τοῖς εἰς τὰς διαίτας βουλομένοις εἰσιέναι ἐμεμηχάνητο.

Read τῇ μὲν κατωτάτῳ ἐχρῶν τ(ο) . . .

214 B καὶ τὰς πύλας <. . .> τριάκοντα καταστήσας ἐφ' ἐκάστης οὗτ' εἰσιέναι τὸν βουλόμενον οὗτ' ἐξιέναι εἶα.

Kaibel rightly marks the lacuna ἀφ' ὧν τις λας. We may supply καὶ τὰς πύλας <κλήσας καὶ φύλακας> τριάκοντα κ.τ.λ. The loss was due to the resemblance of φύλακας to πύλας.

219 A—B ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ὦν ὁ Πλάτων εἴρηκε περὶ Σωκράτους τῶν κωμικῶν τις εἴρηκε, κ.τ.λ.

This is surely intolerable, and cod. C actually has εἶπε for the first εἴρηκε. Read οὐδ' ὦν ὁ Πλάτων λελήρηκε περὶ Σ. <οὐδὲν> τῶν κ.τ.λ. The whole passage is an attack upon the veracity of Plato, and the word λῆρος has already occurred in this connection.

221 C κτείνει (viz. the animal called 'Gorgon') τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῆς θεωρηθέντα οὐ τῷ πνεύματι, ἀλλὰ τῇ γιγνομένῃ ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμμάτων ἰφύσεως φορᾷ.

The regular notion in this case is ῥύσεως.

225 B (from Diphilus)

ἔπειτ' εἰς τὰργύριον αὐτῷ καταβάλης,
ἐπράξατ' Αἰγῳαῖον· ἂν δ' αὐτὸν δέῃ
κέρματ' ἀποδοῦναι, ἵπροσαπέδωκεν Ἀττικά.

Read κέρματ' ἀποδοῦν', αὐτὸς ἀπέδωκεν Ἀττικά.

227 C (from Anaxandrides)

ἔπεὶ τίνα δ' ἄλλην τέχνην, ὧ χρηστὲ σύ,
τὰ στόματα τῶν νεωτέρων κατακάετ' ἢ κ.τ.λ.

Read ἐπεὶ τίν' ἄλλην διὰ τέχνην . . .

ibid. D

ἥδε γὰρ δαμάζεται
ἐφθοῖς προσώποις ἰχθύων χειρουμένη,
ἄγουσ' ὑπ' αὐτὰ σώματ' ἀρίστου πύλας.

(The talk is of the attractions of good fish and the style is παρατραγωδία.) Kaibel says 'ὑπ' αὐτὰς σῶμ' ἀπ' ἀρίστου πύλας conieci, sed non sufficient'. In keeping with the preceding line read

ἄγουσ' ὑπακτὰ σώματ' ἀρίστου πάλαις.

They are 'subjugated' by the 'wrestling tricks' of an ἄριστον (cf. χειρουμένη). They cannot struggle against its attractions.

228 E (from Pherecrates)

ἀπὸ τηγάνου τ' ἔφασκεν ἀφύας φαγεῖν.

Since ἀφύας refers to a cheap fish, and since ἄν is wanted, read

ἀπὸ τηγάνου τ' ἔφασκε κ' ἄν ἀφύας φαγεῖν.
[ἀφύας ἄν Dindorf.]

230 B-C (from Alexis)

τοῖς παισὶ τ' εἶπα (δύο γὰρ ἦγον οἴκοθεν)
τάκπώματ' εἰς τὸ φανερόν ἐκνειτρωμένα
θεῖναι· κύαθος δ' ἦν ἀργυροῦς, ἔτακπώματα
ἦγεν δύο δραχμάς, κυμβίον δὲ τέτταρας,
ψυκτηρίδιον <δὲ> δέκ' ὀβολούς, Φιλιππίδου
λεπτότερον·

Kaibel regards τάκπώματα as simply 'interpretamentum' and conjectures οὔτος μὲν οὖν. Doubtless the corruption was influenced by the notion of τὰ ἐκπώματα in the context, but the original is rather to be sought in a confusion with (σ)ταθμωιταχα, i.e. .

κύαθος δ' ἦν ἀργυροῦς· σταθμῶ τάχα
ἦγεν κ.τ.λ.

234 B (of the Gauls)

Βαθάναττος δέ τις ἡγεμὼν αὐτοὺς διόκισεν ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰστρον τόπους, ἰὰφ' ἧς καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν δι' ἧς ἐνόστησαν Βαθαναττίαν καλοῦσι.

Kaibel marks a lacuna after τόπους. All that is needed is to read

. . . διόκισεν ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰστρον τόπους ἀφείς, καὶ κ.τ.λ.

238 D (describing his gifts and attributes)

πνίγος ὑπομεῖναι καὶ μεσημβρίας λαλεῖν
τέττιξ, ἐλαίῳ †μήτε χρῆσθαι μήτε ὀρᾶν†
κονιορτός, ἀνυπόδητος ὄρθρον περιπατεῖν
γέρανος, κ.τ.λ.

Wilam. offers χρίσθαι, whence Kaibel reads μηδὲ χρίσθαι τὸ πᾶν, which is rather remote from the text. Read

. . . ἐλαίῳ μὴ κεχρίσθαι μηδ' ὄναρ

He never so much as dreams of anointing himself. [μὴ κεχρίσθαι μηδὲ γρῦ Naber]

244 C (from Machon)

τῶν μὲν σκάρων ἀπέλανε τῶν τριγλῶν θ' ἄμα
καὶ φυκίδων †ἐπὶ πλεῖον Ἀρχεφῶν πάνν.

Not only is ἐπὶ πλεῖον meaningless, but πλεῖον for πλέον is not permitted. Read . . . φυκίδων, ἐν ἐπλητότ' Ἀρχ. πάνν.

263 B (from Pherecrates)

εἶτα πρὸς τούτοισιν ἤλουν ὄρθριαι τὰ σιτία,
ὥστε τὴν κόμην ὑπηχεῖν †θιγγανουσῶν τὰς μύλας.

Headlam suggests θρυγανουσῶν. Nearer is θηγανουσῶν. The mill-stones required an edge. Cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 648 νεόκοπτος.

284 A (from Apollonius Rhodius)

πομπίλον ὠκυάλων νηῶν †αιηονονα δουρον.

Wilamowitz ὀδουρόν. Complete the correction with αἰξήδον.

286 C (from Epicharmus)

τὰς πλευρὰς οἶόν περ βατίς,
τὰν δ' ὀπισθίαν ἔχισθ' ἀτενὲς οἶόν περ βάτος,
τὰν δὲ κεφαλὰν ὀστέων οἶόν περ ἔλαφος, οὐ βατίς,
τὰν δὲ λαπάραν σκορπίος †παῖς ἐπιθαλάττιός τε οὐ†.

The writer is playing upon the name of the fish (βατίς, βάτος), which is the same as that of a thorn-bush. Similarly there is a σκορπίος of the sea as well as of the land. The speaker is depreciating the fish before him. The last line can, I think, be restored with some certainty, viz.

τὰν δὲ λαπάραν σκορπίος γὰρ εἶ, θαλάττιος δὲ γ' οὔ.

For the rest I would suggest

<τάσδε μὲν> τὰς πλευριαίας <πτέρυγας> οἶόν περ βατίς,
τὰν δ' ὀπισθίαν ἔχεις <τάνδ'> ἀτενὲς οἶόν περ βάτος,
τὰν δὲ κεφαλὰν ὀστίναν οἶόν περ ἔλαφος, οὐ βατίς.

286 D (from Archestratus)

καὶ βατίδ' ἐφθὴν ἔσθε μέσον χειμῶνος ἐν ὥρῃ,
†καὶ ταύτῃ τυρὸν καὶ σίλφιον

Kaibel's *κάπιπασον τυρὸν* is too remote. The regular expression is near at hand, viz. *καὶ π' αὐτῇ*.

288 D-E (from Philemon)

Kaibel prints

ἰχθὺς ἀπαλὸς οἶος γέγονέ μοι,
5 οἶον παρατέθεικ', οὐ πεφαρμακευμένον
τυροῖσιν οὐδ' ἄνωθεν ἐξηνθισμένον,
ἀλλ' οἶος ἦν ξῶν κώπτὸς ὦν τοιοῦτος ἦν.
οὕτως ἀπαλὸν ἔδωκα καὶ πρᾶον τὸ πῦρ
ὀπτῶν τὸν ἰχθύν, οὐδὲ πιστευθήσομαι . . .
10 ὁμοιον ἐγένετ', ὄρνις ὁπότεν ἀρπάσῃ
τοῦ καταπιεῖν μεῖζόν τι περιτρέχει κύκλῳ
τηρούσα τοῦτο κ.τ.λ.

The only variant is (v. 5) *τοῦτον παρατέθεικ'* (C). The true reading therefore is plainly *τοῖον*, which is properly used for *τοιοῦτον* in the mock-tragic style of the context. For the rest there is no lacuna. We should merely read *ὁποῖον* for *ὁμοιον* and punctuate thus

οὐδὲ πιστευθήσομαι
ὁποῖον ἐγένετ' ὄρνις ὁπότεν ἀρπάσῃ
τοῦ καταπιεῖν μεῖζόν τι περιτρέχει κ.τ.λ.

ibid. F (v. 20)

εἰ δ' ἔλαβον †ἄρτι σκάρων ἢ 'κ τῆς Ἀττικῆς
γλαυκίσκον κ.τ.λ.

Read *ἀρτίσαρκον* ('in proper condition of flesh', cf. *ἀρτίφρων*, *ἀρτίνοος* etc.).

289 D Menecrates ('Zeus') writes to Philip:

τοιγαροῦν σὲ μὲν Μακεδόνες δορυφοροῦσιν, ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ οἱ <...> μέλλοντες ἔσεσθαι. The hiatus (which I assume) apparently contained something antithetic to *Μακεδόνες* (see the style of the letter). Since the *χορός* attending Menecrates were, or were to be, 'gods', it would be easy to supply *θεοὶ* (i.e. *ῑοι*) after *οἱ*. But it is more likely that there was also a play upon *Μακεδόνες*, and we may therefore suggest *ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ οἱ <μάκαρες θεοὶ> μέλλοντες ἔσεσθαι*.

293 D (from Sotades)

κωβίδι' ἄττα καὶ πετραῖα δὴ τινα
 ἰχθύδια, τούτων ἀποκνίσας τὰ κράνια
 ἐμολυν' ἀλεύρω . . . τοιούτῳ τινί.

I think we may with some certainty supply with . . . ἀλεύρω <καὶ ῥοῖ>. The loss was due to -ροι after -ρωι. It is ῥοῦς which would be employed in this case.

306 B (from Archestratus)

κίθαρὸν δὲ κελεύω,

ἂν μὲν λευκὸς ἔη <. . .> στερεὸς τε πεφύκη.

Read . . . <στέρνον>, στερεὸς τε κ.τ.λ.

307 E (from Ameipsias)

ἐγὼ δ' ἰὼν πειράσομαι
 εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔργον λαβεῖν ἡττόν γ' ἂν οὖν
 νῆστις καθάπερ κεστρεὺς ἀκολουθήσεις ἐμοί.

Surely we should divide the passage and read

<A.> ἐγὼ δ' ἰὼν πειράσομαι
 εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔργον λαβεῖν. <B.> ἡττόν γ' ἂν οὖν
 . . . ἀκολουθήσῃς αἰς . . .

314 F (from Archestratus)

ἐστὶ δὲ κεδνὸς
 κὰν πορθμῶ πρὸς ἄκραισι Πελωριάδος †προχοαῖσι.

Ribbeck's *προβολαῖσι* gives the sense and is adopted by Kaibel. But why the corruption? Rather read *προοχαῖσι*.

316 D (of the polypus)

τοὺς δ' ὀφθαλμοὺς (sc. ἔχει) ἐπάνω τῶν δύο ποδῶν† τὸ δὲ στόμα καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας ἐν μέσοις τοῖς ποσὶ.

Since the polypus has just been said to possess eight legs, we should read

. . . ἐπάνω τῶν δύο ποδῶν <τῶν προσθίων>

319 A τούτων (viz. crabs) μέμνηται Τιμοκλῆς ἢ Ξέναρχος ἐν Πορφύρᾳ οὕτως †ἵτ' ἀλιεὺς ὦν ἄκρος σοφίαν

ἐν παγούροις μὲν θεοῖς ἐχθροῖσι καὶ
 ἰχθυοῖσι εὐρηκα παντοδαπὰς τέχνας,
 γέροντα βούγλωττον δὲ μὴ ταχέως πᾶν
 συναρπάσομαι; καλὸν γ' ἂν εἴη.

Meineke's οὕτωσί' ἀλιεὺς κ.τ.λ. is unsatisfactory. Moreover Athenaeus regularly says οὕτως. ἵτ' is εἴτ', the word which is clearly wanted.

Read εἰθ' ἀλιεύς σοφίαν ἄκρος
 <ὦν> ἐν παγούροις κ.τ.λ.

[τί δ'; ἀν ἀλιεύς σοφίαν ἄκρος Kock.]

340 D-E (from Theophilus)

πᾶς δὲ φιλοτίμως πρὸς αὐτὸν τῶν νεανίσκων < . . . >
 ἐγγέλειον παρατέθεικε τῷ πατρὶ† . . .
 τευθὶς ἦν χρηστή, πατρίδιον, πῶς ἔχεις πρὸς κάραβον;

Apart from other questions it is obvious that τευθὶς must have the article. τῷ πατρὶ is needless with πρὸς αὐτὸν and πατρίδιον, and may be due either to adscript, or to similarity of shape with whatever stood in the lacuna. Read

πᾶς δὲ φιλοτίμως πρὸς αὐτὸν τῶν νεανίσκων <ἐχων>
 ἐγγέλειον παρατέθεικε, <κᾶτ' ἐρωτᾶ> 'πότερον ἢ
 τευθὶς ἦν χρηστή, πατρίδιον; πῶς ἔχεις πρὸς κάραβον;'

[ἔχει iam Kock. πότερον ἢ=ποτερὲς ἢ=πατρί, while κᾶτ'=κε τ' and κε was omitted after κε.]

342 A (from Timocles)

τοὺς ἰχθυοπώλας οὗτος ἡμῶν πλουτιεῖ
 †ὀψοφάγος γάρ, ὥστε τοὺς λάρους εἶναι Σύρους.

As Kaibel observes, 'γάρ deleri nequit; verba mutila'. The sense is that 'the cormorants will seem Syrians compared with him' (the Syrians refusing to eat fish, cf. 346 C and so Meineke). Sense may be made with

<ἔστ'> ὀψοφάγος γάρ, ὥστε τοὺς λάρους <δοκεῖν>
 εἶναι Σύρους.

344 F (from Cratinus)

βρῦκει γὰρ ἅπαν τὸ παρόν, τρίγλη δὲ κἂν μάχοιτο.

There is no sense in μάχεσθαι τρίγλη. Read

τρίγλη δ' ἔπ' ἄν μάχοιτο.

349 C (from Machon)

Κλέων τις ἦν κιθαροδός, ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο Βοῦς,
 δεινῶς ἀπάδων τῇ λύρᾳ †τ' οὐ χρώμενος.

Surely βρυχώμενος.

352 D Aristotle could not have known the details which he pretends to know—

ξῆν γὰρ τὴν πορφύραν ἔτη ἕξ πόθεν αὐτῷ εἰδέναι ὅτι ἐπὶ πλείστον χρόνον ἐν ὀχείᾳ γίνεται ἢ ἔχιδνα κ.τ.λ.

Kaibel mutilates this with πόθεν τοῦτο οἶδε; καὶ ὅτι . . . All that is required is . . . πόθεν <ἦν> αὐτῷ εἰδέναι, <ἦ> ὅτι . . .

353 B ἀνθρώποις δὲ ὅτι παντοῖος ὁ ὀφθαλμός, ἡθῶν τε διαφορὰς εἶναι περὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς λέγει.

The latter clause is possible, but very flat. Probably a loss has occurred through homoeoteleuton, viz.

. . . ἡθῶν τε διαφορὰς <φανεράς> εἶναι κ.τ.λ.

358 B περὶ δὲ τὰς ἀγχιβαθεῖς ἑν αἷς μὴ λίαν ἔγκειται μεγάλα πνεύματα πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἴ που καὶ πόλεις σύνεγγύς εἰσιν, ἐνταῦθα δ' ἔστι τὰ πλείστα γένη τῶν ἰχθύων ὁμαλῶς ἄριστα κ.τ.λ.

Read περὶ δὲ τὰς ἀγχιβαθεῖς θίνας αἷς κ.τ.λ. C has τοὺς . . . οἷς and this variation also points to <θίνας>, since the gender was common and opinion concerning it varied.

358 D (from Antiphanes)

ἐγὼ περὶ τὴν ὀψωνίαν μὲν οὐ πάνυ
ἐσπούδακ' οὐδ' αὖ συνέτεμον λίαν πάνυ,
ὥς ἄν τις ἄλλως ἐξενεχθεῖσιν ὅπου
τοῦ διαλάβοι κραιπάλην ἢ Ἑλληνικῶς

Emendation should begin with ἐξενεχθειςινοπουτου, which stands for ἐξενεχθεῖς ἵνα πότου.

Read therefore

ὥς ἄν τις ἄλλος, ἐξενεχθεῖς ἵνα πότου
<νῆ> Δία λάβοι <καὶ> κραιπάλη μ' Ἑλληνικῶς.

He admits having, 'like another,' gone so far in drinking as to get a headache in the 'good old Greek' fashion.

364 C

μηδένα μήτ' ἀέκοντα μένειν κατέρυκε παρ' ἡμῖν
μήθ' εὐδοντ' ἐπέγειρε, Σιμωνίδη. οὐ γὰρ ἔπ' οἴνοισι
τοιαυτὶ λέγομεν δειπνίζοντες φίλον ἄνδρα;

Kaibel rightly observes 'ἐπ' οἴνοισι nihili'. Read

μήθ' εὐδοντ' ἐπέγειρε, Σιμωνίδη. οὐ γὰρ ἐπαινω

(and probably οὐ γὰρ ἐπαινω, | τοιαυτ' εἰ λέγομεν . . .).

375 D εἰς Ἄσσον ἐπιδημήσαντί μοι οἱ Ἄσσιοι παρέστησαν χοῖρον ἑνὶ ἔχοντα τὸ μὲν ὕψος δύο καὶ ἡμίους πήχεων, ὅλον δ' ἄρτιον πρὸς τὸ μήκος.

If the animal is proportioned to its length, and if its height is mentioned, it might be expected that the said length would be stated. Simply to bracket ἕνιον is an unsatisfactory proceeding.

Read . . . παρέστησαν χοῖρον <ὀργ>υιαῖον . . . Nor is ὅλον sound. The word required is ὄλμον, 'a trunk'.

360 A (from Phoenix)

ἐγὼ δ' ὅκου πόδες φέρουσιν, †ὀφθαλμούς
 ἀμείβομαι Μούσῃσι πρὸς θύρῃσ' ἄδων
 καὶ δόντι καὶ μὴ δόντι πλέονα †τωνγεω.

For ὀφθαλμούς Haupt suggests ἰφθίμους, which I cannot understand. Kaibel says 'sed latet adiectivum ad Μούσῃσιν'. This is probably correct, and εὐψάλλμοις seems to meet the case. For τωνγεω Dindorf and Meineke give τῶν αἰτέω, but this would hardly have been corrupted thus. Read

καὶ δόντι καὶ μὴ δόντι πλέονα τῶν Γύγεω.

Gyges is chosen for the same reason as Croesus might be.

362 C (from Alexis)

καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ κῶμον . . . ἀνθρώπων ὀρῶ
 πληθὸς προσιὼν ὡς τῶν καλῶν τε κάγαθῶν
 ἐνθάδε συνόντων.

Naber supplies πλείστον. But why was that word lost? Rather <δῆθεν>, i.e. <ΔΗΘ . . .> ΑΝΘ.

363 C (from Ehippus)

ἐφίλησεν οὐχὶ συμπίεσσα τὸ στόμα
 ὥσπερ πολέμιος, ἀλλὰ τοῖσιν στρουθίοις
 χανοῦσ' ὁμοίως †ἢ σε, παρεμυθήσατο κ.τ.λ.

There is no second person in the case (and αὐτοῦ follows immediately). Kaibel's note is 'ἦσε Mus., ἦσε Turnebus, ἔκυσε Kock'.

Rather read

ἀλλὰ τοῖσιν στρουθίοις
 χανοῦσ' ὁμοίως ἢ δὲ παρεμυθήσατο κ.τ.λ.

378 A-B (from Sosipater)

13 τὸ διδασκαλεῖον ἡμεῖς σφύζομεν
 τὸ Σίκωνος· οὗτος τῆς τέχνης ἀρχηγὸς ἦν.
 15 ἐδίδασκεν ἡμᾶς πρῶτον ἀστρολογεῖν . . .
 ἔπειτα μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθὺς ἀρχιτεκτονεῖν.
 περὶ φύσεως κατεῖχε πάντας τοὺς λόγους.

Hirschig would transpose, placing v. 16 before 14, 15. This makes little improvement, nor is the wrong order explained. The true transposition is of line 17, which should precede 16. The cause of the misplacement will appear if we read

15 ἐδίδασκεν ἡμᾶς πρῶτον ἀστρολογεῖν, <ἐπεὶ>
 17 περὶ φύσεως κατεῖχε πάντας τοὺς λόγους
 16 ἔπειτα μετὰ ταῦτ' κ.τ.λ.

The omission of <ἐπεὶ> was due to the eye passing to ἔπειτα.

380 E Ehippus says

ἐνθ' ὄνων ἵππων τε στάσεις καὶ γεύματα οἴνων.

Read

ἐνθ' ὄνων

ἵππων τε <γίγνονται> στάσεις καὶ γεύματα οἴνων.

The loss was due to -ωντε=-ονται by identical pronunciation.

382 E (from Strata)

‘οὔκουν, ἔφη,
τὰ μῆλα πρόβατα;’ <μῆλα πρόβατ’;> οὐ μανθάνω
<. . .> τούτων οὐδὲν οὐδὲ βούλομαι.

After -άνω the text has lost $\overline{\alpha\nu\epsilon}$, i.e. ἄνθρωπε.

Read

οὐ μανθάνω,
<ἄνθρωπε>, τούτων οὐδὲν κ.τ.λ.

385 C (from Metagenes)

ἀλλ', ὦ 'γαθέ, δειπνῶμεν, κᾶπειτά με πᾶν ἐπερωτᾶν
ὅ τι ἂν βούλῃ· νῦν γὰρ πεινῶν δεινῶς πῶς εἰμ' ἐπιλήσμων.

The metre of the former line is emended by Porson with . . . δειπνῶμεν <πρωτον>. . . I should rather suggest

. . . <δεῖπνον> δειπνῶμεν. . .

393 C (from Hipparchus)

οὐδέ μοι Αἰγυπτίων βίος ἤρεσεν οἶον ἔχουσι,
χέννια τίλλοντες †καλκατιαδαισαλέοντα.

Read

κολοκάσια δ' εἰσαλέοντες
(εἰσαλέοντες Kaibel).

396 B

ἔπειτα πνικτὰ τακερὰ μηκάδων μέλη
†χλόην καταμπέχοντα σάρκα νεογενῇ.

Read

χλόη καταπτυχέντα.

402 C περιεφέροντο καὶ ἔριφοι πολλάκις ποικίλως ἐσκευασμένοι †ἄλλοι
δὲ καὶ πολὺ τοῦ ὁποῦ ἔχοντες, οἵτινες οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἡδονὴν παρείχον ἡμῖν.

I can find no meaning in ἄλλοι, and would read ἀπαλοὶ.

404 F-405 A (from Dionysius)

οὐ ταῦτ' ὃ ἐστὶ τοῦτο, πολὺ δὴ ἄλλαχεν
. . . στρατηγὸς πᾶς καλεῖθ' ὃς ἂν λάβῃ
δύναμιν, ὃ μέντοι δυνάμενος κὰν πράγμασιν
ἀναστραφῆναι καὶ διαβλέψαι τί που
στρατηγὸς ἐστὶν κ.τ.λ.

Supply <τάχα μὲν>, which was lost through the preceding -αχεν.

ibid. c

μη πάντ' ἄκουε μηδὲ πάντα μάθανε·
† τῶν βιαίων ἔσθ' ἔνεκα τὰ γεγραμμένα
κενὰ μάλλον ἢ ὅτε ἦν οὐδέπω γεγραμμένα†.

Emper's τῶν βιβλίων is clearly correct. The rest may be emended thus (καταγεγραμμένα Kock)—

τῶν βιβλίων ἔστ' ἔνια καταγεγραμμένα
κενὰ μάλλον ἢ χ' ὅτ' οὐδὲ <ἐν> πω γράμμ' ἐνῆν.

'Some books when full of writing are more empty than when there was not a single letter in them'. (The misreading εσπενιακαταγεγ. as εστ ενεκα τα γεγ was natural, and the ending of the second line was influenced by its predecessor.)

411 B (from Epicharmus)

πρωτον μὲν αἶ κ' ἔσθοντ' ἰδοὺς νιν ἀποθάνοις.

C has πρωτα, ἰδης and ἀποθανης. Kaibel remarks 'fort. κῆσθοντ', sed restat ἀποθάνοις non minus corruptum'.

Why not . . . αἶ κ' ἔσθοντ' ἰδης νιν, ἀποθανῆν?

412 E (from Poseidippus)

καίπερ συνθεσίης ἔφαγόν ποτε Μήוניον βοῦν.

Read καὶ περὶ συνθεσίης . . . (περὶ of the wager).

414 D (from Achaeus)

ἄδην δ' ἐλαίου στέρνα καὶ † ποδῶν κύτος
χρίουσιν ὥς ἔχοντες οἴκοθεν τρυφήν.

Read . . . πνοῶν κύτος

415 E (from Phoenicides)

οὗτος, ὥσπερ οἶδας, ἐσθίει
μέχρι ἂν διδῶ τις ἢ λάθῃ διαρραγείς.

Read μέχρι ἂν δεδίῃ τις μὴ λάθῃ διαρραγείς.

416 F–417 A (from Anaxippus)

ὀρῶ γὰρ ἐκ παλαίστρας τῶν φίλων
προσιόντα μοι Δάμιππον. B. <ῆ> τοῦτον λέγεις
τὸν † πέτρινον τοῦτον οἱ φίλοι καλοῦσί σοι
νυνὶ δι' ἀνδρείαν Κεραυνόν;

The meaningless πετρινοντουτον is for περιβόητον, ὅν.

422 B (from Diphilus)

ταλαιπωρότερον οὐδέν ἐστι γὰρ
τῆς γαστρούς· εἰς ἣν †πρῶτον ἐμβαλεῖς < . . . >
ἀλλ' οὐχ ἕτερον ἀγγεῖον.

C has πάντ' ἂν for πρῶτον. There is nothing to follow and justify πρῶτον. Read φόρτον. For the rest Wilamowitz reads ἐμβαλεῖς < ὅσ' ἂν > | οὐχ ἕτερον < εἰς > ἀγγεῖον. Kaibel's ἐμβάλλεις is better. ἀλλ' represents ἄμ', as so often. Read

εἰς ἣν φόρτον ἐμβάλλεις < ἄμ' ὅν >
οὐκ < εἰς > ἕτερον ἀγγεῖον.

ibid. C

εἰς τὴν θεοῖς ἐχθρὰν δὲ ταύτην εἰσφέρει
πάνθ' ἑαυτοῖς μηδὲν ὁμολογούμενα.

Jacobs ἅπανθ', Musurus τὰ πάνθ'. The word required is παντοῖ'.

424 A (quoting the comic Plato)

καὶ ἐν Πρέσβεσι
κνάθους ὅσους ἐκλέπτεθ' ἐκάστοτε.

Read < π ρ ό σ θ ε ς > κνάθους κ.τ.λ.

The word was lost through its similarity to Πρέσβεσι.

426 F (from Ameipsias)

ἐγὼ δὲ Δίονυσος πᾶσιν ὑμῖν εἰμὶ πέντε καὶ δύο.

Read ἐγὼ δὲ Διὸς ὦν πᾶσιν. . . .

435 C (concerning Philip of Macedon)

πιὼν δὲ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν καὶ μεθυσθεὶς †πολὺ καὶ πατάξας ἀφείς ἅπαντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ἤδη πρὸς ἡμέραν ἐκώμαζεν κ.τ.λ.

C has πολλὰ καὶ παίξας. (καὶ πολλὰ παίξας Meineke, but this does not explain τοὺς ἄλλους.)

Read πολλοὺς καταπατάξας. In the language of our grandfathers he drank many of the company 'under the table'. This use of πατάξαι, as of κατασεῖν (431 C), is, of course, well substantiated.

441 D

ἀσπάζομαι
γραῦν σφίγγα· πρὸς ἐμὲ < . . . > ὥς αἰνίγματα·
λέγε καὶ τὰ λοιπά.

Kaibel says 'velut προσβάλλει γὰρ ὥς αἰνίγματα'. (The correct word would, however, be προβάλλει.) The loss is accounted for by

. . . πρὸς ἐμὲ < π ρ ό φ ε ρ ε > σ ῶ ς αἰνίγματα.

i.e. propose your riddles to me in safety. (The real Sphinx perished upon the true answer being given; but there will be no such penalty in this case.)

441 E (from Plato Comicus)

εἶεν, γυναῖκες, ὥς ὑμῖν πάλαι†
οἶνον γενέσθαι τὴν ἄνοιαν εὔχομαι.

The sense is met by

εἶεν, γυναῖκες, <ἄκος ἔγ> ὡγ' ὑμῖν πάλαι
οἶνον γένεσθ' ἐς τὴν ἄνοιαν εὔχομαι.

(Meineke had suggested . . . γυναῖκες, ὥς <ἔγωγ> ὑμῖν. . .)

450 A (riddle of the ichneumon)

ἀττελεβόφθαλμος, †μὴ πρόστομος, ἀμφικέφαλλος,
αἰχμητής, παίδων ἀγόνων γόνον ἐξαφανίζων.

This must be read with the answer, where again some error occurs,

τῶν γὰρ κροκοδείλων οὗτος ᾧὰ λαμβάνων
πρὶν θηριῶσθαι τὸν γόνον καταγνύει,
ἐπειτ' ἀφανίζει. διότι †δ' ἀμφίστομος,
κεντεῖ κάτωθεν, τοῖς δὲ χείλεσιν δάκνει.

In the second passage Grotius read διότι δ' <ἔστ> and in the first Kock writes ἀμφίστομος, Wilam. πικρόστομος (which has nothing to do with the answer). We may emend each passage from the other, viz.

ἀττελεβόφθαλμος, περιπρόστομος . . .
and διότι δ' ἀμφι<πρό>στομος.

450 B (riddle of the lot-box)

ἔστιν ἄγαλμα βεβηκὸς ἄνω, τὰ κάτω δὲ κεχηνός.

Read μεμυκὸς for βεβηκὸς.

454 D (from Agathon)

Of the Υ in ΘΗΣΕΥΣ:

ἐφ' ἐνός τε κανόνος ἦσαν ἐζυγωμένοι δύο.

Meineke suggests ἦσαν ὑπτιοι δύο. Doubtless ἐζυγωμένοι has been partly produced by ἐζυγωμένοι three lines earlier, but it would only be so created through some illusion. Read

ἐφ' ἐνός τε κανόνος ἶσαν ἐς ζυγὸν δύο.

460 B (from Simonides)

ἀπὸ τράπεζαν εἰλέ †νιν ποτήρια.

Read εἰλ' ἰδεῖν. The table was so covered with cups that it could not be seen. (ΙΔΕΙΝ=ΙΔΙΝ.)

ibid. E (from Eubulus)

Ἐρμῆς ὁ Μαίας λίθινος, ὃν προσεύγμασιν
ἐν τῷ κυλικίῳ λαμπρὸν ἐκτετριμμένον < . . . >

Add <τ ι μ ὠ μ ε ν> which was lost after -τριμμένον. [Suggested by Kock.]

464 A (from Choerilus)

χερσὶν † ὄλβον ἔχων κύλικος τρύφος ἀμφὶς ἐαγός.

Read χερσὶν ἄ ν ο λ β ο ν κ.τ.λ. (It was a 'miserable' thing.)

466 A (from the Cyclic Thebaid)

ὥς οὗ οἱ † πατρῶιαν εἶη φιλότῃτι
† δάσαντο, ἀμφοτέροισι δ' αἰεὶ πόλεμοί τε μάχαι τε.

πατρῶί' ἐνεί <έν> φιλότῃτι W. Ribbeck, δάσσαντ' Hermann (δάσσοιντ' Headlam). οὐ belongs only to the words ἐνεί ἐν φιλότῃτι and may therefore stand.

Read δάσσαντ', ἀ μ φ ἰ δ' ἔ ρ ι ς τ' εἶ η πόλεμοί τε κ.τ.λ.
[ἀμφοτέροισι is weak and αἰεὶ almost without meaning.]

783 D (from Plato Comicus)

λύσας δὲ † ἀργὴν στάμνον εὐώδους ποτοῦ
ἵησιν εὐθὺς κύλικος εἰς κοῖλον κύτος.

Read ῥ ἄ γ θ η ν.

470 C (from Pherecydes)

ὁ δ' Ἡρακλῆς ἔλκεται ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸ τόξον ὡς βαλὼν, καὶ ὁ Ἥλιος παύσασθαι
κελέναι, ὁ δὲ † δείσας παύεται.

This is so contrary to the sense that Wilam. would transpose δείσας and read καὶ ὁ Ἥλιος δείσας κ.τ.λ. But this is hardly emendation. Better is
ὁ δ' αἰ δ ε σ θ ε ἰ ς (through ὁδεδεσθεις).

472 E (from Anacreon)

ἠρίστησα μὲν ἱτρίου λεπτὸν ἀποκλᾶς.

Hephaestion has λεπτοῦ μικρὸν ἀποκλᾶς (see Kaibel). But since μικρὸν would hardly be omitted, and the text here has λεπτὸν, it is better to account for both readings with

. . . ἱτρίου <λ ε π τ ο ὦ> λεπτὸν. . . .

473 F (from Eubulus).

ἅμα δὲ λαβοῦσ' ἠφάνικε πηλίκον τινὰ
οἶεσθε μέγεθος † ἄρεσίαν μέγαν πάνν.

Kaibel observes 'videtur panis aliquod nomen latere, velut ἀθαρίαν'. The word would be Ἐρ ε σ ί α ν. See IIIIF, where loaves 'whiter than snow' are produced at Eresus (cf. our 'Vienna bread').

476 C-D (from Sophocles)

καὶ πλῆρες ἐκπιόντι χρύσεον κέρας
τρίψει γέμοντα μαλθακῆς † ὑπολαυνης.

Kaibel remarks of the second line 'corruptus, γέροντα Adamus' and accepts the ὑπ' ὠλένης of Musurus. I do not understand this use of ὑπὸ. If it is right, τένοντα should probably be written (with Emperius *Orusc.* p. 350), but more probable is

τρίψει τένοντα μαλθακῆς χλαίνης ὕπο.

476 E (from Philoxenus)

πίνετο νεκτάρειον πῶμ' ἐν χρυσέαις προτομαῖς † τε ἄλλων κεράτων.

Kaibel's ταύρων κεραστῶν (ταύρων from Wilam.) is very unconvincing. Why should ταύρων become τε ἄλλων? It would be easy for τ' ἄλλων to stand for ταναῶν. Read

. . . προτομαῖς ταναῶν κεράτων.

481 D

ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ Ῥόδη
κυμβίον ἀκράτου κατασέσεικεν ὑμᾶς ἄνω.

Macrob. gives ἔπιεν ἡ Ῥόδη.

Read

ἔπιδε δ' ἡ Ῥόδη
κυμβίον ἀκράτου, κατὰ δ' ἔσειε ἡμᾶς πάνυ.

ἡμᾶς Meineke. For κατασείειν cf. note on 435 C supra.

500 F (from Antiphanes)

τοὺς κάδους μὲν οὖν
καλοῦσι γαυλοὺς πάντες οἱ προγᾶστορες.

Not so, but

καλοῦσι γαυλοὺς πάντας, οἷ . . .

all κάδοι 'with a belly' are called γαυλοί.

502 (seq. to B)

Ἀναξανδρίδης δὲ φιάλας Ἄρεος καλεῖ τὰ ποτήρια ταῦτα.

Kaibel remarks 'Anaxandrides quid dixerit ex epitoma intellegi nequit'. This may be so, but readers of the *Poetics* of Aristotle will realise that what Anaxandrides said is represented by

. . . φιάλας Ἄρεος καλεῖ <τὰς ἀσπίδας κατὰ> τὰ ποτήρια ταῦτα.

He called shields φιάλαι Ἄρεος from their resemblance to these cups.

502 C κὰν τοσοῦτῃ πρόποσιν αὐτῷ βαρεῖαν † διέδωκε, χυτρίδια βαθέα δώδεκα.

But διαδοῦναι is the wrong word. Read

. . . βαρεῖαν δὲ ἔδωκε . . .

514 B χρῆται δὲ αὐταῖς καὶ παλλακίσιν ὁ βασιλεὺς < . . . > διὰ τῆς τῶν μηλοφόρων αὐλῆς.

The hiatus (first assumed by Dobree) may be filled with

<διαφοιώσαις> διὰ τῆς . . .

543 E-F ἀγωνιζόμενος δέ ποτε πρὸς καταδεέστερον ἐν Σάμῳ τὸν Αἴαντα καὶ ἡττηθείς, συναχθεμένων αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων, ἔφη ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ὀλίγον φροντίζοι, Αἴαντι δὲ συνάχθοιτο δεύτερον ἡττηθέντι†.

This is inadequate, and Kaibel rightly observes 'rectius Plinius 35, 72 *quod iterum ab indigno victus esset*'. Read

. . . δεύτερον <ἡττονος> ἡττηθέντι.

544 F (from Alexis)

τούτῳ (viz. Aristippo) τάλαντον δούς μαθητῆς γίνεται
ὁ δεσπότης, καὶ τὴν τέχνην μὲν οὐ πάνυ
ἐξέμαθε, τὴν δ' ἄρτηρίαν συνήρπασεν.

Kaibel 'ἀρτηρίαν corruptum, for. τὴν βακτηρίαν δέ'. Why not rather ἀτηρίαν?

548 D Γοργίας . . . ἐρωτηθεὶς τί αὐτῷ γέγονεν αἴτιον τοῦ βιώσαι πλείω τῶν ῥ' ἐτῶν, ἔφη 'τὸ μηθὲν πώποτε †έτέρου ἔνεκεν πεποιηκέναι'.

Kaibel γαστρὸς ἔνεκεν, Meineke ἐντέρου (an inappropriate use). I have already proposed ἡτρου, which is most apposite, as covering more than one appetite.

552 C Ἀρχέστρατόν φησι τὸν μάντιν ἀλόντα ὑπὸ πολεμίων καὶ ἐπὶ ζυγὸν ἀναβληθέντα †ὀβολοῦ ὀλκὴν εὔρεθῆναι ἔχοντα.

This amazing statement is left by Kaibel without remark.

Read . . . ἀναβληθέντα οὐδ' ὄλου <ταλάντου> ὀλκὴν κ.τ.λ. He did not weigh four stone.

553 D (from Antiphanes)

λοῦται †δ' ἀληθῶς· ἀλλὰ τί;

B. ἐκ χρυσοκollήτου γε κάλπιδος μύρφ κ.τ.λ.

Where the passage recurs (689 E) the first line is written †λουτ' αἰδοῦ ἀληθῶς. . . . From this we may emend with

λοῦται δ', οὐδ' ἀληθῶς. ἀλλὰ τί;

A. ἐκ χ. κ.τ.λ.

'He takes a bath, and a very pleasant one'. (Cf. 554 E ἐν μανίᾳ δὲ τρυφὴν ἡδίστην γενομένην οὐκ ἀηδῶς . . . Ἡρακλείδης διηγείται.)

571 C ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ὄντως ἑταίρων τὸν λόγον πεποιήμαι, τουτέστιν τῶν φιλίαν ἄδολον συντηρεῖν δυναμένων, ἃς ὁ Κύνουλκος τολμᾷ λοιδορεῖν, μόνας τῶν ἄλλων γυναικῶν τῇ τῆς φιλίας ὀνόματι προσηγορευμένας ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καλουμένης Ἑταίρας τῆς Ἀφροδίτης.

After γυναικῶν read <δικαίως>. It would be better also to read καὶ for ἦ.

571 E (from Menander)

πεποιήκατ' ἔργον οὐχ ἑταίρων †γὰρ
<μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ἑταίρων> κ.τ.λ.

See Kaibel. For γὰρ read γ' ἄξιον (through γαξί).

572 B (from Anaxilas)

ἐὰν δέ τις μέτρια †καὶ λέγουσα < . . . >
τοῖς δεομένοις †τινῶν ὑπουργῇ πρὸς χάριν,
ἐκ τῆς ἑταιρείας ἑταῖρα τοῦνομα
προσηγορεύθη.

E has μέτρια λέγουσι. Kaibel's ἐὰν δέ τις καὶ μέτρι' ἔχουσα <χρήματα> does not recommend itself, either technically or for the weak ἔχουσα.

Read ἐὰν δέ τις μέτρι' ἐκλέγουσα <χρυσία>
τοῖς δεομένοις τιν' ἀνθυπουργῇ κ.τ.λ.

[-κλέγ. was read as κ' λεγ., and the resemblance of -υσία to -ουσα caused the loss of the last word.]

578 C-D (from Machon)

πολλοὺς ἐραστὰς καὶ πολίτας καὶ ξένους
ἔχουσ'—ὅπου περὶ γυναικός τις λόγος
γένοιτο, μανίαν τὴν Μέλιτταν ὡς καλὴν
ἔφασκον εἶναι κ.τ.λ.

The metre of the second line is emended by Meineke with ὅπου περὶ <τῆς> γυναικός. Kaibel naturally remarks 'sed dubito'. The loss of the corruption is clear in

. . . ὅπου <περ> περὶ γυναικός. . . .

579 C (from Machon)

Mania had jested at the expense of her 'protector', a στρατιώτης,

ὁ δὲ στρατιώτης ὑπό τι <δὴ> σκυθρωπάσας
†ἀπέπεμψε ταύτην διαλιπούσα δ' ἡ ἑταῖρα†
'μηθὲν παρὰ τοῦτο, φησί, λυποῦ, φίλτατε'
οὐ γὰρ σὺ φεύγων ἀπέβαλες τὴν ἀσπίδα,
μὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, ἀλλ' ὅ σοι χρήσας ποτέ'.

Kaibel ἀπεπέμφατ' αὐτήν· διαλιποῦσα δ' ἡμέραν (rather a long time to keep a repartee!). διαλιποῦσα δ' ἡρεμα Meineke.

Read ἀπεπέμφατ' αὐτήν· ἡ δ' ἀπιοῦσ' ἤδη 'ν θύρα

The lady acted after her kind and made her retort ἤδη ἐν θύρα (οὔσα). The article is not required with the prepositional phrase. She was already 'at door'.

579 E (from Machon)

πρὸς τὴν Γνάθαιναν Δίφιλος κληθεὶς ποτε
ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, ὡς λέγουσι, τοῖς Ἀφροδισίους,
τιμώμενος μάλιστα τῶν ἐρωμένων
†ληθῇ δ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐκτενῶς ἀγαπώμενος κ.τ.λ.

Read τιμώμενος μάλιστα τῶν ἐρωμένων
δῆθεν, ὑπὸ δ' αὐτῆς κ.τ.λ.

583 A (from Machon)

Καλλιστίου δὲ τῆς Ὑδὸς καλουμένης
πρὸς τὴν ἐαυτῆς λουδορουμένης ποτὲ
μητέρα (Κορώνη δ' ἐπεκαλεῖτο τοῦνομα),
διέλυνεν ἡ Γνάθαινα· ἐρωτηθεῖσα δὲ
τί διαφέρονται 'τί γάρ, ἔφησεν, ἄλλο πλὴν
†ἄλλῃ Κορώνη θ' ἕτερ' ἐκείνη μέμφεται';†

Kaibel's τί . . . ἄλλο πλὴν
ἄλλ' ἡ Κορώνης, ἕτερ' ἐκείνη μέμφεται

is perhaps the flattest jest (if one can be found in it) ever perpetrated. The names Ὑς and Κορώνη must surely figure in the matter.

Read ὅν ἡ κορώνη θυγατέρ' εἶν' οἱ μέμφεται;
'the Crow is complaining that she has a Pig for a daughter'.

583 C

55 Νικὼ λέγεται τὴν Αἶγα, Πύθωνός τινος
αὐτὴν ποτ' ἀπολιπόντος, Εὐάρδιν δὲ τὴν
παχεῖαν ἀναλαβόντος, εἶπεν ὕστερον
μεταπεμπομένου ποθ', ὡς ἔοικ', αὐτὴν, λέγειν
πρὸς τὸν μετιόντα παῖδα· Πύθων, φήσ', ἐπεὶ
60 ἤδη †τῶν υἱῶν ἐγένετο διάμεστος
ἐπειδὴ γαιαίους† ἐστὶν ἀνακάμπειν πάλιν';

Kaibel rearranges v. 60 with ἤδη διάμεστος τῶν υἱῶν ἐγένετο and in v. 60 writes (unmetrically) ἐπ' αἰγεί' οἶος. But ἐπεὶ . . . ἐγένετο cannot be right for ἐπεὶ . . . γέγονε. The lines are misdivided.

Read . . . ἐπεὶ
ἤδη διάμεστος τῶν υἱῶν γέγον', ἐπὶ
αἰγεί' ἄρ' οἶός ἐστιν ἀνακάμπειν πάλιν.

583 D αἱ γὰρ καλαὶ ἡμῶν Ἀθηναὶ τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ἤνεγκαν ἑταιρῶν, περὶ ὧν ἐπεξελεύσομαι ὅσον γε δύναμαι, ὅσον ὄχλον εὐανδροῦσα πόλις οὐκ ἔσχεν.

Schweigh. conjectures . . . πόλις οὐδεμία ἔσχεν, which, as Kaibel says, 'non sufficit'. Rather ὅσον ὄχλον εὐανδροῦσα πόλις <πολλὰκις> οὐκ ἔσχεν.

590 A (from Philemon)

ὥσπερ Σελευκος δεῦρ' ἔπεμψε τὴν τίγριν,
ἣν εἶδομεν ἡμεῖς, τῷ Σελεύκῳ πάλιν ἔδει
†τι ἡμᾶς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀντιπέμψαι θηρίον.

Kaibel 'τι delet Clericus'. Such a proceeding is not emendation. The sense obviously requires χῆμας.

594 F Coming from Eleusis to Athens—

ἐνταῦθα καταστάς οὐ† ἂν ἦ τὸ πρῶτον ὁ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀφορώμενος νεὺς καὶ τὸ πόλισμα, ὅψεται παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κ.τ.λ.

I cannot feel that Valckenaer's οὐ† ἂν φανῇ τὸ πρῶτον is correct, since ἂν with subjunctive hardly has a place here. Nor is τὸ natural. I suspect that the true text is

οὐ† ἀνοίγνυται πρῶτον

The view is 'opened': cf. the nautical sense of the verb.

600 F Ἀρχύτας . . . (φῆσι) Ἀλκμᾶνα γεγονέναι τῶν ἐρωτικῶν μελῶν ἡγεμόνα καὶ ἐκδοῦναι πρῶτον μέλος ἀκόλαστον, ὄντα καὶ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην μούσαν εἰς τὰς διατριβάς.

The sense required is

ὄντα κατα<φερῇ> περὶ τ. γ. κ. τ. τ. μ. <εἰσάγοντα> εἰς τὰς διατριβάς.

604 A The Eretrian made certain comments to Sophocles, ending with

'οὐ κάρτα δεῖ τὸ καλὸν τῷ μὴ καλῷ φαινομένῳ εἰκάζειν † ἂν'. γελάσας ἐπὶ τῷ Ἐρετριεῖ Σοφοκλῆς κ.τ.λ.

Beyond doubt this should be

. . . εἰκάζειν.' ἀναγελάσας ἐπὶ κ.τ.λ.

609 C καὶ τὴν καταγαγοῦσαν δὲ Πεισίστρατον ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννίδα, ὡς Ἀθηνᾶς †πείραν εἶδος ἔχουσιν, καλὴν φησι γεγονέναι.

Kaibel 'non expedio', rightly rejecting Valckenaer's ὡς Ἀθηνᾶς Σωτείρας.

Read ὡς Ἀθηνᾶς 'ὑπείροχον εἶδος ἔχουσιν' (Hym. Hom. II. 2, to Athena).

615 C Of a ridiculous performance of flute-players (from Polybius)

ταχὺ δὲ συννοήσαντες οἱ ἀλληταὶ καὶ λαβόντες οἰκείαν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἀσελγείαις
μεγάλην ἐποίησαν σύγχυσιν.

Conjectures are <ὀρμὴν> οἰκείαν Kaibel, οἰκείαν <κίνησιν> Schweighäuser,
<διάθεσιν> Hultsch. Much more near is

. . . καὶ <λαβὴν> λαβόντες . . .

617 A (from Telestes)

τί γάρ νιν εὐηράτοιο κάλλεος ὀξὺς ἔρωσ ἔτειρεν,
†αιγὰρ παρθενίαν ἄγαμον καὶ ἄπαιδ' ἀπένειμε Κλωθώ.

Meineke τῇ γάρ, but, as Kaibel observes, 'duplex γὰρ satis molestum'.

Read ἄπειρ παρθενίαν . . .

617 B Πρατίνας δὲ ὁ Φλιάσιος ἀλλητῶν καὶ χορευτῶν μισθοφόρων κατεχόντων
τὰς ὀρχήστρας †ἀγανακτεῖν τινὰς ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς ἀλλητὰς μὴ συναυλεῖν τοῖς χοροῖς.

For ἀγανακτεῖν τινὰς read ἡγανᾶκτει δεινῶς.

619 C φοιτῶσα γὰρ καὶ πλανωμένη πάντας τοὺς ὀρείους ἐπεξῆει δρυμούς, ὥς
†μῦθον εἶναι τοὺς λεγομένους Ἰοὺς δρόμους.

The sense requires ὕθλον, 'a trifle'.

619 F ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ῥόδων ἐνίας κατανοήσειεν ἂν τις, ὅς ἐκεῖνοι κατὰ τινὰ
ἐπιχωριαζομένην παρ' αὐτοῖς < . . . > ἄδοντες ἀνακαλοῦνται τινὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων.

Wilamowitz supplies <ἐορτὴν>; but why should that word be lost? It is
easier to see what might happen to

. . . παρ' αὐτοῖς <σύνοδον> ἄδοντες . . .

627 B-C ἀλλ' οἱ παλαιοὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν ὑπελάμβανον εἶναι μεγίστην τῶν
πολιτικῶν ἀρετῶν, καὶ ταύτῃ τὰ πολλὰ προσνέμειν †οὐ τοῖς ἄλλοις.

Schweigh. marks a lacuna after προσνέμειν. For πολλὰ E has πολιτικά.

I propose καὶ ταύτῃ τὰ πολλὰ <τοῦ νόμου> προσνέμειν οὕτως ἀπλῶς:
i.e. they used ἀρετή in this sense without qualification. (It is not necessary to
supply δεῖν after ὑπελάμβανον.)

633 E When Astyages was warned against Cyrus by Augares,

νομίσας οὖν ὀρθῶς αὐτὸν ὑπωπτευκέναι καὶ μεταπεμπόμενος οὐδὲν ὤνησεν.

Kaibel marks a lacuna before οὐδὲν. It is simpler to read

. . . οὐδὲν ἡνυσεν.

636 D (from *carm. pop.*)

Ἄρτεμι, σοί μέ τι φρὴν ἐφίμερον ὕμνον ἔνευαιτε κ.τ.λ.

Probably . . . ὕμνον ὑφάινειν αἰτεῖ . . .

640 D (from *Philippides*)

πλακοῦντες, ἐπιδορπίσματ', ῥά, σήσαμα'
ὅλην λέγοντά ἔμε ἐπιλείποι τὴν ἡμέραν†.

Elsewhere the natural expression occurs, equivalent to

ὅλην λέγοντ' ἂν ἐπιλίποι τιν' ἡμέρα.

'A whole day would not be sufficient for one to tell of them'.

667 C (from *Aeschylus*)

Εὐρύμαχος, οὐκ < . . . > ἄλλος, οὐδὲν ἦσσαν< . . . >
ὑβριζ' ὑβρισμοὺς οὐκ ἐναισίους ἐμοί.

Read Εὐρύμαχος, οὐκ <ἂν> ἄλλος, οὐδὲν ἦσσαν <ῆ>.

694 A-B τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἦν ὃ δὴ πάντας ἄδειν νόμος ἦν, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ὃ δὴ πάντες μὲν ἦδον οὐ μὴν †ἀλλά γε κατὰ τινα περίοδον ἐξ ὑποδοχῆς κ.τ.λ.

Read οὐ μὴν ἄμα γε, <ἀλλὰ> κατὰ κ.τ.λ.

696 A-B ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ πολυμαθεστάτου γραφὲν Ἀριστοτέλους εἰς Ἑρμείαν τὸν Ἀταρνέα οὐ παιάν ἐστίν, ὥς ὁ τὴν τῆς ἀσεβείας κατὰ τοῦ φιλοσόφου γραφὴν ἀπενεγκάμενος Δημόφιλος †εἰς αἰδῶτε παρασκευασθεῖς ὑπ' Εὐρυμέδοντος κ.τ.λ.

Kaibel's note is 'εἰς αἰδῶτε fuit verbum mentiendi'. Rather simply ἐξέδωκε.

697 F λείπεται τις ὁ συρβηνέων χορός, ὦν ἕκαστος τὸ δοκοῦν ἑαυτῷ †κατασαι δεῖ, προσέχων οὐδὲν τῷ προκαθημένῳ κ.τ.λ.

Kaibel καταυλεῖ. Rather κατασ<τὰς> αδει.

699 E Τιμαχίδας δὲ ὁ Ῥόδιος δέλετρον τὸν φανὸν καλεῖσθαι, οἶον, φησίν, οἱ νυκτερευόμενοι τῶν †νέων ἔχουσιν.

Wilamowitz <ἐπὶ> τῶν νέων (νεῶν?). The emendation required is τῶν ἀλιέων.

T. G. TUCKER.

Melbourne, Nov. 1, 1907.

ON THE OXFORD MS. OF LIVY'S FIRST DECADE.¹

THIS MS contains Bk. i. to Bk. x. ch. 22 *id senectuti sue adminiculum f*; but two leaves are missing between 145 and 146, *i.e.* Bk. viii. 38 *alii deinde*—ix. 2 *expedire quosdam utilia*, seven columns in all + one column for the title of ix. which is here the usual allowance.

There is also missing 1 folio between 151 and 152 ix. 12. § 10 *legiones distendit*—14. § 18 *precari*. Besides these losses the bottom right corners of ix. and x. are much damaged.

Due to the scribe or his exemplar are:

(1) A large lacuna in Book iv.; from ch. 30. 14 *Fidenas fuerat* to *Itaque sicut* ch. 57. 11 (Fol. 65 bottom).

(2) A distortion at Fol. 102 l. 6; from *indignitate rerum* (vi. 40. 1) it proceeds to § 17 *si hodie bella sint* continuing to *Sextus et Licinius* 41. 10 (Fol. 102b. l. 18) and then the rest of 40 § 1—§ 16 follows.

The MS is the work of several hands (certainly more than the 'two' of the Catalogue); and Mr. Bannister considers its date to be 11th century and its origin, at least indirectly, Fleury, the perpendicular stroke for the nasal, *e.g.* *á* for *am*, being peculiar to that place.²

I have not collated the MS, but have consulted it on all the points from Book ii. onwards, where our notes show differences between the MSS or doubtful passages, and Prof. Conway has done the same for Book i.; of course a full collation is very desirable, though I think it will not affect my main contention as to the value of the MS. Perhaps at this point I may be allowed to say that I approached the MS with no prejudice in its favour, but solely to complete the notes from it which Dr. Conway had begun; and that after our personal acquaintance with all the chief MSS³ of the Decade, we are in a fair position to estimate the value of the Bodleian MS, which for future convenience we have called Oxoniensis or O.

An enumeration of these MSS will be perhaps found convenient here for immediate reference. Apart from V, the Veronese palimpsest (large portions of Books iii., iv., v., and a chapter or two of vi.), all the MSS of the 1st Decade are descended from the recension made by Symmachus, prefect of Rome, at the

¹ Bodleian 20631—Meerman 53. Bought in 1824; acquired by Meerman in 1764 from the Jesuits' College of Clermont, Paris. Parchment: about 1000 A.D.; 1 + 181 folia.

² In H(arleianus), also (chiefly in Bk. 7) the great

number of perpendicular strokes for the horizontal, as *steteŕt* for *stetert* (a substitution which the scribe does not understand), seems to point the same way.

³ The exceptions are UL, and only a slight acquaintance with R.

end of the 4th century, and published by his son-in-law Nicomachus. These fall roughly into three groups:

a. P (10th century), F (9th), both at Paris, and U, the offspring of a much corrected MS of the same set.

β. M (10th century) at Florence, and the lost Vormaciensis Rhenani.

γ. H (late 10th; Brit. Mus. Harl. 2672 = Drakenborch's Harl. i. and containing 1-8), T (10th; at Paris, collected by Dianu 1895 = Gronow's Thuaneus and Frigell's Colbertinus), D (10th;¹ at Florence), R (11th; at Rome, D's twin-brother according to Frigell), L (12th or 13th; at Leyden), A² (13th; Brit. Mus. Harl. 2493), and finally the fragments E (10th or 11th) of ii.-vi. at Einsiedeln.

Of these T has a large number of changes (T²), which almost invariably are made from a MS of the *α* type; and an alien but early hand in A has apparently used M, or at least a MS of the *β* type.

The early printed editions seem mostly derived indirectly from this group *γ*.

H and T are undoubtedly the best of *γ*, and I fully agree with Dianu about the close kinship of the two MSS as far as they can be compared (*i.e.* in vi. vii. viii.), and elsewhere I attempted to show³ the pre-eminence of the neglected H, especially in Books i.-v. (or at least i.-iv.), also that the scribe of H was too ignorant to have made innovations himself, and that the numerous bad separations, while showing his ignorance, also point to some near contact with an uncial MS.

I.

Now Oxoniensis seems to clear up some of the difficulties connected with the origin of this group *γ*, and of H in particular; in fact it is very plainly a faithful copy of a very carefully edited MS, itself not later than the 10th century, or of an older MS corrected at that time, and the following seem to have been the chief characteristics of this exemplar from which O was derived:⁴

(1) A great number of obvious errors were corrected, *e.g.* iii. 13. 8. O alone with the Veronese palimpsest has *in Tuscos* for *intus cōs*; in v. 15. 11 O and E⁵ alone with H (corrected by H, I think) have the necessary *non*; in v. 28. 4 *sospites* for *hospites* I found first in H (as Drak. rightly reports), then in A, and finally in O—a notable instance of the consensus of the British trio!

(2) Attempts had been made to make sense out of obscurities (but happily of these deliberate changes there are only just enough to show that a real editor was at work). The best example is perhaps—as it shows O's parent

¹ We asked Signor Rostagno to date it for us.

² See *Class. Rev.* Nov. 1904, pp. 392-3, where I describe its value for the 1st Decade; Luchs had already seen the value of its 14th cent. additions as good 'Spirensian.'

³ *Proc. of Camb. Phil. Soc.* Nov. 1902.

⁴ With regard to H I can only suggest that it is a

copy of the same exemplar made (before the edition was begun or completed) by an inferior scribe, and under less watchful direction.

⁵ Dr. Conway has made notes from E which tend to show that it is very close to O, and in some places corrected by E² into harmony with O.

at his worst—v. 50. 5; *iussumque templum in noua uia Aio Locutio fieri* becomes in O and E *iussumque templum in noua iam locatione fieri*. But even here how infinitely is he superior to the gentleman who complacently scribbles ‘recognobi’ after tampering with each book of Cod. Puteanus, spreading corruption through all the 3rd Decade.

In x. 9. 6 (where the censure of an ill-act by declaring it ‘improbe factum’ was regarded in the old days as a very severe condemnation) Livy is made to say by Zingerle *nunc uix seruus ero ita minetur quisquam*, merely out of reverence for M’s *uix seruus ero* (which is a mere dittograph *seruo sero*); F has *uixum seruo* (perhaps a dittograph *seruo serio*), P *uixsum serio*, U *uix si summo serio*, DLA *uix seru* (or *serii*), O and T *uix seruo* (O has in one or two places *u* for *i* hereabouts, and it is just possible, though not probable, that the exemplar had *serio*, which seems the right reading).

(3) In the exemplar careful and sensible choice was made generally between diverse readings and dittographs: e.g. in iii. 54. 10. O reads without hesitation *CONVELLVNT inde signa profectique Romam* where all have *conuertunt*; but *conuellunt* has been long accepted on the authority of the marginal reading of Vorm. Rhen. (see group β), and more lately supported by the marginal reading of P, where it has been put by that able and careful editor responsible for P, whose authority is somewhat obscured under the description P². In ix. 5. 7 O wisely chooses *missos (caecos in foueam missos)* with MTDLA against the *missos lapsos* of PFU and the reported *lapsos* of R, which T² and some moderns also choose. In vi. 24 however (where Camillus has to be lifted on to his horse) O somewhat unwisely but naturally chooses *sublatus* for the *subiectus* of TDRLA, *sublatus subiectus* of M, *subuectus* (a variant shown also by T) *sublatus eorum* of H. On the other hand O keeps the dittograph occasionally (lest his enemies should scoff!) as in vi. 12 *indici inductum*; *inductum indici* M, *inductum* UF², *indictum* cett. where U is right with a very early correction in F. In vi. 12. 3 TDLA have *tacitum praetermissum*, OMPFU *tacitum praetermissumque*, H *praetermissum* alone. This chapter is a good specimen of the way O supports MPF against the here usually corrupt THD etc.

(4) The exemplar possessed a large number of unique or almost unique readings; this came from my ‘trial trench,’ x. 12. 6. *Romanus egressus in aciem ubi PROFECTIONE hostium concessam uictoriam uidet, progressus in castra uacuis . . . potitur*; here *profectione* has long struggled for recognition, the edd. vett. and Madvig supporting it; Zingerle puts it out, M. Müller puts it in; all the MS¹ have *professione*, but a very late correction in A gives *profectione*.

In x. 19. 1 O has ACCIENDVM for *accipiendum* (in *ne collegae auxilium, quod acciendum ultro fuerit, sua sponte oblatum sperneret*); a reading which since Gronow proposed it, has been bolstered up by the authority of M; but Alschevski was wrong in his report, as it is the reading only of M³.

¹ I have no record of DR here.

These are but specimens of true readings for which O will henceforth be the sole, or nearly the sole, authority, fully 50 in all; some few with V as *praesidiis* (v. 55. 1) for *praediis*, *tabernaculis* with VM (iii. 44. 6) for *tabernis*; about 16 with H alone in Books ii.-v., but only 6 with H in vi.-viii., and about the same number with the rest combined (of which I counted 4 or 5 with M, 3 with F, 6 or 7 simple corrections with U).

Further illustrative examples of O may be given here without comment: iii. 51. 2 H has *cappellare*, O has *'appellare*.

In v. 49. 2 M has *rennentes*, the rest *retinentes*, O *renitentes*.

In iii. 70. 6 MF *reueheretur* (impf. like the rest in the sentence), P *reuehereatur* and H *reuereatur* O *reuehatur*. And in ix. 34. 16 *Aemilia lege censuram geram et solus geram*, PF omit the second *geram*, but put it after *quem* below, and U promptly changes it to *qui gerat*; O omits the second *geram*.

We may reasonably conclude then, I think, that if O does nothing else, it shows that the first Decade was carefully edited in or before the 10th century; (H being connected at least for its earlier half with this edition or the MS used for it), and that through such 13th century MSS as A and their derivatives, it was really the basis of the first printed editions; also that we must somewhat regroup our MSS by division or subdivision of γ . Thus the new γ^1 will be OEH (i.-v. or i.-iv.), and γ^2 will be TDRLA with H (vi. or v. to viii.); but further in stemmata-making I decline to go, for 'stemmata quid faciunt?' except much stereotyped mischief?

II.

So far, then, enough perhaps has been said to show the great importance of O for the history of the text. It may be asked, is it more than a good edition?, the answer is difficult, because we know nothing of the text between the beginning of the 5th century and the 10th. In the 3rd Decade the Turin palimpsest and the rehabilitation of the Spirensian tradition through the discovery of a leaf of Spirensis have shown there were other lines of descent besides Puteanus, and the new Roman fragments suggest the possibility of a third line for the 4th Decade; so with the 1st Decade there may have been other lines besides that of the Symmachian tradition, as indeed the Veronese palimpsest might suggest, or some variations given in Symmachus' recension itself. The fact that PFU drop the Symmachian subscriptiones and O keeps only one might even indicate that other MSS were used in their composition. And as all show more or less traces of editing, it seems only possible to judge the different MSS on their own merits; and to compare O with the best of each of the groups.

(a) M is generally regarded as the chief MS, and its excellencies are undoubtedly great; but there is considerable unevenness about it: in Books vi. to viii.¹ I have found it very frequently extremely bad, whereas Prof. Conway

¹The early part of vii. may be specially instanced; repetitions, marginal incorporations, blunders of all kinds abound; most of which are given by Alschefski.

finds it excellent in i.-iv.; but the goodness and badness correspond very largely to the divisions of the work according to handwriting made by Prof. Conway.¹ Leo, the scribe of Quaternions $\frac{1}{2}$ i. to x., xii., xiii., xxi.-end (= Books i. 9-iii. 71, iv. 21-v. 7, viii. 14-x.), was, like Nerissa, a painstaking clerk; he faithfully copied all he saw before him, and put somewhere in the margin (without knowing where it belongs) all that he found in the margin, so that whatever Leo has written is worthy of consideration. 'Tertius,' as Prof. Conway calls the scribe of the Quaternions that give v. 7 to viii. 14, is so careless that his authority is in my judgment very inferior, and therefore unsupported readings of his should not be allowed to set aside the readings of other MSS without sufficient reason, as sometimes they have been allowed to do, merely because they are in M. My conclusion is then that only some $\frac{2}{5}$ of M is authoritative, that is roughly i.-iv. ix. x., though I readily acknowledge that the faults of 'Tertius' are of carelessness, not of depravity. (For the big dislocations in Book vii. and in Book ix. it would be unfair to blame either scribe personally, but they may be set off against O's small dislocation and its loss of part of Book iv. quoted above.)

(b) P is the chief of group α , and a worthy rival, if not equal, of M. Left to himself, and without P²'s interference, able as it is, P not infrequently shows the same good qualities as Leo, though he is an inferior scribe; and these occasional vestigia of correct readings, as well as the beauty and age of the MS, have made it the most important of its group. P² is a careful and able editor, and helps P in his difficulties; where either corrects, the text is generally thereby brought into harmony, rightly or wrongly, with F. With regard to dittographs we have seen that PFU usually have only one, and that the easier.

(c) The tendency of group γ , as we have seen, is rather to keep the harder of each pair of dittographs; it has also preserved many good readings (especially H) lost by the other groups, and in one remarkable passage (viii. 31. 6 and 7) has preserved the correct order of the sentences where PFU have deranged two sentences and M one. The worst faults perhaps of this group (at least of γ ii excepting T) is the incorporation of marginal summaries and the dropping of sentences between homoioteleuta (H dropping a further number). But O has few, if any, of these faults; all the scribes are careful, and I noticed only one scribe who shows a slight tendency to repetition, and the scribes' extreme care is shown by the fact that in Book ix. 45, 46 the scribe leaves in four places blank space for single words that he finds illegible in his exemplar, and puts $\overline{\text{rēq.}}$ in the margin; (there are one or two in iii. without $\overline{\text{rēq.}}$); but far from incorporating marginal summaries and the like, the supervising editor or the writer of the exemplar had a keen eye for glosses as well as discrimination in dealing with dittographs, even perhaps to excess of suspiciousness; e.g. he rejects with much probability *sicuti Decius deuouit* in viii. 10. 13, and *Scaptius* in iii. 72. 6, and in iii. 12. 4 he writes (with V

¹ *Camb. Phil. Soc.* Nov. 1902.

alone) *missum*, not *ipsum missum*. Nor has O such monstrosities as *Martis uouet auribus* (T and H) for *Marti suouetaurilibus*; and is on the side of M and P in a very great number of instances (*e.g.* practically all through vi. 12) against its own group. Moreover, O's spelling is good and his words almost invariably correctly divided, as in vi. 20. 16 *erepta e manibus* (with H I think) where M has *ereptae* and PFU *erepta* and T (but corrected) D(?) *erepte*. In fact none of the MSS in this respect can be compared with O except to their disadvantage, and none except T in the reasoned interlinear division of syllables.

If we add these qualities of O to the unique readings and the readings found with H alone, or M alone, or F alone, and even V alone, we are forced to recognise O as the best MS of the third group at least, and I cannot but think that the test of time and the fuller comparison of O with other MSS in a Critical Apparatus will lift it to even a higher place. H must certainly give way. P and M may have to yield too, and be able to exult merely over the cureless wounds that time and damp and Oscan rats have dealt to O.

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King's College, London, May, 1908.

(Read before the Oxford Philological Society, Jan. 1908.)

VARIA GRAECA.

1. SOME scholia on the Odyssey (γ 284–490), very brief but so far the most valuable as the oldest, have been published from a papyrus, parts of which have found their way to London and Vienna, by Kenyon (*J. Ph.* xxii. 238) and Wessely (*Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* vi. 1894), and commented on by Ludwich (*Homerica* vi. 1894 and *Ueber die Papyrus-Commentare zu den Homerischen Gedichten*, 1902, p. 20 sq.).

One annotation still requires reading: on γ 284 ὡς ὁ μὲν ἔνθα κατέσχετ' ἐπειγόμενός περ ὁδοῖο. The note runs

κατέσχετ' ἐπειγοῦ ἀπὶ μὲν καὶ ἐνᾶ.

The third word is clearly the name of the grammarian Apion. The next Kenyon gives as λοῦ, Wessely as μοῦ, and the latter expanded it as μοχθος, the nickname of Apion. To this Ludwich justly objected that the article was necessary; Ludwich himself took μοῦ καὶ ἐνᾶ to represent two other Homeric scholars of unknown names. The key is elsewhere.

Θ 526 εὔχομαι ἐλπόμενος Δί τ' ἄλλοισιν τε θεοῖσι
ἐξελάαν ἐνθένδε κύνας κηρεσσιφορήτους.

Schol. A ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος γράφει ἔλπομαι εὐχόμενος—and οὕτως ἡ γραφή, εὔχομαι ἐλπόμενος, οὐ τὸ ἐναντίον. Zenodotus' inversion of the indicative and participle is supported by a quotation from Plutarch and a substantial minority of MSS. With this clue we read above

κατέσχετ' ἐπειγόμενος Ἀπίων μ[ετ]οχ[ῆ] καὶ ἐναντίον.

i.e. the other reading was ἡπείγε κατασχόμενος. If the papyrus will not admit ἐναντίον, we might do with ἐναλλάξ. Such inversions are found elsewhere: Θ 207 ἐνθ' ἀκάχοιτο καθήμενος, κάθοιτ' ἀκαχήμενος Zen. ξ 377 χαίρουσιν ἔδοντες, χαίροντες ἔδουσι, ρ 245 ὑβρίζων φορέεις, ὑβρίζεις φορέων.

2. E 118 δὸς δέ τε μ' ἄνδρα ἐλεῖν καὶ ἐς ὄρμην ἔγχεος ἐλθεῖν.

Schol. A οὕτως ἔν τισιν Ἑρωδιανός ἡ δὲ γραφή τόνδε τέ μ' ἄνδρα. Tradition here has been signally justified. The variant, pooh-poohed by Dindorf, has been found in *Ox. Pap.* 223. The scholion also was despaired of: Cobet with the violence of ignorance wished to write οὕτως ἔν τισιν Ἑρωδιανός δὲ γράφει κτλ., obliterating the

idiomatic ἡ γραφή. Kayser thought the scholion was the remnant of a longer note, οὕτως ἔν τισιν ἀντιγράφοις εὑρεῖν φησιν Ἡρωδιανός; even Ludwig says 'offenbar verdorben.' That is to say, the constant appearance of ἔν τινι, ἔν τισι, ἐν ἄλλῳ (sc. ἀντιγράφῳ, βιβλίῳ) on the margins of MSS. and elsewhere, implying collation—the duty of the conscientious publisher (Strabo 609) or the careful reader (ib. 790)—will not allow ἔν τισιν to have another meaning. I suggested, *C.R.* 1900, p. 17, that ἔν τισιν Ἡρωδιανός meant 'Herodian in some of his works,' and I can now prove it.

Justin Martyr i. p. 20 Otto ὡς καὶ ἐν τισιν οἱ ποιηταί, ii. p. 236 τολμῶσι λέγειν τὴν ἐξήγησιν . . . μὴ εἶναι ἐν τισιν ἀληθῇ. Herodian περὶ μονήρους λέξεως c. 39 ἐν τισιν ἐν Μαλθακοῖς Κρατίνου παρεφύλαξε Συμμαχος, 'in some passages in the Μαλθακοί.' Suidas Ἀμφισβυτεῖν ἐν τισι δὲ τὸ ἀμφισβητεῖν. Two MSS. give εἵνοι for ἐν τισιν, from which it may be inferred that ἐν τισι implies λόγοις, ὑπομνήμασι etc., not ἀντιγράφοις. These places seem certain, and probably decide the next quotation; Steph. Byz. Μυργέται ἐν τισι τῶν Ἡρωδιανοῦ γράφεται κακῶς. The following are ambiguous: Steph. Byz. Ἐμισσα . . . ἐν τισι δὲ Ἐμισσα εὔρηται. Κάναθα ἐν τισι δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἰ γράφεται. Καρούεντος . . . ἐν τισι δὲ γράφεται Καρύεντος. In Harpocration's article Ἀπρότων, the wording shows that ἐν τισι requires ἀντιγράφοις.

Galen's careful system of reference (which he expounds vii. 869, 870 Kühn) apparently does not allow him to say ἐν τισι simply; cf. however v. p. 451 Kühn ἐν ἄλλοις τέ τισι καὶ τῇ Σοφιστῇ, ib. 631 ἐν ἄλλοις τέ τισι καὶ μέντοι καὶ Θεαιτήτῳ, 647 ἐν ἄλλοις τέ τισι καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἱπποκράτους ἀνατομῆς ὑπομνήμασι, iv. 275 ἐν ἄλλοις τέ τισι καὶ τῷ ιγ' περὶ ἀποδείξεως sim. vi. 97, vii. 21.

The somewhat more substantial phrases ἐν ἑτέροις, ἐν ἄλλοις (sc. λόγοις, ὑπομνήμασι, βιβλίοις, χωρίοις) are so common at least as early as s. ii. A. O. as to be normal.

Galen iii. 699 K. δέδεικται μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἐν ἑτέροις ἤδη πλείοσιν. iv. 233 δέδεικται γὰρ τοῦτο ἐν ἑτέροις, 455 ἐν ἑτέροις εἴρηται cf. 536, 641, 751, v. 154, 164, 169, 346, 349 (in the words of Chrysippus) and *passim*; ἐν ἄλλοις v. 620, vii. 528; ἐν ἑτέρῳ ix. 420, ἐν ἄλλῳ vii. 537; ἐν πολλοῖς ix. 420; ἐν τοῖς ἅπασιν vii. 461.

Justin ii. 198 Otto καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἑτέροις περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰακῶβ ἐξαγγέλλων ταῦτά φησιν; 412 ἐν ἄλλοις: 396, 404, 425 εἶπον ἐν πολλοῖς; iv. ἐν ἑτέρῳ (v.ll. ἑτέρῳ, ἑτέροις) φησί and presumably these expressions are frequent in Christian literature.

We find the substantive added: Galen iv. 740 τῶν ἤδη δεδειγμένων ἐν ἑτέροις ὑπομνήμασιν, v. 125 ἐν ἑτέρῳ δέδεικται λόγῳ, 288 ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις, Justin ii. 444 ἐν ἑτέροις πάλιν λόγοις.

Eustathius (1475. 48, 1542. 59, 1653. 60, 1773. 24, 1783. 15, 1832. 51, 1837. 23, 1871. 31, 1882. 18) uses ἐν ἄλλοις and ἐν πολλοῖς in quotations very frequently. Κατ' ἄλλα Clem. Alex. ii. 224 Migne=264 Sylb. is an equivalent as are

δι' ἐτέρων, καθ' ἕτερα, ἐτέρωθι. Compare also Suidas ὥδε . . . τὸ δὲ οὕτως ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις δηλοῖ.

These passages leave no doubt about the meaning of schol. Ω 657 ἐν ἐτέροις ὁ Ἡρωδιανὸς φησι, πόσα μέρη ἐστὶ τὸ ποσσημαρ or of schol. Z 367 ἐν ἄλλοις ὁ Ἡρωδιανὸς λέγει, and in the quotation in question allow us to render οὕτως ἔν τισιν Ἡρωδιανὸς 'Herodian in some passages.'

3. *Tebtunis Papyri* 266 (vol. ii.)

- Λ 599 τὸν δὲ ἰδὼν ἐνόησε ποδάρκης διὸς Ἀχιλλεύς,
ἐστήκει γὰρ ἐπὶ πρύμνῃ μεγακήτει νηί,
εἰσορόων πόνον αἰπὺν ἰωκά τε δακρυόεσσαν.
602 αἰψα δ' ἐταῖρον ἐὼν Πατροκλῆα προσέειπεν
φθεγξάμενος παρὰ νηός· ὁ δὲ κλισίηθεν ἀκούσας
ἔκμολεν ἴσος Ἀρηι' κακοῦ δ' ἄρα οἱ πέλεν ἀρχή.

As far as 602 the version of the papyrus is the same as the vulgate, verbal differences apart. After 602 it proceeded differently, viz.

- 603 ἐκίνησεν το — — =
λινπανε — =

Λιμπάνειν, as the edd. and Mr. Moulton (*C.Q.* 1908, p. 138) observe, is post-Homeric. I have therefore no hesitation in completing 602 by *κάρηνον*, in the sense of *κινήσας δὲ κάρη*. *Κάρηνον* sing. and meaning 'head' literally occurs in Alexandrian verse, and in h. Hom. xxviii. 8 viii. 12 (the latter the bastard Orphic intruder into the collection); it is a v.l. Λ 309. These escapes from the later language hail as a rule from literature—whether Hesiod or Alexandria; and I should be inclined to regard -*λινπανε* as due to the influence of Alexandrian verse rather than to an Ionic rhapsode. The verses were altered in obedience to the criticism preserved in schol. A ad loc.; *σημειοῦνται τινες ὅτι οὐ πόρρωθεν ἢ προαναφώνησις*. The whole may have run

- αὐτόθεν ἐκ νηός γ'· ὁ δ' ἐκίνησεν τὸ κάρηνον·
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τό γ' ἄκουσε θοῶς ὃ γ' ἐλίμπανε οἶκον.

Instead of the explicit *κακοῦ δ' ἄρα οἱ πέλεν ἀρχή* the later taste preferred that Achilles should shake his head.

A few lines further on

- 609 νῦν δ' οἶώ περὶ γούνατ' ἐμὰ στήσεσθαι Ἀχαιοῦς
610 λισσομένους· χρεῖώ γὰρ ἰκάνεται οὐκέτ' ἀνεκτός

for the second line the papyrus gives

-λετον ὅσσε ἀνακτος.

These eyes can only be Hector's; an Alexandrian might have said

ἦ γὰρ σφᾶς κατὰ νῆας εἴλετον ὅσσε ἀνακτος.

In the same collection, p. 19 no. 270, occurs a small piece of scholia or the

like; the quotation, which the edd. say is apparently not from Homer, is σ 130. What the word etymologised is I do not see.

4. *Hibeh* 19.

B 797 ὥς ποτ' ἐπ' εἰρήνης. The papyrus has . . . τε ειρηνη, which points to ὥς ποτε εἰρήνη, which would betray the digamma in εἰρήνη assumed by etymologists, but without other evidence in Homer.

Γ 278 καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ γαῖα καὶ οἱ ὑπένερθε καμόντας
ἀνθρώπους τίνυσθον ὃ τις κ' ἐπίορκον ὁμόσση.

For 279 the papyrus has . ντα . under ὑπένερθε, evidently τίνυνται, from an objection to the dual; the plural stands in the parallel passage T 260, but in the same place, 2-3rd foot, as τίνυσθον. The removal to the 5th makes a line which may be restored; ἀνθρώπους ἐπιιορκούντας τίνυνται ὀπίσσω, cf. X. 19 etc.

Γ 336 κρατὶ δ' ἐπ' ἰφθίμῳ κυνέην εὐτυκτον ἔθηκεν
ἱππουριν, δεινὸν δὲ λόφος καθύπερθεν ἔνευεν.

After this the papyrus adds a line of which την in the second foot remains. Perhaps

δεινὸν δ' ἄμφ' αὐτὴν χαῖται ῥώνοντο (πίτναντο) ἄνακτος.

Θ 53 οἱ δ' ἄρα δεῖπνον ἔλοντο κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί
ρίμφα κατὰ κλισίας, ἀπὸ δ' αὐτοῦ θωρήσσοντο.

After this the papyrus adds in the 5th foot

54 ^a	ισσεσ ι
b	. . αγα . .
c	πικερ νωι
d δε ξ	νι

The last three lines resemble B 477-9. Line 54a is perhaps μυρίοι, ὅσσα τε φίλλα καὶ ἄνθεα ἥρος ἐν ὥρῃ, an adaptation of B 468. The next may be ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς θωρήσσετ' ἄφαρ κρείων ἀγαμέμνων.

Θ 204 σὺ δέ σφισι βούλεο νίκην.

204a—. και μ . .

read ἐσθλὴν καὶ μέγα κῦδος ἰδ' ἀγλαὸν εὖχος ἀρέσθαι, cf. Θ 176.

I may notice that one of the restorations proposed of Θ 252a, ξενς δε πατηρ ωτρυνε φ[, viz. φάλαγγας κύδει γαίῳν, offends against 'Wernicke's Law,' which, however inefficacious against tradition, may be held to invalidate a conjecture.

23 v. 45 σχέτλιε καὶ μέν τις τε χερείοι πείθεθ' ἑταίρῳ. Instead of θαρσει in foot 5, where every letter is doubtful, query γ' αἰνέι, with dative as ἐπαινέιν σ 167 Σ 312 h. Herm. 456 and αἰνέιν in tragedy.

T. W. ALLEN.

W. A. MERRILL'S LUCRETIVS.

T. Lucreti Cari De Rerum Natura libri sex, edited by WILLIAM AUGUSTUS MERRILL, Ph.D., Professor of Latin in the University of California. New York: American Book Company. No date. Pp. 806.

PROFESSOR MERRILL'S main object, he tells us, is to 'bring into compact form the results of critical work' on Lucretius since 1886, the date of Munro's last edition. Such an undertaking is thoroughly justified, as many passages of the poem have been cleared up in the last twenty years. But, though many scholars have worked at Lucretius, there is one name that throws all the rest into the shade. Giussani's edition is, as Professor Merrill says, indispensable. One may say more than this: if a student has mastered Munro and Giussani, he is really in a position to understand what can now be understood of Lucretius, and need not greatly care if he leaves all the rest unread. If this is true, an edition such as the present, which does not offer an original solution of the problems, must stand or fall according to the use made of the *praeclara reperta* of Giussani.

The introduction (pp. 11-56) deals with a variety of topics: the date of Lucretius and the traditions about his death, the subject of his poem, the Epicurean system, the sources of the poem, the style and metre, the MSS. and editions. The whole can be read with interest; but with the details it is impossible to express satisfaction. There is great disproportion in the treatment: the *uitae* of Lucretius are very fully discussed, but on the obscurer details of the philosophy nothing is said. Nor is the arrangement of topics clear: after four pages given to Epicurean ethics, the account of Epicurean logic is started in the same paragraph. The writer is not always consistent: on p. 15 he says 'it is hard to believe that a mind strong enough to conceive and work out a poem of such worth, could have suffered from intermittent insanity,' and on p. 16 'the belief in his intermittent insanity is not inconsistent with . . . the condition of the poem.' On p. 20 he writes in the text that Cicero 'once declared publicly that his time was always free for poets'; and it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that this is meant to represent a passage from the *pro Sestio* given in the foot-note, *neque poetae temporis meo defuerunt*. This introduction is in no way a substitute for Munro's introductions or for Giussani's prefatory volume.

The text which has no critical notes at the foot of the page, keeps closely

to the MS. tradition. Thus, in Book i. *efferre* is read (l. 141), *horum* (l. 450), *terris* with an obelus (l. 469); no lacuna is indicated before ll. 190, 600, 1085, 1115; ll. 334 and 454 are both retained. The editor in his preface agrees with Brieger and Giussani that Lachmann's theory of an *interpolator irrisor* is no longer tenable; yet he, like the other two, removes i. 44-49 from his text, and in his note attributes their presence to the interpolator whose existence he has denied. Lachmann's square brackets, Brieger's marks of double recension, Giussani's transpositions—all these have disappeared. The text seems not to contain any original emendations or re-arrangement of paragraphs.

In the commentary (pp. 259-789) the striking feature is the editor's knowledge of what has been written on the subject by others. The reader is referred to a multitude of papers in the different periodicals; no emendation or transposition that has ever got itself printed seems to be omitted here. Thus the editor does perform what he undertook in his preface to do; but he does it in such a way that the ordinary student will be puzzled and confused rather than helped. For instance—if there is anything certain about the text of Lucretius, it is that ll. 503-598 of Book i. do not, as they now stand, give a satisfactory sense. Munro, it is true, denied this, but he stands alone in doing so. Accordingly Professor Merrill has a note on l. 551 (it should have come earlier) in which he refers to the views of ten different scholars on the meaning and correct distribution of these paragraphs. In each case he gives only the reference and the conclusions; the ten distinct remedies are disposed of in one note of twenty lines. But it is the business of an editor to do more than this; he ought first to study what others have written and then to state, for the use of the student, what seems to him the true, or at least the most probable, solution of the puzzle. A *Jahresbericht* is one thing, and a commentary is another. Here, as elsewhere, Giussani goes to work in a different way: he points out clearly all the difficulties, notices briefly the conclusions of other scholars, and then states fully a proposal of his own. You may accept his conclusions or you may not; but at least you must recognise the insight with which he pounces on the real points at issue and the power he shows in dealing with the problem.

Lucretius requires so much explanation that an editor who proposes to limit his work to one volume should rigorously banish all superfluous matter from his notes. Much of what appears in the present commentary, though it may be interesting, is not essential to the learner. Thus Lucretius comes to discuss the existence of *tempus* (i. 450) and declares *tempus non esse per se*, but does not say what *tempus* is; so that editors very properly quote the definition of Epicurus, a definition which urgently needs explanation. Now Professor Merrill's note gives sixteen lines to the views of Kant, Spencer, Lewes, and Whewell, and four lines to the Epicurean definition. The student, after reading the note, is bound to ask: 'why is *tempus* an *euentum* and not a *coniunctum*?' But he will get no answer here. No hint is given him that Giussani

propounded a theory of *coniuncta* and *euenta* which does answer this question. Giussani's theory has not been universally accepted; but it holds the field, and no editor ought to pass it by in silence.

The same criticism may fairly be brought against the statistics with which these notes are packed. It is not possible, in a book of moderate compass, to include these without excluding matters of greater importance for the reader. We are told (p. 305) that *per* occurs 309 times in Lucretius; but we are not told of the double sense of *inane* which puzzled every attentive student until it was excellently explained by Giussani. On *alique* (p. 304) we have this note: 'this word in its different forms occurs, with elision of the vowel of the word preceding, in 229, where it is in the first foot, and in 812, 883; 2, 546; 3, 64 where it occurs in the fifth and sixth: it stands in the sixth foot with *que* in 1, 859; 5, 322, 1, 56; in the fifth and sixth without elision in 1, 816; 4, 630; in the fifth without elision in 2, 1156; 4, 1068; in the first in 5, 220; in the first and second in 1, 254.' If this note and others like it had been omitted, there would have been room for some remarks, quite indispensable there, on Lucretius' theory of nutrition on i. 196. In general there is not nearly enough explanation of the argument, and some of the explanations given are quite wrong: thus the *primordia* and the *minimae partes* of which they are composed are actually identified (i. 625 and 627). There are many notes on metre in which Lucretius is taken to task for his shortcomings: *sed mutarentur* and *cum tempestates* are 'inelegant metrically'; in *opera sine diuom* 'the rule, that when the last two words are disyllabic the word preceding should be monosyllabic, is broken.' But this severe critic in a note on *obtritum pondere terrae* (iii. 893) tells us that *obrutum* of MSS. 'may be right,' and again remarks (p. 299) that '*uolucres* is used oftener than *alites* by Lucretius.'

In conclusion, it must be said that this book is of little value to those who wish to know what Lucretius really meant. To such students a complete translation of Giussani's Commentary with his *Studi Lucreziani* and *Note Lucreziane* would be a far greater boon.

J. D. DUFF.

CARTAULT'S A CENTURY ON TIBVLLVS.¹

THE Professor of Latin Poetry in the University of Paris has addressed himself to a piece of work which badly wanted doing, and he has done it, on the whole, very well. His object, as the first words of his preface declare, was not simply to produce a bibliographical repertory, however serviceable this might be, but a study in history and methodology. The labour of giving a summary of the contributions of scholars to the criticism and elucidation of the collection which passes under the name of Tibullus during the nineteenth century is, as he rightly says, 'enormous,' and M. Cartault has thrown in besides, to the great advantage of his readers, a chapter of 74 pages upon the century and a quarter preceding, which stretches from Scaliger 1577 to Heyne 1798.

More than one quality is required for the adequate performance of such a task. The mere collection and presentation of the material demanded no ordinary industry, patience and method. These M. Cartault has in a high degree. His industry is exemplified in his collations of various editions of Tibullus with previous, or standard, texts. The figures which he has thus obtained are instructive from more than one point of view. Thus we learn that, compared with Huschke's edition (1819), Lachmann's edition (1829) shows 'an improvement in about 180 places and a deterioration in a little over 20' (p. 141). Haupt (1853) 'improves on Lachmann's text in some 20 passages, but corrupts it in about 12' (p. 181). De la Ville de Mirmont (1904) has not improved Hiller's text of Lygdamus for certain in a single passage. On the other hand he has introduced 'readings of inferior MSS. or conjectures' into about 18 places (p. 522). From M. Cartault's catalogues raisonnées (to which we must regret that he did not append an index of personal names), a reader will have no difficulty in discovering what has been said on any of the numerous topics that have agitated Tibullian scholars. His summaries of progress in the successive periods which he distinguishes are clear and succinct. His style has the lucidity that we expect from France.

In the selection of his material M. Cartault has proceeded upon a plan to which he has consistently adhered. He admits reviews but excludes translations and anthologies. The policy of the latter exclusion might be questioned; it might be thought that a book of this magnitude should have noticed all

¹À propos du corpus Tibullianum, un siècle de philologie latine classique par A. CARTAULT.

Université de Paris: Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres. Paris, 1906. Pp. viii + 569. Price 18 fr.

contributions to Tibullian studies wherever they were to be found, and that the editing even of a portion of an author gives a claim to recognition comparable to that of the censors of other men's work. But I am loth to dwell upon this, for a reason that will subsequently appear, and content myself with observing that in M. Cartault's pages a frequent and copious reviewer, such as Dr. H. Magnus, attains a prominence to which he is not in strictness entitled.

The book aims at being more than a chronicle or digest: in its primary intention it is a historical and critical survey. For this further qualifications are required, which M. Cartault sums up as competence and impartiality. The question of the first he naturally leaves to others. On the second he writes as follows, *Préf.* p. vii:

Quant à la seconde, je l'ai appliquée intégralement; on n'a pas le droit de reprocher à un jugement d'être sévère, s'il est fondé; je n'ai cherché que la vérité, sans respect superstitieux pour les grands noms; c'est peut-être la première fois qu'on verra les mérites et les faiblesses appréciés sans préjugés d'école et avec le recul nécessaire.

Before a statement of claim thus put forward criticism retires abashed, a reviewer is tempted to ejaculate 'my gracious!' and a reader driven to wonder whether Mr. Warde Fowler's suggestion (*Virgil's Messianic Eclogue*, p. 68 note) that M. Cartault has 'no sense of humour,' is so very far from the mark. But in its substance the claim appears to be just. Apart from occasional outbursts of spleen which the tedium of toiling through 'fatras' (as the writer justly calls much of what he has to deal with) very naturally provokes, and apart from certain personal dislikes which he does not attempt to disguise, as where he speaks of the 'logique brutale' of Ritschl (pp. 207-8) or of Lachmann's 'caractère étroit et détestable' (p. 130),¹ his impartiality is beyond dispute. Candour too must be awarded to him. He does not condescend to parade a tattered infallibility, and when he sees that he has been wrong, he owns it (p. 415). Where M. Cartault judges harshly, as he does in the case of Heyne and others, it is not from prejudice, but from failure to appreciate some part of the relevant facts or to allow for the conditions of the times. Judgment and sentence should always be kept apart. And a prudent critic in the present age will remember its bias to the crudely material and its perpetual craving for extrinsic and material support, and will hesitate before severely condemning the exspatiations of the human intellect before it was tied to the methodic and scientific exploration of texts; nor will he, in a word, *compound for sins he is inclined to By damning those he has no mind to*.

In speaking of Scaliger, 'Scaliger est donc un révolutionnaire,' M. Cartault protests against the abuse of the words 'radical' and 'conservative' in criticism.

Ces mots de révolutionnaire et de conservateur, si usités en philologie, devraient en être bannis, puis qu'il s'agit de science; la hardiesse n'est pas condamnable par elle-même, mais il faut qu'elle résulte de l'état de la matière (p. 10).

¹ M. Cartault is too fond of calling things 'wretched.'

The objection is rightly taken. But I fear that we cannot avoid the words any more than M. Cartault has avoided them, and it is therefore a natural inquiry, To which camp does he himself belong? When we read what he writes about 'hardihood' above, and about 'aesthetic appreciations' (p. 264)

L'appréciation esthétique n'est pas une chose purement subjective ; c'est un critérium ; mais il faut qu'elle soit exercée par des gens compétents ;

when we observe that of the five conjectures of his own recorded on p. 516, two are transpositions, the form of change which your true conservative most abhors ;¹ when we note how little difference there is between the spirit of his remarks on the *ratio* which Broekhuysen (1708) professed to take as his guiding principle,

'C'est là en effet la règle suprême qui doit tout dominer ; l'illogisme et l'absurdité n'ont pas droit à l'existence (p. 23),

and that of Bentley's aphorism *res et ratio centum codicibus potiores*, we should at once dub him 'radical,' but for the chilling effect of his remarks upon emendations, such as

Si c'est une gloire pour un philologue que d'avoir introduit dans le texte d'un auteur des corrections évidentes et qui y sont demeurées, cette gloire lui appartient (p. 8),

and the many instances in which he rejects a manifest improvement because he knows or suspects it to be a conjecture. On the whole I should call him a nervous radical rather than an unsettled conservative. Accordingly, when the deciding considerations in a question lie fairly near to the surface, or where it has been thrashed out by his predecessors, his judgment is usually sound and right ; but the same cannot be said where a matter has to be probed to its bottom or long established theories to be peremptorily dismissed. So he does not find much use in fact for the 'hardiesse,' of which in theory he does not disapprove. The same is true of his aesthetic judgments. In the third non-Tibullian book he rightly contends that III. xiii. (=IV. vii.) was written by Sulpicia, but he not only acquiesces in the ascription of III. xix. (IV. xiii.) to Tibullus, a pardonable concession to the pretensions in its 13th verse, but he ranges himself with the critics who regard it as entirely worthy of Tibullus :

On n'en trouve pas dans la toute poésie élégiaque latine qui soit inspirée d'un sentiment plus profond (p. 323).

Very different was the judgment of R. Y. Sellar, *Horace and the Elegiac Poets*, p. 259.

I now pass on to speak of M. Cartault's treatment of some particular points. The consideration of these details will throw more light upon his critical attitude and method than any amplifying of a general sketch.

Haupt in a well-known dissertation had maintained that in the fourteenth century Guglielmo de Pastrengo, the friend of Petrarch, was acquainted with

¹One of these transpositions II. i. 39 sqq. is deserving of consideration. At IV. i. 86 *fontis* seems

to be an improvement on *fontibus* ; but then we must read *ubi* rather than *uti*.

Tibullus. Haupt's proof was that he had an unmistakable paraphrase in prose of Tibullus I. 7. 29-36. M. Cartault comments, p. 173, 'Mais cela prouve uniquement qu'il connaissait ce passage: reste à savoir comment il le connaissait.' This is the airy agnosticism of the 'conservateur.' The sole purport of the quotation was to show that in the fourteenth century Tibullus had not been buried out of sight, but that to some readers at any rate his text was accessible. If the paraphrased verses had occurred either in the Parisian or in the Freisingen anthology, M. Cartault's observation would have been à propos. As it is, the plain reader will ask, 'Why should we imagine an intermediary between the quoter and the text?' Seneca has quoted but a single scrap of Tibullus, and he has assigned it to Ovid. Will M. Cartault carry consistency to the point of saying 'Cela prouve uniquement que Sénèque connaissait ce passage; *reste à savoir comment il le connaissait*'?

At I. iii. 21 sq.

audeat inuito ne quis discedere Amore
aut sciat egressum se renuente deo

M. Cartault (154 n. 2; cf. 504 n. 4) condemns *sciet*, an emendation of Doering which I have admitted into my text, nor will he accept Dissen's explanation of the MS. *sciat*, '*sciat* ne signifie pas: damno suo discat, mais: qu'il sache par mon expérience' '. . . mais avec le futur il faudrait un verbe signifiant: il constatera par lui-même; *sciat* exprime l'avertissement que donne Tibulle d'après son expérience.'

The situation is this.¹ Tibullus was, he says, warned by omens not to go, and still he went; and for this he has paid. Now he addresses others, 'Let none venture to leave his home against Love's will, otherwise—' (*aut*=in the alternative). Otherwise what? 'Otherwise,' says M. Cartault, 'he must learn from my experience that he has braved a god's displeasure by departing.' There is no *otherwise* here. 'The man might *know* from the experience of Tibullus that he was contravening a god's prohibition, *and yet* venture to go.' Even if Tibullus had said: 'Let none dare to go against Love's will; if he does go, it will be against the will of a god,' his words would not have been a proper deterrent. To make them so, we have to add the sense, 'as he *will find out*,' and this is *sciet*.

At I. iii. 71

at niger in porta serpentum Cerberus ore
stridet et aeratas excubat ante fores,

Arthur Palmer had conjectured 'per centum—ora' and M. Cartault blames him for proposing and Dr. Magnus for accepting this correction. '*stridet* ne peut s'appliquer qu'au sifflement des serpents et non aux aboiements de Cerbère' (p. 390). Very true, and so it is properly used of the 'hundred' snaky heads round the neck of Cerberus, as I have shown at length in the preface to Bréal's *Semantics* (Eng. ed.), pp. xix-xxiv.

¹To save space I will assume that M. Cartault does not take *prohibente deo* as another form of *inuito*

Amore (*deo*, the god), but as meaning 'against the will of heaven (*deo*, a god).'

At I. vi. 21, 'exibit quam saepe time,' he defends the text against Francken's *quam saepe* on the ground that *tam saepe* is 'understood' (316 n. 4). If *tam saepe* were inserted, the phrase would need as much apology as before. As it stands, it is about as legitimate in Latin as 'Tremble, as *often* she goes out' for 'as *often as*' would be in English. If it is to be kept, it is an ill phrase on the analogy of *quam diu*. In the same note Francken is censured for emending a word in a passage, I. v. 11-14, which he rejects, 'quel est ce procédé qui consiste à corriger ce qu'on supprime?' Why? Interpolations are generally designed to mean something, and we may as well have them in the form intended by their authors.

On III. iv. 64 and on vi. 46 he remarks that '*fide* doit prévaloir contre l'interpolation facile *prece*.' A striking instance of the critic's failure in proper hardihood. I will begin with the first place, where *prece* is only found in interpolated MSS., 'sed flecti poterit: mens est mutabilis illis: | tu modo cum multa brachia tende *prece*.' These words are spoken by Apollo, who then digresses to illustrate the power of Love from his own experience, and in 73 sqq. returns to his subject, 'nescis quid sit amor, iuuenis, si ferre recusas | immitem dominam coniugiumque ferum. | ergo ne dubita blandas adhibere querellas: | uincuntur molli pectora dura *prece*.' Now turn to vi. 45 sq., where *prece* is not only in Renaissance MSS. but the Paris Excerpts, 'nec uos aut capiant pendentia brachia collo | aut fallat blanda sordida lingua *prece*.'¹ Regard these passages side by side, and then say if the same word should not stand in all. Let it be *fides* if you can show us any satisfactory warrant or meaning either for *multa fides* or for *blanda fides*. But if in one place you keep *fide* and in another *prece*, do not talk of method in the editing of texts.

The reason why M. Cartault shrinks from altering *fide* into *prece* is that he does not see how the corruption arose. It must have been graphical, as *fidē* has conversely been confused with *prece* at Horace, *Ars P.* 394 sq., 'dictus et Amphion Thebanæ conditor arcis | saxa mouere sono testudinis et *fide* blanda | ducere quo uellet,' one of Peerlkamp's neglected emendations. [The abbreviations in the Tironian Notes (ed. Schmitz) 34. 52 and 66. 85 are not so very dissimilar.]

At I. v. 61 sqq. Tibullus urges the superiority of the poor to the rich as lovers. The lines are—

pauper erit praesto tibi semper: pauper adibit
primus et in tenero fixus erit latere;
pauper in angusto fidus comes agmine turbae
subicietque manus efficietque uiam:
pauper *ad occultos furtim* deducet *amicos*
uinclaque de niueo detrahet ipse pede.

In the *Classical Review* for 1900, xiv. p. 295, I conjectured 'pauper *adhuc*

¹The *Thesaurus* (s.u. *blandus*) quotes this place with *fide* in the text, and no mention of a variant: the next two citations are for *blandi doli* 'amantium,'

from Prop. iii. 23. 18, and *Octavia*, 158. So the compiler thinks the same epithet appropriate to *dolus* and to *fides*.

luteos suris deducet amictus' (the last word *amictus* is a correction in Baehrens' MS. G) for reasons there set forth. Prof. Cartault (p. 504) finds this conjecture 'décidément mauvaise'; Prof. Tyrrell, on the other hand, in his *Anthology of Latin Poetry* (1901), declares it to be an 'admirable emendation,' and prints it in the text. I wish that I could apply M. Cartault's maxim about 'the aesthetic appreciations of competent persons' (supra p. 225) to this case; but I feel unequal to the task. So I pass to the next point; 'il est contraire à la methode de partir d'une correction de la 2de main de G.' I do *not* 'start from the second hand of G.' M. Cartault shows a constant inability to realise that one is not bound to reject a good reading simply because its authority is bad. He continues: 'qui n'a été imaginée que pour faire disparaître un sens qu'on trouvait libre.' If this was the object of the alteration, it has been accomplished with a vengeance: for it has left the line devoid of even any appearance of meaning. What the 'free meaning' is and how it is to be extracted from the MS. reading, M. Cartault omits to explain; but a reason for my error he can at once supply. 'La pudique Albion rivalise ici avec la vertueuse Germanie.' This interesting point of national psychology I cannot unhappily examine, as I do not see how a discussion of 'la pudeur germanique,'¹ or of the French quality with which M. Cartault tacitly contrasts it, will help the interpretation of Tibullus. But I will try, at some risk to myself I fear, to divine the nature of the 'sens' which M. Cartault would find in the words. He may take them to mean that the poor lover may use the houses of his friends as Catullus used the house of Allius 'isque domum nobis isque dedit dominam | ad quam *communes exerceremus amores*' (Cat. 68. 69 sq.). OR he may suppose that the poor lover takes his lady love to his friends' houses to oblige these friends, as in Horace, S. ii. 5. 75, Tiresias advises Ulysses, now turning professional *captator*, to do with Penelope. 'scortator erit? caue te roget; ultro | Penelopam facilis potiori trade.' I fear I must still hold that neither of these senses, however recommended by its 'freedom,' is in the slightest degree germane to the passage, which describes the humble and even menial offices that a poor lover will, and a rich lover will not, perform for his mistress. These do not differ in kind from those which a *patronus* sometimes expected from his client, and which Martial tells Candidus *he* cannot render, but his *libertus* can. And one of them is exactly the same. Compare 63 sq. with Martial iii. 46, 5 '*in turbam incideris, cunctos umbone repellet*: | inualidum est nobis ingenuumque latus.'

The importance of Professor Cartault's book as a record and an estimate of nineteenth century work upon Tibullus makes it incumbent on me to remove some misconceptions in it that affect me personally: nor must I allow the compliment of 'homme de goût' (p. 323) to divert me from this task.

His estimate of my Oxford text of Tibullus is more favourable than I could

¹ Compare p. 84, where it is said with more reason to have led Voss into error.

expect from a scholar whose critical standpoint is, I fancy, a good deal removed from my own. But he has not altogether succeeded in comprehending its character. This is in part, I fear, my own fault. For indulging a propensity which was the cause of my illustrious countryman Defoe being immured in gaol by his own supporters, and which has ere now created perplexity in my reviewers, I wrote in p. viii of my *præfatio*.

De caelo descendisse iam illud uolgo uidetur: *standum codicibus*. adiciunt prudentiores *modo si bonis et in re incerta*. ego uero qui haud paullo audacior sum *etiam pessimis* inquam et *uel in re manifesta*.

This ironical description of the rôle of 'conservateur' which the condition of the text and the plan of the series had imposed upon me did not deceive Mr. B. O. Foster (*Classical Philology*, July, 1907), but M. Cartault has taken it *au grand sérieux*:

Les principes de sa critique sont *ultra-conservateurs*,¹ ce qui est *assez inattendu*¹ pour les lecteurs de ses Tibulliana (p. 540),

and he complains that I have deceived the public: 'Il n'a donc pas tenu la promesse faite dans sa Préface' (p. 541 n.).

In another respect, of more moment practically, he has failed to understand me. He has not noticed the remark about my sparing use of the obelus in corrupt passages ('quid enim legentium attinebat una opera oculos laedere, intellectum non iuuare?') or my caution to the reader to keep a careful eye on the *adnotatio critica* in such passages (ib.). Accordingly he charges me with approving of some readings, like *percussisque* (I. x. 37), which I think very doubtful, and of others which I regard as impossible, such as 'pontus *confunditur*,' *Pan.* 173, where my note runs 'scribendum uidetur *neptunus finditur*.'²

In addition to the Oxford text I have published, in 1903, a volume of selections comprising considerably more than half of the elegiac verse in the *Corpus Tibullianum* and a small portion of the *Panegyric*. In preparing this I had two ends in view—to further the study in English schools of an unjustly neglected Latin author whose simple and unaffected style makes him specially suited to the needs of a beginner—and to do something, if I could, towards 'the removal of the literary and critical difficulties connected with his poems which tax the resources of maturer scholarship.' The first was an illusion of which I was quickly disabused. The classical schoolmasters and schoolmistresses of Britain regard themselves as professionally incapacitated for reading or teaching in a book that is not prescribed for examination. It has been reserved to M. Cartault to dispose of my second aspiration. Had he merely ignored the *Selections*, I could not have complained: they would have been offered up on the altar of his plan with the anthologies of Jacoby, Schulze, Ramsay, Carter and others. But he has declared them to be a figment of Herr Schulze's brain.

¹ My italics.

² Compare *Cl. Rev.* xix. 214. Némethy in his

edition of Lygdamus etc. (1906) reads 'pontus *proscinditur*,' which may be right.

'K. P. Schulze constate que Némethy a souvent copié Dissen sans le dire . . . Il s'est souvent servi du Tibulle de Postgate (*je crois que Schulze confond avec les Tibulliana*¹ *du même auteur*)' (p. 532).

This inadvertence is the more surprising, as on p. viii of my *praefatio*, from which, as we have seen, M. Cartault quotes, there is a footnote containing four distinct references to *Selections from Tibullus* (1903). M. Cartault's error will do me some injustice. A reader would naturally suppose that what is attributed to me in his book was what I held at the time of its publication; and so, if for example he desires to examine the grounds upon which I still decline to believe that III. xix. (IV. xiii.) was written by Tibullus, he will be referred to an exposition twenty-three years out of date.²

Though upon this particular point I despair of changing M. Cartault's opinion, I should have been glad to read his judgment of other discussions in the little volume, such as those relating to the station and identity of Lygdamus, the literary history of the third book and the actual character of our traditional text.

I hope that the freedom with which I have criticised some of M. Cartault's propositions and interpretations will not convey to him the impression that I undervalue the service that he has rendered to the students and the study of Tibullus. He has done a good work and one which I trust he will continue. I regret that several causes have conspired to delay the appearance of this notice. The sole one that need here be mentioned is the sewing of the volume, which fell to pieces almost the moment that it came into my hands.

J. P. POSTGATE.

¹ Italics are mine. The *Tibulliana* are the separate papers noticed by M. Cartault on p. 429 and elsewhere. I have quoted the words as they stand in the printed text. On p. 174 l. 4 'il doivent' makes another sentence ungrammatical.

² Had M. Cartault read the Appendix to the *Selections* (p. 191) which deals with this topic he would have been able to make good an omission in his notice of Fritzsche's dissertation, p. 274.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

American Journal of Philology. Vol. 28. No. 4. 1907.

The Stele Inscription in the Roman Forum, Part II., Minton Warren. *Contributions to the Study of Homeric Metre*, George Melville Bolling. *On Sundry Confixes*, Edwin W. Fay. 'Εστώς or 'Εστός, Samuel Grant Oliphant. *Inscriptions in Athens*, David M. Robinson. *Temporal Clauses in Cicero's Epistles*, R. B. Steele. *A New Italic Divinity*, Harry Langford Wilson. Reviews and Book Notices: Murray, Bradley & Craigie's *A New English Dictionary*, James M. Garnett. Schofield's *English Literature*, George L. Hamilton. Summaries of Periodicals. Brief Mention: Cook Wilson's *D. B. Monro*, Lady Jebb's *Life of Jebb*, Jebb's *Essays and Addresses*, Verrall upon Jebb, H. Richards's *Notes on Xenophon and Others*, Tebtunis Papyri vol. 2, and Stahl's *Syntax des griechischen Verbums der klassischen Zeit*, the Editor. Seasickness in Antiquity, A. W. van B. Etymological Notes, E. W. F. Obituary Notice: Minton Warren, Kirby Flower Smith.

Vol. 29. No. 1. 1908.

Virgil's Georgics and the British Poets, Wilfred P. Mustard. *Duplication Mechanics in Samoan and their Functional Values*, William Churchill. *Notes and Queries on Utopias in Plautus*, Henry W. Prescott. *Sigmatism in Greek Dramatic Poetry*, John A. Scott. *The Etymology of πρέσβυς*, Maurice Bloomfield. *Felspar > Feldspar*, Persifor Frazer. Reviews and Book Notices: Bennett's *Latin Language*, Truman Michelson. Farnell's *Cults of the Greek States*, David M. Robinson. Summaries of Periodicals: παραπλήρωμα, B. L. G(ildersleeve). [On Eupolis *ap. Poll.* 10. 136. The three βελόναι of the branding mean Δ, *i.e.* δραπετής]. Brief Mention: Doctoral Dissertations, tribute to T. D. Seymour's memory, Pindarica: by the Editor.

Classical Philology. Vol. 3. No. 1. 1908.

The Semantics of Modal Constructions, ii., Tenney Frank. *Some Spurious Inscriptions and their Authors*, Frank Frost Abbott. *The Verbs δαίρω, αἶρω and ἀρνύμαι*, Norman W. De Witt. *The Word-Group Accent in Latin Hexameter*, Albert Granger Harkness. *The Point of an Emperor's Jest*, Duane Reed Stuart. *The Ara Martis*, Samuel Ball Platner. *Greek and Latin Etymologies*, Francis A. Wood. Notes and Discussions: *Notes on the Monumentum Ancyranum*, Charles Hoeing. *Notes to Homer*, John A. Scott. *Tacitus, Annales* i. 28. 1, F. W. Shipley. *Notes on the Text of Alcinous' Εἰσαγωγή*, Paul Shorey. *Accent in Latin*, J. P. Postgate. *Comment on Professor Postgate's Note*, Frank Frost Abbott. *An Emendation of Aelian, Περὶ Ζῴων* viii. 1. 5, Paul Shorey. Book Reviews: Hoffmann's *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum*, C. D. Buck. Bréal's *Pour mieux connaître Homère*, T. D. Seymour. Knoke's *Begriff der Tragödie nach Aristoteles*, W. S. Milner. Beare's *Greek Theories of Elementary Cognition from Alcmaeon to Aristotle*, W. A. Heidel. L. Hahn's *Rom und Romanismus in griechischrömischen Osten*, J. C. Rolfe. Fairbanks's *Mythology of Greece and Rome*, G. Showerman. Kunze's *Die Germanen in der antiken Literatur*, B. Terry. Elderkin's *Aspects of the Speech in the Later Greek Epic*, G. W. Paschal. Legras's *Étude sur la Thébàide de Stace*, John M. Burnam. C. N. Smiley's *Latinitas and ἑλληνισμός*, E. K. Rand. Lanciani's *Golden Days of the Renaissance in Rome from the Pontificate of Julius II. to that of Paul III.*, S. B. Platner. Mahaffy's

Silver Age of the Greek World, W. S. Ferguson. W. Otto's *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Aegypten*, J. H. Breasted. Drumann's *Geschichte Roms* (ed. P. Groebe), vol. iii., F. F. Abbott. Clark's *Asconius* and C. D. Fisher's *Tacitus Annales*, J. C. Rolfe. Crumley's *Social Standing of Freedmen as Indicated in the Latin Writers*, preceded by a discussion of the use and meaning of the words *libertus* and *libertinus*, Part I., C. H. Moore. Muelder's *Homer und die altionische Elegie*, J. A. Scott. Plenkens's *Untersuchungen zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte der ältesten lateinischen Mönchsregeln*, E. K. Rand. Ross's *Aristotle, de Sensu et de Memoria*, P. Shorey. Katharine von Garnier's *Die Präpositionen als sinnverstärkendes Präfix im Rigveda, in den homerischen Gedichten und in den Lustspielen des Plautus und Terenz*, Ivy Kellerman. L. T. Richardson's *Horace's Alcaic Stanza*, T. D. Goodell.

Classical Philology. Vol. 3. No. 2. 1908.

When did Caesar write his Commentaries on the Civil War? W. Warde Fowler. *The εὐ γάρ Wishes*, Geneva Misener. *The Mission of Agrippa to the Orient in 23 B.C.*, David Magie, jun. *Notes on Latin Synizesis*, Robert S. Radford. *The Legal Setting of Plato's Apology*, Robert J. Bonner. *The Substantive si-clause* H. C. Nutting. *On the Pronominal Use of ὁ αὐτός in Plato*, J. Elmore. *The Bodleian MS. of the Notitia*, Elmer Truesdell Merrill. Obituaries: Thomas Day Seymour, J. W. W(hite); Minton Warren, G. L. Hendrickson. Notes and Discussions: *Varia*, Paul Shorey. *The New Fragments of Menander*, Henry W. Prescott. *The Latin Grammarians and the Latin Accent*, B. O. Foster. *Comment on Professor Foster's Note*, Frank Frost Abbott. *Caesar Bell. Gall. vi. 30. 4 Again*, Walter Dennison. *Transposition Variants in Cicero's Pro Cluentio*, W. Peterson. Book Reviews: Mackail's *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology*, A. T. Murray. Barker's *Political Thought of Plato and Aristotle*, Paul Shorey. Bondurant's *D. Junius Brutus Albinus*, Henry A. Sanders. Hope's *Language of Parody*, C. F. S(mith). Tucker's *Frogs of Aristophanes*, L. L. Forman. Mrs. Wright's *Short History of Greek Literature*, Harold N. Fowler. Wecklein's *Ausgewählte Tragödien des Euripides*, Edward Capps. Adams's *Selected Speeches of Lysias*, W. R. Bridgman. Rankin's *Rôle of the μάγειροι in the Life of the Ancient Greeks*, Charles W. Pepler. De Witt's *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid*, H. R. Fairclough. Behn's *Die ficoronische Cista*, and Altmann's *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, F. B. Tarbell. Olcott's *Dictionary of Latin Inscriptions*, Walter Dennison.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 31. No. 4. 1907.

Aeschylus Eum. 238, H. Weil. *Λ. προσταττικόν πᾶρος*. *The Perfect in -ere in Plautus*, Louis Havet. Plautus uses *-erunt* except where he requires a short vowel or elidable ending. *Notes on Prosody (pecūlatus; virile sēcus) and on novicius, multicius*, the same. *The Hibeh Musical Papyrus*, C. E. Ruelle. It is probably the work of Hippias of Elis. The text is reprinted with comments and translations. *A work of Fulgentius, the Donatist*, Paul Monceaux. An attempted reconstitution. *The Transformations of the Aera Alexandrina Minor*, D. Serruys. Three different eras are distinguished. *Observations on Plautus, Curc.* 10-11, 15-17, 21-2, 26, 27-8, 37-8, 39-41, 43, 46, 59-62, 76-80, 88 (and 71), 96, 110-1, 116 and 118, 123-4, 125-7, 129-132, 138 sqq., 142, 175-7, 189, 219, 271, 351-2, 381-2, 438, (486), 537, 547-8, 554, 567, 614, 618, Louis Havet. *λαάρχης*, Jean Lesquier. *Critical Notes on the New Fragments of Menander*, Jules Nicole. *Bulletin Bibliographique*.

Rivista di Filologia e d'Istruzione Classica. Vol. 35. No. 4. 1907.

Leopardi the Hellenist, Giovanni Setti. Chiefly fragments of translations by the poet from Greek Verse and Prose Writings. *Determinations of Hellenistic Chronology*, Umberto Mago. I. Date of the arrival of Antiochus (Epiphanes) son of Antiochus III. in Rome.

It was not earlier than 188 B.C. II. On the number and dates of his expeditions in person to Jerusalem. The first took place at the earliest after the beginning of 169 and at the latest before the spring of 168; and the second in the second half of 168. On Hesiod, *Op. et D.* 179-181 (to be placed after 201), and on Aesch. *Pers.* 280 (πλαγκτοῖς ἐν διπλάκεισσι refers to the enfolding waters of the sea), Dario Arfelli. *Critical Notes on the Appendix Vergiliana*, Ettore Bignone. 1. On the epigram to Tucca. 2. On *Moretum* 60. For *heros* read *horto*. 3. In *Lydia* 40 read 'inque vicem Phoebus currens citat aureus orbis.' Reviews: Schanz's *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, I. i. (ed. 3), Antonio Cima. Colin's *Le culte d'Apollon Pythien à Athènes*, Kroll's *Catalogus astrologorum Graecorum*, Romizi's *Compendio di storia della letteratura greca*, and Cumont's *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, Domenico Bassi. Diels's *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (I.) and A. B. Hersman's *Studies in Greek allegorical interpretation*, Aurelio Covotti. Pierleoni's *Xenophontis Opuscula*, Filippo Caccialanza. Hope's *Language of Parody*, Giorgio Pasquali. Nottola's *Agricola of Tacitus*, Santi Consoli. Summaries of periodicals.

Vol. 36. No. 1. 1908.

The Criticism and the Problem of Dictys in the Light of the Iesi MS., Vincenzo Ussani. C. Annibaldi's recent work, *L'Agricola e la Germania di Cornelio Tacito nel ms. Latino n. 8 dalla biblioteca del conte G. Balleani in Iesi* is of considerable importance for the criticism of Dictys Cretensis, as is shown by a detailed examination. An appendix refers to the fragments in Vol. 2 of the *Tebtunis Papyri*. *Emendations in the Text of the Ciris*, Gaetano Curcio. *Serviana*, Carolus Pascal. *Proverbia Senecae*, Carlo Pascal. Forty aphorisms drawn from Seneca, a pseudo-Seneca and Publius Syrus are printed from a 13th century MS. in the Ambrosian library. *The Sources and Composition of the Thyestes of Seneca*, Concetto Marchesi. Obligations of the *Thyestes* to: I. The other Tragedies of Seneca; II. The Moral Works; III. Greek and Latin Tragedy; IV. Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Tibullus, etc. *Notes on Plautus* (Aul. 324 sq., 406 sq., 430, Ps. 795 sqq.), Aurelio-Giuseppe Amatucci. *Aere perennius* (Horace III. 30. 1), Achille Cosattini. Refers to bronze statues. *Notes on Euripides* (Alc. 164 sq., 311 sq.), the same. *Zama insula* (Livy 32. 16. 1-4), Vincenzo Costanzi. Glareanus's *Zacynthum* is to be accepted. *On the Comparative Suffixes*, Lat. -ior, -ius; Gk. -ιωv, -ιον; Skt. -ī-yān, -ī-yas, Oreste Nazari. The nom. of all the languages can be explained from a form -ī-jōns. The weak form is -ī-jōs-. Gk. -ιον- (for -ιο(σ)), and Lat. -iōs- (-iōr-) are on the analogy of the noun. *The Genitive Sing. -is -ius in the Latin pronominal declension*, the same. *Illius*, etc., like *cuius* may be adjectives. *Quintilian* II. 16. 5 and IV. 1. 8, Luigi Bucciarelli. (Apropos of Dalmatian and Latin, M. G. Bartoli.) Reviews: Firmani's *Taciti Germania*, Vincenzo Ussani. Lindsay's *Plauti Comoediae* and Giorni's *La Vita dei Romani descritta dagli antichi*, Aurelio-Giuseppe Amatucci. Jacoby's *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, (Vol. 4). D. M. Robinson's *Ancient Sinope*. Shawger's *Menexenus of Plato*, Fischer's *Diodorus* (Vol. 4), Bréal's *Pour mieux connaître Homère*, Blass's *Andocides*, Büttner-Wobst's and A. G. Roos's *Excerpta de Virtutibus et de Vitiis* and Boissvain's *Excerpta de Sententiis*, C. O. Zuretti. Colasanti's *Fregellae*, Pirro's *Palepoli e Napoli*, G. Grasso. Cinquini's *Lib. V. dell' Odissea*, Augusto Romizi. Gruppe's *Griech. Mythologie* and Arnim's *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, G. Fraccaroli. Fisher's *Taciti Annales*, Schneider's *Bellum Africanum* and Skutsch's *Gallus und Vergil*, Concetto Marchesi. Dalmasso's *La Grammatica di C. Svetonio Tranquillo* and Rasi's *Le satire di Q. Orazio Flacco*, Giovanni Ferrara. Graziani's *T. Livio: il 23 libro*, Pietro Parducci. Costanzi's *Saggio di Storia Tessalica* (I.), Columba's *I Porti di Sicilia*, Solari's *Ricerche Spartane* and Cantarelli's *La serie dei prefetti di Egitto* (I.), Carolina Lanzani. Crescimanno's *Moretum* (Italian translation), Ettore De Marchi. Bruno's *La terza guerra Sannitica*, Salvioli's *Le Capitalisme dans le Monde Antique* (French trans. by Bonnet), R. J. Bonner's *Evidence in Athenian Courts* and Lehmann's *Die Angriffe*

der *Barkiden auf Italien*, Vincenzo Costanzi. Stampini's *La Metrica di Orazio*, Augusto Balsamò. *Summaries of Periodicals*, Domenico Bassi.

Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie. 1908.

3 Jan. O. Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*. 3. Aufl. II. 1. *Die Metalle*. 2. *Die Urzeit* (O. Weise), very favourable. A. Cuny, *Le Nombre Duel en Grec* (Bartholomae). 'Valuable for the collection of material.' M. Lambertz, *Die griechischen Sklavennamen* (R. Meister), favourable. *Lucianus*, ed. Nils Nilén. I, 1 (W. Gemoll), favourable. D. Philios, *Eleusis* (O. Kern), favourable. Th. A. Ippen, *Skutari und die Nordalbanische Küstenebene* (J. Partsch), favourable. G. W. Botsford, *The social composition of the primitive Roman populus* (B. Kübler), favourable. G. L. Hendrickson, *The De Analogia of Julius Caesar* (J. Tolkiehn), favourable on the whole. E. Löfstedt, *Die neue Dictyshandschrift* (M. Thin). B. Filow, *Die Legionen der Provinz Moesia von Augustus bis auf Diokletian* (ed. Wolff), very favourable.

10 Jan. *Homers Odyssee*, übersetzt von J. H. Voss, bearb. von B. Kuttner. 4. Aufl. (L. Weber). *Die Odyssee*, nachgebildet in achtzeiligen jamb. Strophen von H. v. Schelling. 2. Aufl. (L. Weber). R. Johannes, *De studio venandi apud Graecos et Romanos* (O. Güthling), favourable. *Manilii Astronomica*, ed. Th. Breiter. I. *Carmina* (M. Manitius), favourable. *Quintiliani Institutionis oratoriae libri xii*, ed. L. Radermacher. Pars I libros i-vi continens (W. Gemoll), very favourable. *Symbole der alten Kirche*, ausgewählt von H. Lietzmann (J. Dräseke), favourable.

17 Jan. K. Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*. Zweite Bearb. II. *Lehre von den Wortformen und ihrem Gebrauch*. I. Teil. *Allgemeines, Zusammensetzung, Nominalstämme* (Bartholomae). P. Wahrmann, *Prolegomena zu einer Geschichte der griechischen Dialekte im Zeitalter des Hellenismus* (R. Meister), favourable. *Dioscuridis de materia medica libri V*, ed. M. Wellmann. Vol. I, libri I et II (R. Fuchs), favourable. W. Isleib, *De Senecae dialogo XI* (J. Tolkiehn), favourable. P. Koschaker, *Translatio iudicii* (Grupe), favourable. C. Patsch, *Zur Geschichte und Topographie von Narona* (M. Ihm). *Der Obergermanisch-Rätische Limes des Römerreiches*, herausg. von O. v. Sarwey und E. Fabricius. Lief. 29 (M. Ihm).

24 Jan. Aischylos, *Die Eumeniden*. Erklär. Ausg. von Fr. Blass (K. Busche). 'Valuable for the commentary.' A. Martin, *Notes sur l'ostracisme dans Athènes* (G. Schneider), very favourable. Bruckmann's *Wandbilder antiker Plastik* (A. Trendelenburg), favourable. *Exploration archéologique de Rhodes* par Chr. Blinkenberg und K.-F. Kinch (W. Larfeld). Th. Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften*. III. *Juristische Schriften*, 3 Band. IV. *Historische Schriften*, 1. Band (E. Kornemann). P. Monceaux, *Enquête sur l'épigraphie chrétienne d'Afrique* (C. Weyman). 'A careful publication.' L. Weigl, *Johannes Kamateros, Εἰσαγωγή ἀστρονομίας* (G. Wartenberg), favourable.

31 Jan. J. Prásek, *Geschichte der Meder und Perser bis zur makedonischen Eroberung*. I. *Geschichte der Meder und des Reichs der Länder* (A. Sanda), favourable. Euripide, *Iphigénie en Tauride*, par H. Weil. 3e éd. (K. Busche). P. Graindor, *Les fouilles de Ténos en 1905* (W. Larfeld), favourable. S. Chabert, *Histoire sommaire des études d'épigraphie grecque* (W. Larfeld), very favourable. Δελτίον τῆς ἐν Ἀλμυρῷ φιλαρχαίου ἐταιρείας Ὀθρνος, VI. 1903-1905 (O. Kern). L. Castiglioni, *Studi alessandrini*. I. *Arianna e Teseo* (H. Steuding), favourable on the whole. J. G. Mahaffy, *The silver age of the Greek world* (J. Ziehen), favourable. Winter, *De ellipsi verbi esse apud Catullum, Vergilium, Ovidium, Statium, Juvenalem obvia capita duo* (K. P. Schulze), favourable. H. Kleingünther, *Textkritische und exegetische Beiträge zum astrologischen Lehrgedicht der sogenannten Manilius* (M. Manitius), favourable. A. Siegmund, *Zur Texteskritik der Tragödie Octavia* (W. Gemoll), favourable. P. Lehmann, *Franciscus Modius als Handschriftenforscher* (M. Manitius).

7 Feb. A. Aravindinos, Ἀσκληπίος καὶ Ἀσκληπίεια (R. Fuchs), favourable. V. Chapot, *Séleucie de Piérie* (P. Goessler), unfavourable. *Biblioteca di geografica storica* public.

sotto la direzione di G. Beloch. G. Colasanti, *Fregellae*, G. Colasanti, *Pinna*, E. Grossi, *Aquinum*, N. Jacobone, *Canosa antica*, J. Raimondi, *Frentani*, E. Melchiori, *Forum novum in Sabina* (H. Nissen), rather unfavourable. *Scholia in Ciceronis orationes Bobiensia*, ed. P. Hildebrandt (B. Schilling), unfavourable. L. Maccari, *De Ovidii Metamorphoseon distichis* and *Osservazioni ad Orazio* (K. P. Schulze), favourable.

14 Feb. R. Kekule v. Stradonitz, *Die griechische Skulptur*. 2. Aufl. (A. Trendelenburg), very favourable. A. Vogliano, *Ricerche sopra l'ottavo mimiambro di Heroda* (J. Sitzler), favourable. G. Seydel, *Symbolae ad doctrinae Graecorum harmonicae historiam* (H. G.), favourable. E. Getzlaff, *Quaestiones Babrianae et Pseudo-Dositheanae* (Ficus), favourable. M. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*. I, 1. *Von den Anfängen der Literatur bis zum Ausgang der Bundesgenossenkriege*. 3. Aufl. (Fr. Harder), very favourable. L. Laurand, *De M. Tullii Ciceronis studiis rhetoricis* (May), favourable. L. Traube, *Nomina sacra* (M. Manitius), very favourable.

21 Feb. D. Mülher, *Homer und die altionische Elegie* (J. Sitzler), unfavourable. J. E. Harry, *Problems in the Prometheus* (W. Nestle), favourable. S. Haupt, *Disposition der Aristotelischen Theorie des Dramas und Erklärung einiger Hauptpunkte derselben. Dazu Erklärung einiger Verse aus Sophokles und Euripides* (Chr. Muff), favourable. L. Legras, *Etude sur la Thébaïde de Stace* (R. Helm), favourable on the whole. *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, herausg. von U. Thieme und F. Becker. I. (A. Brueckner).

28 Feb. L. Adam, *Über die Unsicherheit literarischen Eigentums bei den Griechen und Römern* (C. Rothe), unfavourable. W. Schultz, *Studien zur antiken Kultur*. II. III. *Altionische Mystik*. 1. Hälfte (A. Döring), rather unfavourable. A. Aravindinos, *Ἀσκληπίος καὶ Ἀσκληπεία* (G. Wartenberg), favourable. G. Kuhlmann, *De poetae et poematis Graecorum appellationibus* (J. Sitzler), favourable. A. Patin, *Der lucidus ordo des Horatius (Petri)*, unfavourable. Fr. Orlando, *Le lecture pubbliche in Roma imperiale* (J. Ziehen). 'Does not add to our knowledge.' C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens* (J. V. Prásek), favourable. F. A. Wolfs *Briefe an Goethe*, herausg. von S. Reiter and S. Reiter, *F. A. Wolf und D. Ruhnkenius* (D.).

6 Mar. H. Nissen, *Orientation* II. (F. K. Ginzel). 'An interesting study.' R. Hildebrand, *Recht und Sitte auf den primitiveren wirtschaftlichen Kulturstufen*. 2. Aufl. (O. Kraus), very favourable. L. Legras, *Les Puniques et la Thébaïde* (R. Helm), unfavourable. *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Architektur* (C. Watzinger).

13 Mar. *Berliner Klassikertexte*. V, 1. *Griechische Dichterfragmente*. Erste Hälfte: *Epische und elegische Fragmente*, bearb. von W. Schubart und U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf. Mit einem Beitrage von Fr. Bücheler (K. F. W. Schmidt) I. W. Hoffmann, *Das literarische Porträt Alexanders des Grossen* (W. Gemoll), favourable. H. W. Prescott, *Some phases of the relation of thought to verse in Plautus* (H. G.), favourable. P. Fraccaro, *Studi Varroniani: De gente populi Romani libri IV* (T. S.), favourable.

20 Mar. J. Nicole, *L'apologie d'Antiphon d'après les fragments inédits sur papyrus d'Égypte* (H. Gillischewski), favourable. W. Capelle, *Die Schrift von der Welt* (A. Döring), rather unfavourable. *Berliner Klassikertexte*. V, 1. *Griechische Dichterfragmente*. Erste Hälfte: *Epische und elegische Fragmente*, bearb. von W. Schubart und U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf. Mit einem Beitrage von Fr. Bücheler (K. F. W. Schmidt) II, very favourable. R. Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafel* (M. Niedermann), favourable. *Juvenes dum sumus*. Aufsätze zur klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, der 49. Sammlung deutscher Philologen dargebracht von Mitgliedern des Basler klassisch-philologischen Seminars (W. Gemoll).

27 Mar. F. Stürmer, *Griechische Lautlehre auf etymologischer Grundlage* (Bartholomae), unfavourable. L. Laurand, *Etudes sur le style des discours de Cicéron avec une esquisse de l'histoire du Coursus* (May), favourable. *Eusebius Werke*. II. *Die Kirchengeschichte*, bearb. von Ed. Schwartz. *Die lateinische Übersetzung von Rufinus*, bearb. von Th. Mommsen. 2 Teil. Die Bücher VI-X (J. Dräseke). 'A monumental edition.'

3 April. J. P. Mahaffy, *Rambles and Studies in Greece*. 5th edition (G. Wartenberg), favourable. G. Albert, *Die platonische Zahl als Präzessionszahl (3600–2592) und ihre Konstruktion* (G. Lehnert), very favourable. L. v. Sybel, *Christliche Antike und Die klassische Archäologie und die altchristliche Kunst* (J. Ziehen), very favourable.

10 April. W. Lübke, *Die Kunst des Altertums*. 14. Aufl. von M. Semrau (A. Trendelenburg), favourable. A. Mentz, *Geschichte und Systeme der griechischen Tachygraphie* (R. Fuchs), very favourable. H. F. Allen, *The infinitive in Polybios compared with the infinitive in biblical Greek* (H. Gillischewski), favourable. W. Altmann, *Die italischen Rundbauten* (H. Lucas), unfavourable. J. W. Beck, *Horazstudien* (J. Bick), favourable.

17 April. *Berliner Klassikertexte*. V, 2. *Griechische Dichterfragmente*. Zweite Hälfte: *Lyrische und dramatische Fragmente*, bearb. von W. Schubart und U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (K. F. W. Schmidt) I. G. F. Hill, *Sources for Greek History between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars*, 2 ed. (Schneider), favourable. Fr. Stein, *De Procli chrestomathia grammatica quaestiones selectae* (G. Lehnert), favourable. C. Marchesi, *Il Tieste di L. Anneo Seneca*. Saggio critico e traduzione (W. Gemoll), unfavourable. N. Pirrone, *Codices latini, qui in publica bybliothea Drepanensi adservantur* (W. Heraeus). G. Körting, *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch*. 3. Aufl. (H. Ziemer). 'Indispensable for all Romance studies.' K. Baedeker, *Griechenland. Handbuch für Reisende*. 5. Aufl. (G. Wartenburg), favourable.

24 April. E. Littmann, *Semitic inscriptions* (M. Sobernheim), favourable. *Berliner Klassikertexte*. V, 2. *Griechische Dichterfragmente*. Zweite Hälfte: *Lyrische und dramatische Fragmente*, bearb. von W. Schubart und U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (K. F. W. Schmidt), very favourable. P. Wendland, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zu Judentum und Christentum* (W. Soltan), favourable. E. F. Thompson, *Μεταβολή and μεταμέλει in Greek literature until 100 A.D.* (J. Dräseke), favourable. H. L. Cleasby, *The Medea of Seneca* (W. Gemoll), favourable. M. Leky, *De syntaxi Apuleiana* (C. Stegmann), very favourable. M. H. Omont, *Notice sur le manuscrit latin 886 des nouvelles acquisitions de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (W. Heraeus).

1 May. H. C. Butter, *Architecture and other arts*. Part II. of the publications of an American archeological expedition to Syria. (M. Sobernheim), very favourable. H. Schiller, *Beiträge zur Wiederherstellung der Odyssee* (P. D. Ch. Hennings), favourable. Th. Sinko, *De Gregorii Nazianzeni laudibus Macchabeorum* (J. Dräseke), favourable.

8 May. *Arriani quae exstant omnia*, ed. A. G. Roos. Vol. I. *Alexandri anabasin continens* (W. Gemoll), very favourable. C. F. W. Müller, *Bemerkungen zum Dialogus des Tacitus*, herausg. von J. Freund (C. John), favourable.

15 May. O. Puchstein, *Die ionische Säule als klassisches Bauglied orientalischer Herkunft* (B. Sauer), very favourable. G. W. Botsford, *Some problems connected with the Roman gens* (B. Kübler), unfavourable. J. Endt, *Die Glossen der Vaticanus Latinus 3257* (W. Heraeus). V. Ussani, *Intorno alla novissima edizione di Lucano* (R. Helm), favourable. A. v. Domaszewski, *Die Anlage der Limeskastelle* (M. J.).

22 May. *Festschrift zur 49. Versammlung deutscher Philologen in Basel 1907* (H. Schenkl). *Sophokles*, erklärt von W. Schneidewin und A. Nauck. 7. Bändchen: *Philoktetes*. 10. Aufl. von L. Radermacher (F. Adami), favourable. M. Rabenhorst, *Der ältere Plinius als Epitomator des Verrius Flaccus* (F. Münzer), rather unfavourable. R. Gottwald, *De Gregorio Nazianzeno Platonico* (J. Dräseke), favourable.

29 May. P. Masqueray, *Euripide et ses idées* (W. Nestle), favourable. *Statii Thebais et Achilleis*, rec. W. Garrod (R. Helm), favourable. W. M. Lindsay, *Contractions in early Latin minuscule MSS.* (M. Manitius). 'A very useful hand-book.' Evangelides, *Λόγος πανηγυρικός εἰς τοὺς τρεῖς ἱεράρχας* (J. Dräseke), very favourable.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL.

Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. 28. 1908. Part 1.

1. Mrs. S. A. Strong: Antiquities in the Collection of Sir F. Cook, Bt., at Doughty House, Richmond. (Twenty-four plates; twenty-four cuts.)
2. Cecil Smith: Recent Additions to the Parthenon Sculptures. (Plate.)
3. H. G. Evelyn-White: The Throne of Zeus at Olympia. (Three cuts.)
4. C. H. Dodd: The Samians at Zancle-Messana. (Plate.)
5. G. B. Grundy: The Population and Policy of Sparta in the Fifth Century.
6. H. I. Bell: The Aphrodito Papyri.
7. J. G. Milne: Relics of Graeco-Egyptian Schools.
8. S. Menardos: Where did Aphrodite find the body of Adonis?
9. E. A. Gardner: A Statue from an Attic Tomb. (Three plates; two cuts.)
10. R. Burrows: Pylos and Sphacteria.
11. F. Studniczka: Lost Fragments of the Iphigeneia group at Copenhagen. (Cut.)
12. R. M. Dawkins: Archaeology in Greece—a correction.
13. Notices of Books.

American Journal of Archaeology. 1908. Part 1.

1. H. N. F.: Thomas Day Seymour (with portrait).
2. W. B. Dinsmoor: The Mausoleum at Halicarnassos. I. (Plate; seven cuts.)
Discusses the system of proportions of the Ionic order in Asia Minor, especially as exemplified in the Mausoleum columns and entablature; by deciding certain dimensions in a plan and elevation he proposes to effect a new restoration.
3. F. W. Kelsey: Codrus' Chiron and a painting from Herculaneum. (Cut.)
The Chiron possessed by the Codrus of Juvenal's third Satire was perhaps a reproduction of the group in the Saepta at Rome (Pliny, *H.N.* xxxvi. 29); the same type (Cheiron teaching the young Achilles the lyre) is reproduced in a painting found at Herculaneum in 1739.
4. G. N. Olcott: Unpublished Latin Inscriptions. (Cut.)
Publishes thirteen inscriptions, including a dedication to Fortuna Primigenia of Praeneste, an inscribed amphora forming a sepulchral urn, and others from Rome of less interest.
5. D. M. Robinson: Fragment of a Panathenaic amphora with the name of the archon Neaechmus.
A fragment found at Athens; may be dated 320-319 B.C.
6. H. A. Sanders: New MSS. of the Bible from Egypt. (Three plates; one cut.)
7. F. Hauser: The heads of the 'Scipio' type.
Brings forward evidence to confirm the identification as priests of Isis (*Am. Jour.* 1905, p. 11).
8. F. Studniczka: Lost fragments of a group representing Artemis and Iphigenia. (Cut.)
9. The School of American Archaeology.
10. Proceedings of the ninth general meeting of the Arch. Inst. of America, Chicago, Dec. 27-30, 1907, with abstracts of papers read.
11. News of the Institute.
12. Archaeological News, July-Dec. 1907, ed. J. M. Paton.

Jahrbuch des deutschen archaologischen Institutes. XXII. 1907. Part 4.

1. G. Kawerau: An Ionic column from the Acropolis of Athens. (Plate; nine cuts.)
A capital found in the excavations about 1886 was originally thought by Puchstein to be the earliest example of old Attic-Ionic work; subsequently he changed his mind, but the writer reverts to the older view. He proposes a restoration of the column, and the plate shews the colouring of the capital, of which traces exist.

2. M. Mayer: Askoi. (34 cuts.)

Discusses the use of the vases known by this name, especially as exemplified in Southern Italy, where they take the place of jugs for water or wine. He distinguishes eight main types of the askos, according to geographical distribution.

3. H. Thiersch: Gjölbaski and Lycian *Mutterrecht*.

While the eastern half of the heroön is devoted to the glorification of heroes, all the western half celebrates 'the praise of virtuous women,' who thus occupy the most prominent position, over the entrance. This bears out the existence of *Mutterrecht* in Lycia, as hinted by Herodotus and other writers. The heroön may commemorate the marriage of a Greek hero with a Lycian princess, the main idea of the sculpture being the contest for the possession of a woman.

4. F. Behn: The ships of the Telephos frieze. (Seven cuts.)

Important details of the form of the ships of the period are given in this frieze.

5. E. Pridik: On *C.I.A.* i. 450. (Cut.)

Republishes with corrections an inscribed stone first made known in 1842, then lost, and lately found again in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg.

Anzeiger. (1) Excavations in Numantia (A. Schulten). Eight cuts.

(2) Work of archaeological section of 49th Philological Meeting at Basel.

(3) Notices.

(4) Bibliography.

Mitteilungen des k. deutschen arch. Instituts. XXXII. 1907. Heft 4.

1. F. Noack: The Walls of Athens. II. (Five plates; forty cuts.)

Continuation of former paper, describing results of investigation in walls of second period near the Eridanos and Hill of the Nymphs; sums up chronological evidence from time of Peisistratos down to final alteration in third century of Roman Empire. Isolated finds include marbles from walls of Themistocles: funeral *stele* of man with head like that of the archaic Diskophoros, with archaic Gorgon in relief below, resembling those on early Attic vases; marble tablet with archaic relief, and archaic Sphinx; pottery includes late Mycenaean 'false amphora,' parts of a proto-Attic *deinos* and of a R.F. 'fish-plate,' and a terra-cotta lamp in form of Eros with mask.

2. W. Vollgraff: Dionysos Eleuthereus.

Introduction of this cult into Athens usually assigned to time of Peisistratos; but the writer points out that Eleutherae did not belong to Attica until the Peloponnesian War, and it is natural to connect the introduction of the cult with the political transference of the city. There is no literary or epigraphical evidence of an earlier introduction; on the contrary, it was associated with the cult of Asklepios, known to have been introduced in 420. The difficulty of the cultus-statue being by Alkamenes (Paus. i. 20, 3) is explained by assuming two sculptors of the name (this helps to explain the early character of the Hermes Propylaios).

3. W. Dörpfeld: Cretan Palaces.

An answer to Mackenzie's refutation of his earlier article (*A.M.* 1905, p. 257), maintaining two periods of Minoan art, Carian and Achaeon. He defends the original view, dealing both with the question generally and with the individual testimony of Phaestos, Agia Triadha, Knossos, and Phylakopi. He dates the earlier or 'Lykio-Karian' palaces about 1800 ('Middle Minoan II'), the later or Achaeon about 1400 (between 'Late Minoan' I and II), the latter having been destroyed about 1100 in the Dorian invasion.

4. Note on *A.M.* xxxi. p. 373 (G. Karo).

H. B. W.

NUMISMATIC.

Rivista italiana di numismatica. Part 4. 1907.

F. Gnechchi. *I medaglioni Dionisiaci*. On Roman medallions of the Antonine period with types relating to Bacchus.—F. Gnechchi. *I numeri I–XVI sulle tessere di bronza*. These numbers on tesserae may indicate their value in asses.—G. Pansa. *La protome senile dell'asse di Hatria*. It is suggested that the bearded head on the *obv.* is that of the Sicilian god Hadranus (Adranus), and that the dog on the *rev.* is one of the animals attached to his temple.—E. Gohl, on coins (Augustus–Albinus) in the National Hungarian Museum at Budapest.

Parts 1 and 2. 1908.

E. Babelon. *Note sur un poids Byzantin*. A lead weight for weighing refined gold, inscribed OBPYZON.—F. Gnechchi. *Scavi di Roma nel 1907*. Coins found in Rome, Augustus–Gallienus.—G. Dattari on the holes found in the centre of Ptolemaic bronze coins.—L. Laffranchi on coins of Valerian and Gallienus.—Dr. Eddé. *Les figures de face sur les monnaies antiques*. Deals mainly with one of the gold 'Aboukir medallions.' Profile heads directed to the left are said to be much less common on coins than those turned to the right.—M. Bahrfeldt. On the find in Delos (1905) of legionary denarii of M. Antonius.—Serafini. *Medaglioni Capitoli*. Some Roman medallions with very broad borders.—J. N. Svoronos. *Monnaies inédites d'Athènes et de Mytilène*. On Athenian tetradrachms of the 'new style.' Gives also a list of the portraits of benefactors found on Imperial coins of Mytilene, including a new portrait, that of Deinomachus (time of Commodus), who is known from an inscription, and whose wife, Julia Prokla, and daughter, Flavia Nikomachis, were previously known from the coins of Mytilene and from the same inscription.—P. Orsi. *Ripostiglio di medaglioni di Pirro*. A note on coins of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, found in Italy at Locri Epizephyrii.

Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Vol. XXVI. 1907. Part 3.

Haeberlin. *Die jüngste etruskische und die älteste römische Goldprägung*. An important article.—Sundwall. Über eine neue attische Serie, Διονύσιος—Δημόστρατος. A drachm in the Berlin Museum belonging to the period after Sulla. It is of the latest Attic series of the new style.—Loebbecke. *Ein Fund achaischer Bundesmünzen*. A hoard believed to have been discovered at Caserta, north of Naples, in 1889–90. It consists of 499 silver, all, with three exceptions, triobols, viz. 322 of the Achaean League, 38 of Sicyon, 23 of Lacedaemon, 49 of Argos, etc., mostly of the third and second centuries B.C. There are a few fourth-century coins in the hoard, the date of the deposit of which is *circa* B.C. 146.—Regling. *Römischer Denarfund von Lengowo* (Province of Posen). 215 denarii, Nero–M. Aurelius.

Numismatische Zeitschrift. Volumes XXXIX. and XL. 1907.

This instalment of the Vienna Zeitschrift consists of 224 pages entirely devoted to a most welcome index to the whole 28 volumes of the Zeitschrift.

Journal international d'arch. numismatique. Vol. X. Parts 1–3. 1907.

Svoronos. Ἑρμionίδος Ἀλιεῖς οἱ ἐκ Τίρυνθος καὶ τὰ νομίσματα αὐτῶν. The coins usually assigned to Tiryns are here ascribed with much better reason to the Ἀλιεῖς οἱ ἐκ Τίρυνθος.—Svoronos. Ἐῤρημα Σοφικοῦ Ἐπιδαυρίας. Coins of Alexander the Great, etc.—Svoronos. Μικρὰ πάρεργα.—Svoronos. Acquisitions of the National Numismatic Museum, 1906–7.—A. Blanchet. 'Une monnaie de fer: Athènes ou Mégare?' Describes a new example of a Greek coin struck in iron: *obv.* Horse, *rev.* Wheel.—Dieudonné. *Les sigles littérales des monnaies d'Antioche et autres villes de Syrie à l'époque impériale*. The marks in question are numerals occurring on the coins of Antioch from Domitian to Caracalla. It is shown that these numerals cannot, or probably do not, indicate the regnal years of

Emperors, the order of issue, the month of issue, or the officinae, and it is suggested that they are the numbers attached to the different dies.

Revue numismatique. Part 4. 1907.

A. Sambon. *Notes sur l'histoire de l'art en Campanie.* On the coins of Cumae, Naples, etc.—A. Blanchet. *Monnaies gauloises inédites.*—Froehner. *Contorniates.* Two new specimens, one of them re-engraved in antiquity as a marriage-memorial. The enigmatic inscription NVSMAGCON MONIMVS on a well-known contorniate is interpreted *Nvs Mag(ister) conmonimus* = Nos magister (i.e. the *magister iuventutis*) commonemus; nous, le maître, vous exhortons à faire ceci ou cela.—Dieudonné. Select Greek coins in the French Collection. Sicily, Abacaenum—Eryx.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part 4. 1907.

F. A. Walters. *Early bronze coins found in England.* Describes a find made in 1905 at Croydon of bronze coins, Claudius to M. Aurelius. The Britannia type is of frequent occurrence, and the writer suggests that it may have been specially employed for coins circulating in Britain.—P. H. Webb. *The coinage of Carausius.* This article is described as a 'continuation,' but I understand that it is also the concluding article of the series.—F. W. Hasluck. *Coin-collecting in Mysia.* A brief note on coins of Apollonia ad Rhyndacum, etc.

Part 1. 1908.

A. C. Headlam. *Some notes on Sicilian coins.* § 1. 'An unpublished variety of a Syracusan tetradrachm.' In the exergue is an olive-branch, a symbol which occurs also in the exergue of a coin of Gela. It is conjectured that this adjunct may refer to the peace-congress held at Gela in B.C. 424. § 2. 'The date of the signed tetradrachms.' The year 420 B.C. is suggested as the probable date for the beginnings of the period of the finest art and of the coins with engravers' signatures. A. Evans has proposed 440, Holm 430, and Head *circ.* 412. § 3. 'The coinage of Gelon and Hieron.' The coinages of the three cities Syracuse, Gela and Leontini are maintained to be, in their origin, dynastic rather than civic issues: on the coins of all three cities Gelon impressed as the principal type a four-horse chariot. § 4. 'An undescribed copper coin of Syracuse.' A bronze coin of fine style with the head of Pan and *rev.* Syrix. This coin, though not common, is not, as a matter of fact, 'undescribed,' for a specimen in the Fox collection was described and engraved by Salinas as far back as 1871 in a paper (*Per. di Num.* iii. p. 224) dealing with representations of Pan on Sicilian coins.—B. Roth. *A large hoard of gold and silver ancient British coins of the Brigantes found at South Ferriby, Lincolnshire, in 1906.* The interest of this find must be regarded as mainly numismatic. None of the coins are inscribed, and the name of Cartismandua, already known from a silver coin previously found, is therefore lacking.—Mrs. K. Esdaile. 'An unpublished medallion of the younger Faustina.' The reverse shows a figure of Cybele seated. The writer mentions in a foot-note that the medallion is, in Mr. Grueber's opinion, of seventeenth century workmanship. It seems to me also undoubtedly not antique. The same paper describes an interesting contorniate with a seated statue of Cybele in a temple, inscribed *Matri Devm Salvatari*.—H. B. Earle-Fox. 'The initial coinage of Corcyra.' Early triobols, trihemibols and obols (type, a cow's head), usually assigned to Phocis, are probably to be transferred to Corcyra. The coinage of Phocis would thus begin about 450 B.C. May I remark that the brevity and business-like quality of this little note (printed in the 'Miscellanea') are well worthy of imitation.—'Ancient British coins found with Roman coins' (pp. 80, 81). The Timsbury hoard, A.D. 1907, probably buried *circ.* A.D. 90, contained British bronze coins mixed with Imperial bronze coins.—Note on coins of Fausta and Helena.

WARWICK WROTH.

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THE PLACE OF ARBITRATION AND MEDIATION IN ANCIENT SYSTEMS OF INTERNATIONAL ETHICS.

THERE can be no doubt that the Romans were very much influenced in their use of interstate arbitration by the Greeks. This statement can be made without affecting the question as to whether the actual principle of arbitration was known to them before their contact with the Greeks. Either the practice sprang up independently in Italy and Greece owing to similarity of conditions, or else it was part of the same stock of political and social ideas inherited by each race alike from common ancestors. It would be improbable if two nations of such close relationship and such similar civilisation could not have inherited so natural an idea or developed it along similar lines, and indeed the very widespread practice of arbitration in private law at Rome has none of the signs of an imported idea.

The case is more difficult with interstate arbitration. The evidence points to the view that this method of settling public disputes was only developed by Rome under the gradual effect of her constant contact with Greek diplomacy from the end of the third century B.C. onwards. Evidence for an earlier and native interest in public arbitration is scanty and doubtful. Only one serious case of its use in an interstate dispute of early times is quoted by Roman historians.¹ On the other hand, there is the institution of *recuperatores*. Most critics² agree that this tribunal for the settlement

¹ Ancient authorities are quoted according to the following editions :

Polybius, ed. Hultsch, vol. i². 1888, vol. ii². 1892, vol. iii. 1870, vol. iv. 1872.

Livy, ed. Weissenborn, 1885.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, ed. Jacoby (Teubner), 1885-1905.

Diodorus Siculus, ed. Dindorf (Teubner), 1866-1888.

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Florus, ed. Tauchnitz, 1892.

Dio Cassius, ed. Boissevain, 1895-1901.

Plutarch, ed. Sintenis (Teubner), 1879, etc.

Appian, ed. Mendelssohn (Teubner), 1879.

² For *recuperatores* see Roby, *Roman Private Law*, ii. pp. 315-318, and Greenidge, *The Legal Procedure of Cicero's Time*, pp. 47-49. Hartmann (*Der ordo iudiciorum*, pp. 229-263) is the only critic who

of disputes with strangers (*peregrini*) had originally some peregrine member or members sitting on it. At an early stage, such a board of judges, by settling the all-important question of damages for raided property, must have fulfilled the function of international arbitrators in the days when wars were merely cattle-raids.¹ But as the causes and pretexts for war outgrew the primitive motive of robbery, the functions of the *recuperatores* were not enlarged to embrace other causes of international friction, but remained strictly confined to settling disputes—international in character, it is true—but only such as were concerned with questions of property. Now as the distinction between public and private law grew, such questions of property were more and more likely to be questions which concerned individuals, and not such as touched a nation as a whole. It is, therefore, not surprising to find the jurisdiction of the *recuperatores* confined almost exclusively to questions of private law; it was probably normal in the provinces, both in republican and imperial times, for private individuals to have recourse to *recuperatores*. It need not be supposed that the mixed character of such tribunals ceased to exist, because our scanty references to *recuperatores* do not happen to mention this. At any rate the cases dealt with, were chiefly, if not altogether,² of an international character. They must have lain between Romans resident in the provinces and provincial subjects, who ranked as *peregrini*. Of this nature were the frequent disputes between Roman taxgatherers and their provincial victims, such as those which form a background to the third Verrine oration. Significant also is the way in which the whole system of *recuperatores* seems to separate itself from the principles of ordinary Roman private jurisprudence. These courts had, in truth, nothing to do with the strict law which applied to Roman citizens: they rested on equity.³ It need scarcely be pointed out that this is inherent in international arbitration,⁴ which, because there are *two* systems of strict law available, is on that very account unable to use either of them, lest undue advantage be given to the party whose system is chosen.

Allowing, then, for a far more extensive use of *recuperatores* than happens to have been recorded, we may fairly imagine these judges to have acted as arbitrators in disputes of an international character; in early days, before the total separation of private and public affairs, they may in truth have succeeded in allaying inter-tribal feuds. The persistence of the old custom of 'demanding restitution for raided property' '*res repetere*,' as a preliminary

denies the international character of the early tribunals of *recuperatores*. With regard to the few remarks here offered on this subject, I must acknowledge much indebtedness to Professor Reid.

¹An exceedingly close parallel to *recuperatores* might be found in the border commission, which existed for a very long time to decide *re* cases of cattle-lifting, etc., on the English-Scottish border.

²Roby, *op. cit.* p. 317, denies that cases between

two private Roman citizens ever came before *recuperatores*. One party was always either a *peregrinus*, or else had his citizenship called into question.

³Whence the summary procedure which was characteristic of them. Cic. *pro Tullio*, 5. 10; Gai. iv. 185; Plin. *Epp.* iii. 20. 9.

⁴Equity is, of course, characteristic of all arbitration. Cf. Sen. *de benef.* iii. 7. 5.

to taking up arms, showed that at some time the *recuperatores* must really have acted the part of public arbitrators in public international disputes: for, in accordance with old procedure, the question at issue, which would have resolved itself into a simple claim for damages, must have been decided before their court. In later times, as a matter of fact, the disputants never went so far, since it was perfectly well understood that the *rerum repetitio* was no longer a serious claim for damages, but a demand for submission, or, in other words, an ultimatum of war.¹

There is, indeed, a single instance recorded during the later republic, when a court of *recuperatores* was called upon to try a case, distinctly of a public nature. In 171 B.C. the inhabitants of Spain, who had been cruelly oppressed by the Roman officials, appealed to the Senate for redress. The Senate directed that five *recuperatores* should be appointed, and that the accused and the Spaniards should respectively choose Romans as *patroni* to conduct their cases.² The dispute was public and international, the Spaniards being reckoned as *peregrini*, and all the conditions that call for arbitration were there. In the decision taken by the Senate, the arbitral idea was not neglected, though not fully carried out. The mere appointment of *recuperatores* shows that something in the nature of arbitration was contemplated: further, the trials must have rested on equity and not on law, and this again followed the arbitral idea. But the mixed tribunal was given up: no Spaniard sat on the bench, which was exclusively composed of Roman senators as judges.³ This was possibly the result of intention, possibly of circumstance. It would have been difficult to make arrangements for a mixed bench: to ask one of the Spanish ambassadors to sit, would have been unjust to the defendants, for the Spaniards distinctly ranked as accusers and therefore as prejudiced parties. To summon other Spanish representatives from Spain would have meant an enormous delay in time and waste of money in those days of slow and expensive travelling, and with the annual change of magistrates at Rome, delay in bringing on a case could not be tolerated. It was probably thought that the Roman senators chosen were above suspicion, and that their character would secure a disinterested verdict; the corrupt conduct of the praetor in charge of the trials and of the advocates proved an unexpected stumbling-block.⁴

This curious hybrid procedure, by which the equity of the courts of the *recuperatores*, as followed in international cases of a *private* nature, was transferred to similar cases of a *public* nature, was the forerunner of the permanent *quaestio* afterwards set up by the *lex Calpurnia* in 149 B.C. This *quaestio* inherited from the procedure of 171 B.C. its freedom from the strict

¹ A comparison of Liv. xlii. 25. 1-13, 30. 8-11 and 36. 1-7, will show that the real or pretended readiness of Perseus to respond seriously to the *rerum repetitio* (a ceremony alluded to in the words 'nisi de iis rebus satisfecisset,' 30. 11), was altogether unexpected

at Rome, where the *rerum repetitio* was looked on not as beginning, but as ending negotiations, in fact, as an actual declaration of war.

² Liv. xliii. 2.

³ Liv. xliii. 2. 3.

⁴ *ibid.* § 11.

rules of the *ius civile*, its mixture of public and private law, the plurality of judges and to some extent the very name of *recuperatores*:¹ lastly, the choice of judges from the senatorial order persisted for many years in the *quaestio*.

This proved fatal to any idea of arbitration. The neglect to keep to the original mixed character of the bench of *recuperatores* brought its natural consequences; the senators identified themselves so completely with the Roman side in every case that all idea of a disinterested verdict faded away. The abandonment of the mixed tribunal places the history of the *quaestio repetundarum* at Rome definitely outside the sphere of arbitration, and its further course need not here be discussed.

The courts of the *recuperatores*, however, survived in their original form. Raided property, belonging to Rome and her allies, when recaptured from the enemy, was exposed for some days according to old custom, in order that the owners might claim their own goods. There can be no doubt that such claims were adjusted by *recuperatores*, though they are not expressly mentioned by name:² their activity in this respect was simply a continuation of their original functions as arbitrators for raided border-property; internationality was distinctly present in its oldest elements in the claims and counter-claims of Romans and Italians, though the latter were now transformed from enemies to allies: see Liv. iii. 10. 1, v. 16. 7, x. 20. 15, 36. 18, xxiv. 16. 5, xxxv. 1. 12. In xxvi. 30. 10, the Syracusans beg for such a restitution of property pillaged from them after the siege. There are, in addition, one or two remarkable examples of the use of *recuperatores* to arbitrate between two allies of Rome, and those not Italians but Greeks. It is a singularly rare occurrence to find definitely Roman institutions taking root in Greece or the east at any time before the imperial period. These courts of *recuperatores* were not so much adopted by Greece as extraneously imposed on her by the stronger will of her conqueror: possibly their rarity shows that the idea was not made welcome or developed: it was often connected with the distasteful conditions of a *foedus*. The difficulty in transplanting such courts to Greek soil would be that the Greeks already had their own system of arbitration. The aims and results of either system were the same, to secure an impartial adjustment of claims on pillaged property. The Greek plan was to appeal to a third and neutral power, the Roman, to draw a mixed tribunal from the representatives of either party. Such procedure was made a condition in the peace offered to Philip in 198 B.C.,³ in that given to Nabis in 195 B.C.,⁴ to the Aetoli, 189 B.C.,⁵ and to Antiochus, 188 B.C.;⁶ it amounted to an attempt to remove some

¹ Cf. Tac. *Ann.* i. 74. 7.

² All passages where the *recuperatores* are mentioned by name will be found in Roby and Greenidge, *ll. cc.*

³ Liv. xxxii. 10. 3, cf. note of Weissenborn *ad loc.*

⁴ Liv. xxxiv. 35. 6.

⁵ Liv. xxxviii. 11. 5.

⁶ Liv. xxxviii. 38. 12. = Pol. xxi. 45. 16. This clause refers to claims arising out of the war and the language is that always employed in connection with *recuperatores*. At the end of the treaty we come

of the after-friction which seemed fated to linger at the frontier of two Greek nations recently hostile, by imposing the proved and successful methods of Roman *recuperatores*.

The Romans did not avail themselves of that other means of securing a disinterested verdict, which consists of an appeal to an outside party. They neither invited members of a third city to sit among the *recuperatores*, nor did they put cases in the hands of such a city to be decided by an entirely independent commission of its citizens. This—the appeal to an entirely neutral power—is the most popular form that public arbitration has taken both among ancient and modern nations, and it is the history of this form of public arbitration, especially among the Romans, that forms the chief subject of this paper.

This type of interstate arbitration reached a high degree of development among the Greeks, and has naturally been the subject of considerable modern research.¹ The most important cases in Roman history, on the other hand, have only lately been collected and investigated by M. de Ruggiero.² He divides Roman public arbitration into three classes—‘international,’ ‘federal’ and ‘administrative.’ In cases where Rome arbitrated between two nations, whose independence she acknowledged—in most cases this would be between two of her *amici*—the arbitration would be ‘international’: where she arbitrated between two states, each of whom was bound to herself by a *foedus*,

across provisions which were meant to apply permanently: the reference to *recuperatores* is not so clear: possibly the Greek form of arbitration (appeal to a neutral power) was contemplated. The words are, in Pol. xxi. 45. 26, ‘περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀδικημάτων τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους γιγνομένων εἰς κρίσιν προκαλεῖσθωσαν.’ App. res Syr. 38, 39, misses out this clause. Liv. xxxviii. 38. 17 adds to it, thus: ‘controuersias inter se iure ac iudicio disceptanto, aut, si utrisque placebit, bello.’ This is sometimes quoted (e.g. in Dar. et Sagl. Dict. d. Antig. s.v. *amicitia*) as evidence that Rome recognised arbitration between her *amici* and herself; this necessitates taking ‘utrisque’ and ‘inter se’ of the same persons, namely, Antiochus and Rome, and reduces the whole sentence to nonsense, since the last half flatly contradicts the first. Professor Reid suggests that ‘utrisque’ refers to Antiochus and Rome, ‘inter se’ to Antiochus and the Asiatic cities: the clause then follows quite logically on the one preceding it, ‘si qui sociorum populi Romani (=the Asiatic cities) ultro bellum inferent Antiocho, uim ui arcendi ius esto, etc.’=Pol. §§24, 25. The two clauses, taken together, provide Antiochus with the right of self-defence, if attacked by the cities, but reserve to Rome a right to veto any offensive war against them, as they were under her protection. This explanation agrees with the language of Polybius, who uses ‘ἀλλήλους’ of the two parties who are to submit to arbitration, but in speaking of Antiochus and Rome he changes to ‘ἀμφοτέροι,’ §27.

I cannot here refrain from referring to a most interesting passage in Menander Protektor 212, though the date of the events mentioned places it outside the scope of this paper. In the conditions of the peace between Justinian and Chosroes, 562 A.D., are found clauses regulating the commerce on the frontier and possible quarrels arising out of it; the analogy to the old courts of *recuperatores* is remarkable. Mixed tribunals, drawn from Persian and Roman provincials living on the frontier, is the leading feature; further, equity, and not law, is to rule all cases, and the fulfilment of the verdict rests on the executive power of the government, as in the *iudicium recuperatorium* it had rested on the *imperium* of the praetor: finally, non-fulfilment of the verdict becomes a *casus belli*, as in the oldest days were ‘res non redditae ex foedere.’ The text of these clauses and an interesting commentary will be found in Karl Güterbock, *Byzanz u. Persien in ihren diplomatisch-völkerrechtlichen Beziehungen im Zeitalter Justinians* (Berlin, 1906), p. 83 sqq.

¹ The most recent publication is a thesis by Victor Bérard, *De arbitrio inter liberas Graecorum civitates*, Paris, Thorin, 1894. Some of his conclusions are disputed by W. L. Westermann in *Interstate arbitration in antiquity*, *The Classical Journal*, March, 1907, University of Chicago Press.

² L’Arbitrato pubblico in relazione col privato presso i Romani, *Bullettino dell’ istituto di diritto Romano*, 1892, pp. 49-443.

i.e. were not truly independent, it would be 'federal': where between two cities wholly under her power, *e.g.* two cities of a province, it would be 'administrative,' or, in other words, it would come under the ordinary business of administering a province.¹

M. de Ruggiero states that the first of these three kinds—'international' arbitration—was adopted by the Romans from the Greeks.² 'Federal' arbitration, however, was known to the Romans from much earlier times.³ In any case, M. de Ruggiero is not immediately concerned with the source of public arbitration as used by the Romans, but devotes himself, in the first place, to a thorough and exhaustive comparison of the principles of public and private arbitration from the point of view of Roman law, and, in the second place, to collecting for the first time and analysing most of the extant cases of Roman public arbitration, especially those known to us from inscriptions. His examples, with one exception,⁴ are not dated earlier than 195 B.C. By this time Rome had been under the influence of Greek ideas for at least fifty or sixty years, if not longer. Another point to notice is that in all his examples Rome is the arbitrating, not one of the two appellant powers.

It therefore seems worth while to consider some cases of arbitration, and especially of attempted arbitration, which occur earlier in Roman history, and which illustrate the transition stage, when the Greek practice was influencing Roman ideas so largely. The examples given will, for the most part, be limited to those cases where Rome was not the arbitrating state, but one of the appellants, and it will be found that this is an important distinction. The general result will be to show that the Romans did not practise the most usual forms of public arbitration before they met the Greeks, that, even when familiarised with it by their intercourse with Greece, they refused to apply it to themselves and to submit their own disputes with another nation to the judgment of a neutral power as arbitrator, that they were very willing, nevertheless, to act as arbitrators to other nations, though even in these cases they introduced important modifications and restrictions.⁵

1. Several instances quoted, or rather invented by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, need not be considered at length. They are inserted to give his work its obvious moral character. The only point worth noticing is that these embellishments are drawn from sources admittedly Greek. The whole tendency of the work is, of course, to Graecise Roman history, but in these cases the loan from Greek ideas is expressly emphasised: *cf.* iv. 25, 26, where Servius Tullius develops the informal attempts at arbitration made by Numa Pompilius (ii. 76. 3), by convening delegates from the Latin towns to form, together with the Roman

¹ p. 84 *sq.*

² pp. 100, 102.

³ p. 126.

⁴ The case of Aricia and Ardea, for which see *infra* p. 247.

⁵ *Cf.* some remarks in a paragraph by Westermann,

op. cit. p. 207. 'Despite the fact that the Senate in the second century B.C. often acted as arbiter for the Greek states, the Roman republic did not acknowledge the principle of arbitration when it was applied to itself.'

Senate, a tribunal for arbitration: this he is supposed to do, on the model of the Greek Amphictyonic assemblies.¹

In v. 61 it is the Latins who wish to judge the alleged Roman injustices against Aricia. As, however, they identify themselves from the very outset with the Arician cause, their attitude is hardly that of the arbitrator. In fact, their offer of arbitration was only made as a pretext, *“ἵνα εὐπρεπεῖς δόξωσι ποιεῖσθαι τὰς τοῦ πολέμου προφάσεις”* (§ 4). Again Greek history is the model for this incident; such false offers of arbitration were very frequent among Greek States.² Dionysius makes the Romans refuse arbitration; this is consistent with their attitude in historical times.

In the legend of Porsena (v. 32 sq.)³ there is this difference, that Rome herself appears as asking for arbitration between her own cause and that of the Tarquinii. The treacherous attitude of the Tarquinii induces Porsena to decide for Rome. The falseness of this legend is obvious; it is part of the attempt of ancient Roman historians to draw a veil over the relations between Rome and Etruria, which, whatever they were, were very much to the detriment of Rome.

The instances of arbitration in Dionysius may therefore be dismissed as not serious.

2. In 446 B.C., Rome is asked to arbitrate between Aricia and Ardea: the Roman plebs insist on adjudging the land in dispute to themselves. Liv. iii. 71, 72, cf. iv. 1. 4, 7. 4-6, 11. 2-7; Dion. Hal. xi. 52.

This instance is quite isolated in point of view of time. There is no parallel to it until the second century B.C., *i.e.* after communication between Greece and Rome had been fully established on a large scale for some time. It is also isolated in attributing the office of arbitrator to any section of the Roman community except the Senate or its delegates. If, nevertheless, it is accepted as an historical instance,⁴ it simply shows that the idea of interstate arbitration was not unknown to the Italians, but was most certainly unused: for by its very isolation it throws up all the more startlingly the long stretch of years on either side of 446 B.C. which yield no example whatever of public arbitration in connexion with Rome. But the story bristles with difficulties, the chief of which is the mention of the action of the plebs in international affairs at such an extremely early date.⁵ It has therefore been rejected by most modern historians on quite other grounds than that of the introduction of arbitration into the account.⁶ Whatever kernel of fact may underlie the legend, whether

¹ As a matter of fact, the Amphictyonic assemblies were not used by the Greeks as arbitrating tribunals. See Ruggiero, *op. cit.* p. 96, and Westermann, *op. cit.* p. 205.

² See p. 254.

³ The incident is repeated in Plutarch, *de mul. virt.* 14, and *Popl.* 18. Zonaras vii. 12. c.

⁴ Ruggiero accepts this instance (*op. cit.* pp. 157, 317), and perhaps also something of what Dionysius says (p. 126), as probably historical.

⁵ For a full discussion of these difficulties, see

Zoeller, *Latium und Rom*, p. 253 sq. If one could accept the substance and date of Polybius' first treaty with Carthage, the story would be distinctly discredited, as he there makes Ardea subject to Rome in 509 B.C.

⁶ Mommsen, as Ruggiero points out, accepts it in his *Roman History* (*R.G.* i⁷. p. 345), but rejects it in his *Staatsrecht* (iii. p. 325, n. 2), suggesting that it was an invention of the patricians to prove how dangerous it was to leave such decisions to the plebeians.

a struggle for a particular piece of land, whether the beginning of the *foedus Ardeatinum*, the idea of arbitration seems to be one of the most difficult, as well as one of the least essential, parts of the story.

Moreover, exactly the same story is repeated in quite a different case, that of the arbitration of Q. Fabius Labeo between Nola and Naples.¹ It reads very like one of those moral anecdotes which hover about ancient history, belonging neither to any particular nation nor to any particular date.

3. It is said by Livy that at the beginning of the Second Samnite war in 327 B.C., the Romans challenged the Samnites to submit the dispute to arbitration: 'cum Romanus legatus ad disceptandum eos ad communes socios atque amicos vocaret, etc.' The Samnites indignantly reject the idea: 'nostra certamina, Romani, non verba legatorum nec hominum quisquam disceptator, sed campus Campanus in quo concurrendum est arma et communis Mars belli decernet.'²

There seems to be here a Greek working-over of Roman tradition, made by one of the many Greek or Graecising writers of the third and second century B.C. For to refuse to submit a dispute to arbitration was, among the Greeks, considered an impiety,³ while to the Roman annalists any suggested impiety on the part of the opponents of Rome was welcome material.

For there runs throughout Roman history a belief quite extraordinarily strong that success in arms depended on the righteousness of the war—not righteousness as regards the justice of the interests involved or the claims advanced, but in the sense of having scrupulously fulfilled all the formal and ceremonial obligations owed to the other side, most especially those involved in the due declaration of war. Hence came the whole idea of the *iustum piumque bellum* and the precautions taken to carry out the proper ceremonies in declaring it. These ceremonies contained a declaration that Rome had fulfilled the conditions—generally contained in a *foedus*—binding on her, while the enemy was said to have neglected them: finally, there was an appeal to the gods to decide in favour of those in the right.⁴ A large mass of the Roman people undoubtedly believed in this appeal. In early times the belief must have been at least as strong as the belief of the Middle Ages in trial by ordeal: in later times it had a negative rather than a positive force, in making the nation as a whole most unwilling to undertake any war except one which was *iustum piumque*. References to this belief are most frequent in Roman literature, especially in Livy, which shows how strongly it was held as late as the time of Augustus. Here are a few passages:

(a) Liv. iii. 2. 3. Nuntiare iussit Q. Fabium consulem dicere, se ex Aequis pacem Roman tulisse, ab Roma Aequis bellum adferre eadem dextera armata, quam pacatam illis antea dederat. quorum id perfidia et periurio fiat, deos nunc testes esse, mox fore ultores.

¹ Cic. *de off.* i. 10. 33, cf. Val. Max. vii. 3. 4.

² Liv. viii. 23. 8.

³ I content myself with repeating Westermann's

references to Thuc. i. 78. 4, 85. 2, 140. 2; vii. 18. 2.

⁴ Liv. i. 32.

(b) Liv. iii. 25. 8. Et haec sacrata quercus et quidquid deorum est audiant foedus a uobis ruptum nostrisque et nunc querelis adsint et mox armis, cum deorum hominumque simul uiolata iura exsequemur.

(c) Liv. v. 51. 10. In hostes qui caeci auaritia in pondere auri foedus ac fidem fefellerunt, uerterunt (dii) terrorem fugamque et caedem.

(d) Liv. vi. 29. 2. Adeste, di testes foederis, et expetite poenas debitas simul uobis uiolatis nobisque per uestrum numen deceptis.

(e) Liv. xxi. 10. 8 (Speech of the pro-Roman Carthaginian). Sed Tarento, id est Italia, non abstinueramus ex foedere . . . uicerunt igitur di homines, et id, de quo uerbis ambigebatur, uter populus foedus rupisset, euentus belli, uelut aecus iudex, unde ius stabat, ei uictoriam dedit.

(f) Liv. xxi. 40. 10 (Scipio to his men). Ac nihil magis uereor, quam ne, cum uos pugnaueritis, Alpes uicisse Hannibalem uideantur. Sed ita forsitan decuit, cum foederum ruptore duce ac populo deos ipsos sine ulla humana ope committere ac profligare bellum, nos, qui secundum deos uiolati sumus, commissum ac profligatum conficere.

(g) Liv. xxvi. 8. 5. Romam cum eo exercitu, qui ad urbem esset, Iouem, foederum ruptorum ab Hannibale testem, deosque alios defensuros esse.

(h) Liv. xxviii. 44. 6 (Scipio before leaving for Africa). Laetiores et frequentiores Africa exspectate nuntios, quam ex Hispania accipiebatis: has mihi spes subicit fortuna populi Romani, di foederis ab hoste uiolati testes.

(i) Liv. xxx. 42. 20. Senatorem unum infestum perfidiae Carthaginiensium succlassasse ferunt, per quos deos foedus icturi essent, cum eos, per quos ante ictum esset, fefelissent: 'per eosdem,' inquit Hasdrubal, 'quoniam tam infesti sunt foedera uiolantibus.'

(j) Liv. xxxix. 36. 12. Pro uobis igitur iustum piumque bellum suscepimus . . . quod . . . dii quoque ipsi comprobauerint, qui nobis uictoriam dederint.

(k) Liv. xlv. 22. 5. Certe eidem uos estis Romani, qui ideo felicia bella uestra esse, quia iusta sint, prae uobis fertis, nec tam exitu eorum, quod uincatis, quam principiis, quod non sine causa suscipiatis, gloriamini.

(l) Flor. iii. 11. 5 (Crassus has refused to respect the 'foedus' made between Pompeius and Orodes). Itaque dii foederum ultores nec insidiis nec uirtuti hostium defuerunt.

(m) Prop. iv. 6. 51. Frangit et attollit uires in milite causa, | quae nisi iusta subest, excutit arma pudor.

(n) App. *Res Hisp.* 83. "Οθεν ἔφη καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε, παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἐκείνας (the *sponsio Numantina*) ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐφηφισμένον, ἀπαίσιον αὐτοῖς γεγονέναι.

(o) App. *Res Pun.* 60 (Speech). Εἰ δέ τις . . . δέδιδε μὴ καὶ νῦν τὰς σπονδὰς παραβῶσιν οἱ Καρχηδόνοι, μάλιστα μὲν εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς ἤδη σπονδῶν φυλακῆς αἰσθανέσθαι, πολλὰ ἐκ τῶν παραβάσεων παθόντας, καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ποιήσεσθαι περὶ πολλοῦ, ἐξ ἀσεβείας ἐς γόνυ πεσόντας. Cf. ch. 62.

(p) App. *B.C.* iv. 97 (Speech of Cassios). Μεγίστη δὲ ἐλπίς ἐν πολέμοις ἐστὶ τὸ δίκαιον: *ibid.* 99, θεοὶ ὅσοι πολέμων δικαίων δεσπόται.

(q) App. *B.C.* v. 80. ἐπιπολαζούσης δὲ ὑπόνοιας ἔτι ὡς παρασπόνδως ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε γίγνοιτο, τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκλύων ἐπέστελλε τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτὸς ἐδίδασκεν ὅτι τὰς σπονδὰς ὁ Πομπήιος (Sextus Pompeius) ληστεύων τὴν θάλασσαν ἀναλύσει. Cf. ch. 92, καὶ τοῦ δήμου περὶ συμβάσεων αἰθῆς ἐνοχλήσαντος καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτωθάσαντος ὡς παράσπονδον, and ch. 100, πειθόμενος (Πομπήιος) οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ δις οὕτω θέρους πταῖσαι τοὺς πολέμιους.

(r) Diod. Sic. xxviii. 3. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τότε (Second Macedonian war and war with

Antiochus) καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα δίκαιους ἐνιστάμενοι πολέμους, καὶ πλείστον ὄρκων καὶ σπονδῶν ποιούμενοι λόγον, οὐκ ἀλόγως συμμάχους εἶχον τοὺς θεοὺς ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς.

(s) Diod. Sic. xxxii. 18. "Ὅτι ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπάτος Καλπούρνιος δι' ὁμολογίας τινὰς τῶν πόλεων εἰληφῶς κατέσκαψεν, οὐδὲν τῆς πίστεως φροντίσας· διόπερ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς ἀπιστούμενος ἀπετύγχανεν, ὥσπερ δαιμονίου τινὸς ἀντιπράττοντος· εἰς πολλὰς γὰρ ἐπιβολὰς δυσεπιτεύκτους ἔσχε τὰς πράξεις.

It is only in very late authors that we find the suggestion expressed, that breach of international faith does not necessarily bring disaster: cf. Orosius iii. 15. 7 on this very Samnite war, and such passages as Dio Cassius, *fr.* 36. 21, 'τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου τῷ νομιζομένῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὡς πλήθει κρίνεται, οὐδ' ἀνάγκη τίς ἐστί νικᾶν τοὺς ἀδικουμένους, ἀλλ' ὁ πόλεμος αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν τά τε ἄλλα πρὸς τὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος συμφέρον τίθεται καὶ τὴν τοῦ δικαίου νόμοισιν ἐς τοῦναντίον πολλάκις περίστησιν'; cf. *fr.* 46. 2. But even Dio Cassius attributes the conventional view to his characters in their speeches, cf. xliv. 45. 1, Antony's speech after Caesar's death, 'ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ δαιμόνιον δικαιοτάτα τὴν μάχην (Pharsalia) ἔκρινε'; 1. 24. 1, Octavianus' speech to his troops before Actium.

These and similar passages show that the Romans, under the influence of their formal and ceremonial religion, exaggerated an idea natural to all peoples, namely, the rightness of the cause for which they fight, into a strong, popular belief that a war, if correctly declared, was sanctioned by the gods and must therefore, as *iustum piumque bellum*, necessarily be victorious. Unconsciously they falsified their history in order to make it agree with this preconceived idea. For instance, there can be no doubt that the incident of Saguntum has been twisted and turned by Roman historians to throw the blame of opening the Second Punic war on the Carthaginians; thus the final success of the Roman arms was assured, while at the same time the delay of seventeen years before this victory was vouchsafed by the Gods was attributed by moralists to the criminal indifference shown by the Romans in 219 B.C. towards the Saguntines, who were their allies, and therefore ought to have been defended. The greater sin of the Carthaginians was followed by the greater punishment, total defeat, while the lesser sin of the Romans was followed by the lesser punishment, invasion of Italy, and so everything is balanced neatly in the account.

Polybius¹ tells us of the chronic quarrel between Roman and Carthaginian historians about allotting the blame for the Punic wars. Had we earlier records we might find traces of a similar quarrel between Romans and Samnites, but in the only extant records, which are not only late but also exclusively Roman, the Roman account has more or less completely ousted the Samnite. There is a very strong tendency in these late accounts to throw the blame of the Samnite wars on the Samnites; in no other way could the final success of the Roman arms be explained and vindicated.

During the First Samnite war, various Roman victories were recorded; it was therefore necessary to make the Samnites, who were the sufferers, also the sinners. Livy does this fairly completely in his account of the opening of the war. In his view the Samnites were guilty of a flagrant violation of

¹ Pol. i. 14.

international rights in continuing the attack on the Campani after the latter had become *dediticii* of Rome.¹ He sums up their sin and their repentance after the war in the sentence, 'quoniam ipsos belli culpa sua contracti taedium cepit.'²

The subject is more fully worked out in the Second Samnite war. The Livian account may be divided into three periods. The blame of opening the war rests on the Samnites, as usual. The *foedus*, which had been renewed in 341 B.C.,³ had been again broken by the Samnite interference in the struggle with Palaipolis.⁴ Restitution is demanded by Rome and refused by the Samnites. (It is at this point that arbitration is offered by Rome.) The blame of opening the Second Samnite war is therefore made to rest entirely on the Samnites,⁵ as they themselves are made to acknowledge.⁶

The second part of the war opens with a desperate effort made by the Samnites to retrieve their position in the eyes of the Gods. Full satisfaction is offered to Rome for the broken *foedus* and the dead body of Brutulus Papius delivered up. But the Romans refuse to conclude a peace except on extremely hard conditions.⁷ It is here important to consider whether the Romans were guilty of a breach of international law in so doing, and whether the disaster of the Caudine Forks was the punishment for such a sin. Livy's own narrative does not give colour to such a view. What he allows his readers to infer is that the Romans had been guilty of undue harshness and pride—'*superbia*'; the Caudine Forks, with its *sub iugum missio*, was pre-eminently suited as a punishment to humble their pride.⁸ This '*superbia*,' however reprehensible from a moral point of view, did not invalidate, so to say, the original legality of their cause: the war was still *iustum piumque* for them, and the Samnite general Pontius was obliged to fall back on the desperate view that necessity could make a war *iustum piumque*.⁹ This was quite an unorthodox idea, for one thing alone could produce that condition, namely, the breach of the *foedus* by the enemy and their subsequent refusal to make restitution on the demand of the fetials (*res ex foedere repetitae*), followed by the proper declaration of war (*clarigatio*). According to strict law and right, the Samnites could only reinstate themselves in the favour of the Gods by acceding to all the demands of the Romans, however unjust.

The Romans having been punished for their pride by the humiliation of being forced to pass beneath the yoke, the third phase of the war begins. Livy takes a great deal of trouble to explain that the Romans had acted rightly and religiously in disowning the *sponsio* of the Caudine Forks.¹⁰ In refusing

¹ Liv. vii. 31. 7-32. 1. and viii. 2. 1-3.

² viii. 2. 2.

³ viii. 2. 1-4.

⁴ viii. 23. 1.

⁵ viii. 39. 10-14, cf. 37. 2 for the breaking by the Samnites of some *indutiae*.

⁶ ix. 1. 3.

⁷ viii. 39. 10-14; ix. 1. 1-2. 1.

⁸ Even Appian, who, in his account of this war (*Res. Samn. fr.* 2-5), takes a much more unfavourable view of the Roman dealings, and makes them announce an 'ἀκήρυκτον ἀσπονδον πόλεμον,' only blames them for 'μεγαληγορία' = *superbia*, 4. 2.

⁹ ix. 1. 10.

¹⁰ ix. 5. 1, 8. 6, 9. 19.

to receive the Roman general and officers as *dediti* in full satisfaction, the Samnites were guilty of much the same *superbia* as the Romans had shown in refusing to receive the body of Papius as *deditum*, and they were subsequently punished in exactly the same way, by being sent beneath the yoke.¹ Their action did not amount, any more than had that of the Romans, to a religious sin, but only to a moral one. The Romans, therefore, when they renounced the *sponsio*, reverted to the same state of *iustum piumque bellum* that they had enjoyed before the *sponsio* was made; cf. the words of the Roman general Spurius Postumius, 'dedamur per fetiales nudi uinctique; exsoluamus religione populum, si qua obligauimus, ne quid diuini humanie obstet, quo minus iustum piumque de integro ineatur bellum.'²

This explains the stress laid in the Livian account on proving that the *pax Caudina* was a *sponsio*, not a *foedus*; without such an assumption the reasoning could not be carried out. The older (and undoubtedly truer) view was that a *foedus* had been concluded and subsequently slipped out of by Rome by the surrender of the officers. This view was widespread among the Roman annalists, as Livy himself tells us.³ They were thus faced by an awkward situation. If the Romans had broken the *foedus*, undoubtedly the only logical consequence according to the *fetiale ius* was the punishment and defeat of the Romans. Livy, or the source which he followed, triumphantly solved the problem by denying the *foedus* altogether and substituting the *sponsio*.⁴ Having cleared the Roman character, he could allow the Romans to be finally victorious without a pang.⁵ The older annalists were not quite so ingenious or perhaps not quite so bold. They admitted the *foedus* and its breaking off by Rome, or, in other words, they admitted that Rome had sinned.

But they proceeded to get rid of the consequences of sin by inserting an incident, which is as astounding as it is immoral, and yet which very likely really took place. As soon as the Roman fetial had finished the formula of the *deditio* and placed Spurius Postumius at the disposal of the Samnites, the latter, on the ground that he was now a Samnite and no longer a Roman, turned round and deliberately kicked the Roman fetial who had brought him, in order that by this outrage of a Samnite on the sacred person

¹ Liv. ix. 15. 5. 6. 8.

² ix. 8. 6.

³ ix. 5. 1 sqq. Cf. the note of Weissenborn *ad loc.*

⁴ As the same argument of the *sponsio*, based on the general principle that no magistrate has the right to bind the community without its sanction, did duty on the occasion of the struggle with Numantia in 133 B.C., it is perhaps possible that it was first quoted or first popularised in connexion with the Caudine incident at that time. It is very usual to find the influence of later historical events traceable in Roman legend.

⁵ At this point the *sponsio* tradition and the *foedus* tradition join hands together again. These patriotic annalists were really quite artistic in their complete-

ness. The Roman victory is postulated for the very next year: the Samnites suffer the very same punishment as the Romans—the *sub iugum missio* (ix. 15. 5. 6): the Samnite general Pontius is included, like the Roman general, in the disgrace of his army (§ 8): the town to be relieved is the same—Luceria (2. 3-6 and 12. 9): the very district of the battle is the same, near Caudium (15. 10): all the booty and standards captured by the Samnites are recovered, as well as the 300 hostages (15. 7). All this was the veriest invention of the annalists, who did not even agree among themselves as to the details of their poetic justice: cf. 'in annalibus . . . obscurum esse' (15. 8. 9).

of the Roman ambassador, might be renewed a state of *iustum piumpque bellum* for Rome! 'Haec dicenti fetiali Postumius genu femur quanta maxime poterat ui perculit et clara uoce ait se Samnitum ciuem esse, illum legatum fetialem a se contra ius gentium uiolatum: *eo iustius bellum gesturos*.'¹

Livy himself tells us this story, but as his more cultivated moral sense revolted against this crude sort of justification, he discarded it for the more seemly *apologia* of the *sponsio*.² His whole treatment of the incident is hesitating and doubtful. The speech in which the Samnite Pontius pours scorn on 'this mockery of religion' and 'these childish evasions'³ is one of the finest in Livy, whose obvious sympathy with the Samnite grievance peeps out between every word. His final comment on the story halts between the old religious view and the later, more acutely moral, one: 'Postumius and his companions could now be reckoned absolved of their personal pledge, *perhaps* also the state of its public one.'⁴

Enough has been said to show what an extremely strong champion Livy was for the purely national Roman account of the history of the Samnite wars. He sums up his view in the cruel phrase, 'deos immortales . . . iratos adesse (Samnitibus) propter totiens petita foedera, totiens rupta.'⁵

To return to our original starting-point—the arbitration offered by Rome to Samnium. Taking into account the Roman way of treating history—so uncompromisingly followed in their treatment of the Samnite wars⁶—it is easy to see the motive for inserting this suggestion at this point. Some Greek or Graecising annalist had tried to reinforce the rather scanty case against the Samnites by making them refuse arbitration; in exactly the same way he makes the Romans refuse a Samnite offer of arbitration just before the disaster of the Caudine Forks.⁷ It was an attempt to incorporate the Greek idea as to the impiety of refusing arbitration in the Roman scheme of sin and punishment. But this Greek idea as to arbitration was alien to the Roman mind, and did not take firm hold in the narrative. The supposed fact remained enclosed in the tradition, but the suggestion of impiety that it was meant to convey was soon lost. So we find the allusions to arbitration retained as meaningless accretions in Livy's otherwise strictly logical scheme of sin and punishment. The fact that these references to arbitration are not homogeneous with the rest of Livy's scheme is the best argument for refusing arbitration a place in the Roman system of international law and right.

4. In the last case we had to do with references contained in speeches, which were admittedly manufactured by Livy, and where anachronisms and

¹ Liv. ix. 10. 10, cf. II. 11. 'eo uobis *iustum* in nos factum esse bellum.'

² This version of the *sponsio* is apparently accepted by Cicero as satisfactory from a moral point of view: *de off.* iii. 30. 109.

³ ix. 11. 1-13.

⁴ ix. 11. 13, et illi quidem forsitan et publica, sua

certe liberata fide, ab Caudio in castra Romana inuiolati redierunt.

⁵ x. 39. 15.

⁶ For a criticism of the tradition of the Samnite wars see Pais, *Storia di Roma*, i. 2. p. 226 sq. and 468 sq.

⁷ ix. 1. 7.

Greek influences would find a hold with very little difficulty: in the next case—also drawn from the Second Samnite war—we have to do with narrative. The incident has not undergone any Graecising revision, and shows with the greatest possible clearness the national Roman point of view and its disregard for arbitration.

In 320 B.C. the Greek city of Tarentum is said to have offered herself as arbitress between Rome and Samnium.¹ The Romans utterly reject arbitration, not without circumstances of treachery, and the Roman general expresses the utmost contempt for the idea.² *Yet this contempt is not followed by divine wrath, but by victory.* Nay, in the very moment of treacherously attacking the Samnites, who in the expectation of a settlement had laid aside their preparations, the Roman general claims to have the favour of the Gods: 'auspicia secunda esse, Tarentini, pullarius nuntiat, litatum praeterea est egregie: auctoribus diis, ut uidetis, ad rem gerendam proficiscimur.'³ If historical, the incident completely proves the Roman indifference to arbitration at this period, as had been inferred from the last case; if not historical, it proves almost as much, namely, the attitude of mind of Livy and of his sources—the annalists. Had they been familiar with arbitration as part of international morality, their piety and their unbounded historical inaccuracy could hardly have resisted the temptation to provide some punishment for the general. Whether historical or not, this case equally well shows that where the Greek view (*e.g.* Tarentum) considers arbitration the natural course, the Roman view rejects it.

5. In Plutarch⁴ it is related that Pyrrhus, wishing to gain time for the collection of reinforcements, proposed himself as arbitrator between the Romans and Tarentines. The passage gives a good illustration both of the Greek and Roman view of arbitration. With Pyrrhus the Greek it is an unworthy but normal means for securing time to his own advantage. It is disheartening to find it so often abused by the Greeks in this way. M. Berard⁵ has pointed out that it became quite a recognised custom to interpolate arbitration for unworthy purposes. The Roman general, Labienus, gives an unqualified and rather contemptuous refusal to the proposition, coupling with it the assertion that the Romans were not afraid of meeting Pyrrhus on the field of battle, as though the suggestion of settling the quarrel by arbitration had been a reflection on the Roman courage: 'ἀποκριναμένον δὲ τοῦ Λαιβίνου μήτε διαλλακτὴν Πύρρον αἰρεῖσθαι Ῥωμαίους μήτε δεδουκέναι πολέμιον, κ.τ.λ.'

6. The next case—an alleged abortive attempt at arbitration during the

¹ Liv. ix. 14. 1-16.

² *ibid.* § 5.

³ *ibid.* § 4.

⁴ Plut. *Pyrrhus* 16. The case is quoted by M. Berard, *op. cit.* p. 38.

⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 105. 'Quotiescumque arbitrum permittebant, non hoc illis propositum erat ut litem aequae finirent pacemque et amicitiam inter se renou-

arent. Sed aut bello lassati breues inducias sperabant, quibus vires fessas restituere, socios uel mercenarios conducere, et exercitu iam refecto bellum ex integro restaurare possent, aut exorta inter Graecos noua quadam auctoritate, ad hanc non ut ad arbitrum sed ut ad uindictam ultoremque confugiebant.'

First Punic war—marks an advance into a period where the unbiassed record of Polybius gives us some means of checking the usual Roman narratives. The account of the attempted arbitration—or perhaps it was more in the nature of mediation—is given in Appian, *Res Sic.* i, ‘Καρχηδόνιοι δ’ ἐς Πτολεμαίων ἐπρεσβεύοντο, τὸν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου, βασιλέα Αἰγύπτου, δισχίλια τάλαντα κιχρώμενοι· τῷ δ’ ἦν ἕς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ Καρχηδονίους φιλία, καὶ συναλλάξαι σφᾶς ἐπεχείρησεν ἀλλήλοισ· οὐ δυνηθεὶς δ’ ἔφη χρῆναι φίλοις κατ’ ἐχθρῶν συμμαχεῖν, οὐ κατὰ φίλων.’ Was it the Romans who as usual refused to accept arbitration as the proper way of settling a quarrel? It may be thought that this cannot be taken for granted, because in another passage Appian says that it was the Romans themselves who sent arbitrators to reconcile the revolted mercenaries to Carthage: ‘ἔπεμψαν δὲ (οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι) καὶ διαλλακτῆρας, οἷς οἱ Λίβυες οὐχ ὑπήκουον, ἀλλὰ τὰς πόλεις ἐδήλωσαν ὑπηκόους εἶναι Ῥωμαίων, εἰ θέλοιν· οἱ δ’ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο’:¹ and again, ‘ἔπεμψαν δὲ (οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι) καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς Λιβύην, εἰ δύναιτο διαλύσαι τὸν πόλεμον· οἱ ἐπανῆλθον ἄπρακτοι.’² We have the good fortune to possess the independent narrative of Polybius, by means of which Appian’s can be corrected. His two sentences must be compared with Polybius i. 83. 11: ‘μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν μὲν ἐν τῇ Σαρδονί μισθοφόρων, καθ’ ὃν καιρὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀπέστησαν, ἐπισπωμένων αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον οὐχ προσεδέξαντο, τῶν δ’ Ἰτυκαίων ἐγχειριζόντων σφᾶς οὐχ προσεδέξαντο, τηροῦντες τὰ κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας δίκαια.’ A comparison between the two versions shows the importance of correcting biassed historians, or historians who, like Appian, drew from biassed sources,³ by some such trustworthy account as that of Polybius, if one wishes to trace the history of an idea. From Appian one would naturally suppose that negotiations were opened by the Roman Commissioners with both sides, *i.e.* that an attempt at arbitration or mediation was made, and that it was the mercenaries who refused to listen to any Carthaginian proposals. Polybius gives a very different complexion to the affair. The Carthaginians had obviously nothing to do with the negotiations and were not consulted. This disposes of any idea of arbitration or mediation, for the first step would have been to ask for the consent of both sides. The account of Polybius makes it perfectly clear that the appeal of the mercenaries was not an appeal for arbitration at all, but for protection and actual assistance against Carthage: in other words, it was a suggestion to Rome that here was a convenient opportunity for finishing off an enemy who was already half paralysed. This explains why the Romans based their refusal on the ground of their treaty obligations to Carthage, for while no treaty could possibly stand in their way if they wanted to ask Carthage

¹ App. *res Pun.* 5.

² App. *res Sic.* 2. 3.

³ Appian derived his account of the First Punic war from the Roman annalists of about the time of Valerius Antias. See Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl.*², 3rd half-volume, p. 218, s.v. Appianus(2).

The story of the Roman mediation in Africa is supported only by Zonaras (viii. 17 c) = Dio Cassius, who drew his information for the First Punic war probably from the same sources, the Roman annalists: see note 5 on p. 257.

whether she would accept their services as arbitrators, it would be a most patent obstacle to listening to such an appeal for assistance from her enemies. The statement that the Romans actually sent commissioners to Africa, together with what we know of their subsequent conduct in Sardinia,¹ suggests the fact that perhaps a party at Rome had tentatively *invited* applications for alliance from Utica, though afterwards unable to carry out their programme. The mere desire on the part of the Roman annalists to cloak such an immoral proceeding might account for the change from an appeal for assistance, as Polybius puts it, to an appeal for arbitration, as it appears in Appian. Here again we have discerned the hand of the Roman annalists, with their patriotic bias working under Greek influences. As in the Samnite wars, here too they have caught at the idea of arbitration—so much in the air in their time—in order to transform their narrative to the advantage of their country. This general rule may safely be insisted on—that their evidence alone, unless supported by some more trustworthy narrative, cannot be accepted as proving an instance of arbitration, where such a version is manifestly to the advantage of the Roman character.

To come back to Appian, *res Sic.* 1: since Polybius' account disposes of the suggestion—contained in *res Pun.* 5 and *res Sic.* 2. 3—that the Romans were likely to accept arbitration at this period, we can consider App. *res Sic.* 1 on its own merits, and give it its natural interpretation. According to the order of events given in the text, the Carthaginian embassy arrived at Alexandria, requested financial assistance, and failed to obtain it. Ptolemy, however, did the best he could for them by trying mediation: but he failed. As he could have hardly made even the attempt without the consent of the Carthaginian ambassadors staying at his court, it was probably the Roman senate who put difficulties in the way, and though Appian (and his sources?) neatly evade putting the responsibility of the refusal upon Rome by simply stating that 'Ptolemy was unsuccessful,' it is permissible to see in this passage one more piece of evidence as to the Roman dislike of arbitration and mediation.

7. There is, however, another case, which would seem to support the view that the Romans were prepared to arbitrate and to accept arbitration as early as the First Punic war. There is a statement in Dio Cassius to the effect that when Gaius Claudius crossed to Messina in 264 B.C., he challenged the Carthaginian general Hanno to accept the arbitration of the Romans between Carthage and the Mamertines: 'ὅτι Γαίος Κλαύδιος ἐλθὼν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ἄλλα τε ἐπαγωγὰ εἶπε καὶ ὅτι ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει τῆς πόλεως ἡκει. οὐ γὰρ δεῖσθαι γε Ῥωμαίους Μεσσήνης οὐδὲν καὶ ὅτι εὐθύς, ἐπειδὴν τὰ πράγματα αὐτῶν καταστήσῃ, ἀποπλευσεῖται· καὶ τούτου καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἤτοι καὶ ἀποχωρῆσαι ἐκέλευσεν, ἢ, εἰ δὴ τι δίκαιον εἰπεῖν

¹ Pol. i. 88. 8–12. 'Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Σάρδονος αὐτομολησάντων μισθοφόρων πρὸς σφᾶς ἐκκληθέντες ἐπεβάλοντο πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν προειρημένην νῆσον· τῶν δὲ Καρχηδονίων ἀγανακτούντων ὡς αὐτοῖς καθηκούσης μᾶλλον τῆς τῶν Σαρδῶνων δυναστείας,

καὶ παρασκευαζομένων μεταπορεύεσθαι τοὺς ἀποστήσαντας αὐτῶν τὴν νῆσον, λαβόμενοι τῆς ἀφορμῆς ταύτης οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πόλεμον ἐψηφίσαντο πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους κ.τ.λ.

ἔχουσιν, ἐς κρίσιν καταστῆναι ὥς δ' οὔτε τῶν Μαιερτίνων τις ὑπὸ θεοῦς ἐφθέγγετο καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνοι ἀτε καὶ βία τὴν πόλιν κατέχοντες βραχὺ αὐτοῦ ἐφρόντιζον, αὐταρκες ἔφη μαρτύριον τὴν σιωπὴν παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἔχειν, τῶν μὲν ὅτι ἀδικοῖεν, δεδικαιολογῆσθαι γὰρ ἂν εἴπερ τι ὑγιὲς ἐφρόνουσιν, τῶν δὲ ὅτι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐπιθυμοῖεν· παρρησία γὰρ ἂν, εἴπερ τὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἤρουντο, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἰσχύος αὐτῶν παρουσίας κεχρήσθαι.¹ The challenge is repeated on a second occasion.²

It is difficult to say anything with regard to the historical worth of the challenge to arbitration put into Gaius Claudius' mouth by Dio. There is not a trace of it in Polybius:³ this would be quite sufficient evidence for rejecting it at once, were it not that Polybius' account is, firstly, very much shorter—a mere summary of the principal events at the opening of the war—and, secondly, does not appear to be quite so well acquainted with the Roman versions as Dio's is: for Polybius apparently mixes up the two Claudii, Gaius and the consul Appius.⁴ The question is, how much worth can be given to the extra facts etc. recorded by Dio. The latest writer⁵ on the sources of Dio indicates 'a corrupted annalistic tradition' as the foundation of those of his books which deal with the Pyrrhic and First Punic wars. This is that same biased source which we had supposed responsible for other references to arbitration at this and earlier periods. Now that the reference in this case is worked out to the advantage of Rome is clear from the passage quoted and from the passage⁶ where Dio says that Hanno did not dare to refuse a discussion, lest the Mamertines should blame him, *i.e.* the party who refused to listen to proposals of arbitration would put himself in the wrong; in this case Hanno would be in the wrong, the Romans in the right. On the other hand, everything in Dio is not pro-Roman: for example, he distinctly makes 'one of the Romans' guilty of having treacherously seized the person of Hanno, a sin which Polybius lays at the door of the Mamertines.⁷ Into which of these two categories—namely, that of facts probably true or of those invented by pro-Roman tradition in its own interest—ought the statement about arbitration to be put? Here it seems allowable to draw a rather sharp distinction between facts recorded and motives or words attributed to persons by ancient historians. This distinction has been found necessary to modern researchers in treating the work of Thucydides, Livy, Tacitus, etc. Since Gaius' proposal for arbitration is entered as part of his

¹ Dio Cassius, *fr.* 43. 5. 6.

² *ibid.* § 10 and Zonaras, viii. 9 A.

³ There is no mention of arbitration in the passage describing the negotiations for peace opened by the consul, Appius Claudius (Pol. i. 11. 9), and this attempt must be distinguished altogether from the action of Gaius Claudius.

⁴ So the writer in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl.*² vol. iii. p. 2669, *s.v.* Claudius, no. 18, who points out that § 4 in Pol. i. 11 must be referred to Gaius Claudius, while § 9 and § 11 refers to the consul, Appius Claudius.

⁵ Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 1694, *s.v.* Cassius Dio. Concerning books ix.-xii. he says the basis is 'die verderbte annalistische Tradition.'

⁶ Zonaras, viii. 9 A, ὁ δὲ (= Hanno) καταβῆναι οὐκ ἠθελε· φοβηθεὶς δὲ μὴ οἱ Μαιερτίνου ὡς ἀδικοῦντος αὐτοῦ νεωτερίσῃων κ.τ.λ.

⁷ *Cf.* Zonaras, viii. 9 A, 'συνήρπασέ τις τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, συνεπαινούντων τῶν Μαιερτίνων,' with Pol. i. 11. 4.

speech, and since, after all, the whole incident depends on so comparatively inferior an authority as Dio, since lastly there is a natural explanation of how it arose in the Roman annalists' desire to justify their countrymen in the very delicate question of who was guilty in opening the First Punic war, it does not seem necessary to suppose that the challenge to arbitration is really a fact.

If, however, it is to be accepted, there is only one way of explaining it. It is fairly well established that in the situation before Messina, both Romans and Carthaginians were posing as anxious for peace: thus the Carthaginian general actually sent back the Roman ships that had fallen into his hands,¹ and even Polybius in his very summary account notices that the Roman consul Claudius made overtures for peace. It is obvious also that on neither side was there any sincerity in these offers, except in so far as the Carthaginians would doubtless have preferred to retain Messina without the necessity of fighting Rome for it. In that case Gaius Claudius by his insincere offer of arbitration was really trying to put the Carthaginians into an ambiguous position in the eyes of the Sicilians. We may reasonably suppose that he learnt this unworthy trick from the Greeks of Magna Graecia and Sicily, perhaps from the Mamertines themselves, or more probably from the members of his own fleet, which was composed of vessels from the Greek cities of Naples, Tarentum, Locri, etc. Thus the first contact on a large scale between Rome and Greek communities introduced the idea of public arbitration to the Romans: most of them rejected it, but it was not unwelcome to one of the most wide-awake members of that progressive clan, the Claudii.

Up to this point, the instances considered are supposed to have occurred before the influx of Greek ideas into Rome, the last marking, perhaps, a transition stage. The difficulty has been that all our records of those instances are dated after that influx. The problem was to disentangle the attitude of Roman statesmen, who directed the Roman policy when those instances occurred, from the attitude of later writers who recorded them. Accepting the evidence of these writers where they deal with *facts*, we found that the Roman attitude was to reject arbitration, as in the case of Pyrrhus and Tarentum. On the other hand, their evidence was doubted when it was presented in the form of speeches, either quoted or alluded to, not only because ancient historians here allowed themselves free scope with regard to anachronism and improbabilities generally, but because there seemed a special motive which produced allusions to arbitration. For these allusions all seemed to go back to the same source, the Roman annalists. As they are known, firstly, to have been most biased in their treatment of history and, secondly, to have been extraordinarily influenced by the fashionable Greek writers and writings of their day, it seemed likely that they occasionally used the new

¹ Dio Cassius, *fr.* 43. 8.

idea of arbitration to help out their system of ethical cause and effect in human affairs, where it halted. Yet it would be bold to maintain that the allusions to arbitration in early Roman history have so little foundation in fact, were it not that as soon as we come to the time when Rome began her wars for and with the Greeks, she is found in every instance to reject the idea of arbitration with ever increasing dislike.

8. At the moment when Rome was brought into actual contact with the Greeks of the mainland, she found the principles of arbitration and mediation in the fullest operation among them.¹ These principles ultimately depended on the sense of relationship between the different branches of the Greek nation; they felt themselves obliged to take notice of each other's affairs, because they were all members of the same family.

At the beginning of her career in the east Rome acknowledged this principle of the unity of the Greek nation in a marked way by sending envoys in 228 B.C. to the Aetolian and Achaean Leagues, Corinth and Athens, to explain her dealings with the Illyrians. It would have been natural if she had continued from this point to imitate the Greek attitude. If the Greek nation had the right to be informed as to what happened to one of its members, it had necessarily the further right of expressing its views on any such event, either by coming forward of its own accord to offer an opinion, *i.e.* by mediation, or by waiting until a member should ask for it, *i.e.* by arbitration. But with the exception of the one embassy in 228 B.C., the Romans seem to have had no mind to submit themselves, like any Greek city, to the public opinion of Greece. Not only did the Second Illyrian war of 219 B.C. call forth no similar embassy, but repeated attempts at mediation by neutral states between Rome, the Aetoli and Philip were refused by Rome,² to the great annoyance of the Aetoli, who at last got so tired of the inexplicable attitude of their allies, that they concluded a separate peace through the good offices of Egypt, Rhodes, Chios and Mitylene. Rome therefore found herself obliged to be a little less uncompromising, and when the Epirots applied for permission to make overtures on their own behalf to Philip, the Roman general yielded in his principles to the extent of making this an opportunity for himself meeting Philip on Epirot soil and there concluding peace.³ Yet this hardly amounted to an admission that *neutral* peoples, such as Chios and Mitylene, had the right to interfere with an offer of mediation or arbitration; it was simply allowing an *ally* to make the first step towards opening negotiations.

9. The distinction between neutral and ally was important in Roman eyes. It accounts for her action towards Athens and the Achaeans in the affair of the punitive expedition against the Boeotians in 196 B.C.: legati were

¹ See collection of examples by Victor Berard, *op. cit.* p. 104, and also Pol. iv. 26; v. 24, 28, 100; xi. 4 *et al.*, and Westermann, *op. cit.* p. 201.

res Mac. 3. Traces of similar negotiations are to be found in Liv. xxviii. 7. 14.

³ Liv. xxix. 12. 8.

² The Roman attitude is well rendered in Appian,

sent by Flamininus 'qui testarentur *socios* iusto pioque se bello persecuturum Boeotos.'¹ That this was no true case of arbitration is shown by the fact that no decision was asked for and by the subsequent attitude of the Achaei. For the Boeotians, being thoroughly frightened, sent envoys to Flamininus: 'qui cum in castra non admitterentur, Achaei Atheniensesque superuenerunt. *plus auctoritatis Achaei habuerunt deprecantes, quia, ni impetrassent pacem Boeotis, bellum simul (sc. cum Romanis contra Boeotos) gerere decreuerant.* per Achaeos et Boeotis copia adeundi adloquendique Romanum facta est.'² Here the *ex-parte* attitude of the Achaeans is utterly inconsistent with the office of arbitrator or mediator: and yet it was just this *ex-parte* attitude, which gave their representations value in the eyes of the Roman general, which shows how ignorant the Romans were of the true meaning of arbitration or mediation. In fact, this was the first instance of that system, whereby one especially favoured ally might appear as pleader for a nation, to whom it was bound by alliance or otherwise, a privilege accurately described by the word '*deprecantes*,' expressing as it does the attitude of the advocate and not of the judge.³ The embassy of 196 B.C. is therefore not really parallel to that of 229 B.C.: that was an explanation to all Greeks, *quâ* Greeks: this was an appeal to the Achaeans and Athenians only, *quâ* Roman *amici*.⁴

10. This attitude of Rome was hardly yet fully understood by the Greeks. They still thought themselves entitled to call Rome before a third party in the usual Greek way. This is perfectly clear from the case of the Aetoli and Antiochus. A decree is passed in the Aetolian meeting, summoning Antiochus 'ad liberandam Graeciam *disceptandumque inter Aetolos et Romanos*.'⁵ One party of the Aetolians, at least, meant this in earnest: *cf.* 'Phaeneas reconciliatore pacis et disceptatore de iis, quae in controuersia cum populo Romano essent, utendum potius Antiocho censebat quam duce belli: aduentum eius et maiestatem ad uerecundiam faciendam Romanis uim maiorem habituram quam arma.'⁶ Phaeneas was overruled by Thoas, and Antiochus was elected 'commander,' so that we do not know what Rome would have said to a proposal for arbitration, though it is not difficult to make a very fair guess, arguing from the answer given to Philip of Macedonia eight years before this. When Philip thought to disarm his Roman judges, and professed his readiness to submit his disputes with Greek cities to the arbitration of some power friendly with both, in the usual Greek way, the Roman commissioners replied with some scorn that they did not see how that course would lessen his wrongdoings, or explain away the patent

¹ Liv. xxxiii. 29. 8.

² *ibid.* § 10.

³ Other instances of this are plentiful: *e.g.* Athens and Rhodes on behalf of the Aetoli in 190 B.C., Liv. xxxvii. 6. 4, 7. 4; xxxviii. 3. 7, 9. 3, 10. 2. 4-6; *cf.* xxxviii. 9. 6.

⁴ The *amicitia* with Achaea dates from two years before this incident, Liv. xxxii. 19. 1 *sqq.*; that with

Athens from 229 B.C. according to Zonaras, viii. 19 D, certainly from before 205 B.C., Liv. xxix. 12. 14. For the Boeotian connection with Athens, Achaea and the whole anti-Aetolian league, *cf.* Pol. iv. 15. 1, 25. 1; Liv. xxxiii. 1. 2, xxxvii. 53. 10.

⁵ Liv. xxxv. 33. 8.

⁶ Liv. xxxv. 45. 3. 9.

fact that he had been the first to take up arms: 'si quas quererentur belli clades eae ciuitates, cum quibus bellatum foret, arbitro quo euellent populorum, cum quibus pax utrisque fuisset, se usurum. Consul nihil ad id quidem arbitro aut iudice opus esse dicere: cui enim non apparere ab eo, qui prior arma intulisset, iniuriam ortam, nec Philippum ab ullis bello lacesitum priorem uim omnibus fecisse?'¹ A few moments before the consul had been insisting that claims of the Greek states against Philip for property raided in war should be adjusted by means of *recuperatores*, or private arbitrators:² the contrast of his views on the Greek form of public arbitration is sufficiently striking.

11. By 169 B.C. the attitude of Rome was very clear and very uncompromising. Even Prusias, who was definitely on the Roman side,³ was hardly allowed to plead in the most humble fashion for his brother-in-law, Perseus.⁴ The ambassadors of Ptolemy are advised to abstain from making any attempt at mediation.⁵ In spite of this the Rhodians took upon themselves to demand that Rome should submit her quarrel with Perseus to arbitration.⁶ Livy himself cannot contain his indignation at the idea. The sincerity of the Rhodian offer was certainly open to doubt, owing to the pronounced pro-Macedonian sentiments of a section of the Rhodians, yet it hardly deserved the contempt and scorn that the Roman senate poured on it:

'ne nunc quidem haec sine indignatione legi audiriue posse certum habeo. inde existimari potest, qui habitus animorum audientibus ea patribus fuerit. Claudius nihil responsum auctor est, tantum senatus consultum recitatum, quo Caras et Lycios liberos esse iuberet populus Romanus litterasque extemplo ad utramque gentem senatus consultum indicatum mitti . . . alii responsum esse tradunt, populum Romanum et principio eius belli haud uanis auctoribus compertum habuisse, Rhodios cum Perseo rege aduersus rem publicam suam occulta consilia inisse, et si id ante dubium fuisset, legatorum paulo ante verba ad certum redegisse, et plerumque ipsam se fraudem, etiamsi initio cautior fuerit, detegere. Rhodios nunc in orbe terrarum arbitria belli pacisque agere, Rhodiorum nutu arma sumpturos positurosque Romanos esse? iam non deos foederum testis, sed Rhodios habituros? itane tandem? ni pareatur iis exercitusque de Macedonia deportentur, uisuros esse, quid sibi faciendum sit? quid Rhodii uisuri sint, ipsos scire; populum certe Romanum deuicto Perseo, quod prope diem sperent fore, uisurum ut pro meritis cuiusque in eo bello ciuitatis gratiam dignam referat.'⁷

Here is the Roman manifesto, which informs the Greeks that they can never expect the Roman nation to submit to arbitration like one of themselves.

This is the last instance of an attempt at arbitration during the period when the Romans were becoming acquainted with Greek ideas and practices.

¹ Liv. xxxii. 10. 5-7.

² *ibid.* § 3; see p. 244.

³ Liv. xlv. 10. 12 and see note 4.

⁴ Liv. xlv. 14. 6. 7. Prusiae preces magis quam postulatio fuere profitentis et ad id tempus se cum Romanis stetisse et, quoad bellum foret, staturum: ceterum cum ad se a Perseo legati uenissent de finiando cum Romanis bello, ei se pollicitum deprecatores

apud senatum futurum; petere, si possent inducere in animum, ut finiant iras.

⁵ Pol. xxviii. 1. 8. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Τιμόθεον . . . περὶ . . . τῆς διαλύσεως οὐκ ἐθάβησαν εἰπεῖν Μαρκοῦ συμβουλέσαντος αὐτοῖς Αἰμῖλιον.

⁶ Liv. xlv. 14. 5. 8, cf. 29. 7 and xlv. 23. 11 sqq.

⁷ Liv. xlv. 14. 15.

The general conclusion that may be drawn from all these examples is that public arbitration (except in so far as the *recuperatores* sometimes had acted as public arbitrators) was perhaps known to, but certainly not practised by the Romans before c. 250 B.C. The legend of the Roman arbitration between Ardea and Aricia is the only known case of interstate arbitration in Italy before that date, and there seem more difficulties in the way of retaining this legend than in that of rejecting it, from the point of view of early constitutional history generally. If we except this one isolated instance, there is no example of public intercity arbitration in Italy, prior to the coming in of Greek influences. Thus the famous arbitration of the brothers Minucii between Genua and Viturii is dated 117 B.C.,¹ that between Pisa and Luna 168 B.C.,² between Ateste and Patavium 141 B.C.³ It was the Pyrrhic war and subjugation of Magna Graecia, and the absorption of Sicily, which developed the idea of arbitration in its public form at Rome. Her wars in the east familiarised her with it. Her attitude is extremely curious. From the outset she had a vehement dislike to submit to arbitration or mediation herself, as she finally made quite clear in the Rhodian affair of 169 B.C. At the same time she apparently seized on the idea with avidity in order to apply it to her allies and subjects, not only to those in Greece, where the use of arbitration was indigenous, but to those in other parts of the world. There can be no doubt that Rome herself was the channel by which the practice was introduced to some extent in the west. The Latin cities constantly applied to her to arbitrate between them, and the Roman arbitration between Masinissa and Carthage threatened to become a scandal. In such public entanglements public arbitration of the Greek type was faithfully applied by Rome as a solvent. If she reserved for herself the privilege of being the arbitrating power in almost every case, objections were silenced by the thought that her pre-eminent position would also secure the effectiveness of the verdict; the ancient world might well have submitted to harder conditions for the sake of overcoming this salient problem of public arbitration. Scattered instances⁴ show, in addition, that in the case of friction between private individuals, she suggested something modelled on her own system of private arbitrators, the *recuperatores*, and insisted that her suggestion should be adopted. Carrier and merchant of ideas to the ancient world, she seemed indeed to be bringing the blessings of Greek arbitration to the west, of Italian arbitration to the east.

This might seem to argue a great enthusiasm for the cause of arbitration. Yet a cursory examination of the innumerable cases in which Rome acted as arbitress brings out the fact that the idea involved was not the idea of arbitration pure and simple: it was the idea of protection given to a friend or ally. The Romans scarcely grasped the principle of arbitration as applied

¹ C.I.L. v. 7749=i. 199.

² Liv. xlv. 13. 10.

³ C.I.L. v. 2491.

⁴ See p. 244.

to public affairs, because they were never able to grasp the principle of public neutrality, on which arbitration rests. They neither recognised neutrality as defensible in any other nation, nor did they think themselves justified in assuming such an attitude towards others. Rome did not stand as neutral towards the two powers, between whom she arbitrated, but identified herself with one cause or the other. She considered that she amply fulfilled her duty towards the world, as long as she identified herself with the injured and not with the injurers. The preliminary investigation necessary to allow her to decide which party was the injured often lent a false air of arbitration to her proceedings: but she herself never really claimed to be an arbitress among nations, but an avenger of the innocent: '*regum, populorum, nationum portus erat et refugium senatus*,' says Cicero,¹ and this had been the pretext for many of the most important wars waged by Rome.² If an ally or friend felt himself wronged, the natural appeal was to Rome: if the appeal were in the least justified, often even if it were not, Rome would respond by lending the powerful protection of her name. The most usual course was for her to send an embassy to the offending power demanding cessation of the injury; if this was not effective, to take up arms, though that scarcely ever became necessary. This explains the very unmistakeable threats that often accompany her so-called arbitral decisions. It also explains the general rush—one can call it by no other word—of all nations and cities to the Roman senate to pour out their grievances: the importance of getting there first and of posing as the injured party was so enormous. In cases where two parties appealed simultaneously against each other, there was something more like a true arbitral decision, *e.g.* between the Narthakieis and Melitaeis *c.* 150 B.C.,³ and between Samos and Priene in 136 B.C.⁴ The more usual course of events, when Rome definitely took up an *ex-parte* attitude, is illustrated by the quarrels between Syria and Egypt,⁵ Syria and the Pergamid kingdom,⁶ Rhodes and the Lycians and Carians,⁷ Philip and the Thessalians etc.,⁸ Gentius and Issa,⁹ Masinissa and Carthage.¹⁰

If Rome's attitude towards arbitration, in the form of an appeal in disputed international issues to a neutral and disinterested power, shows that she disliked it, by her refusal to submit to it herself, her attitude in misapplying it to her allies shows that she did not even understand it. In attempting to analyse the causes of this attitude, some stress may be laid on the fact that the practice of arbitration had deteriorated, and was being used

¹ *De off.* ii. 8. 26.

² *Liv.* xlv. 22. 5.

³ Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* i. no. 307.

⁴ Dittenberger, *op. cit.* i. no. 315.

⁵ *Pol.* xvi. 27. 5; xxvii. 19; xxviii. 1; xxix. 27; *Liv.* xxxiii. 39, 40; xlii. 29. 5; xlv. 12. 3, 13. 1-9, 23. 12; *App. res Syr.* 2, 3, 66; *Justin.* xxx. 3. 3-4; xxxi. 1; xxxiv. 3. 1-4; *Val. Max.* vi. 4. 3; *Vell. Pater.* i. 10. 1. 2; *Diod. Sic.* xxx. 2; xxxi. 2.

⁶ *Liv.* xxxii. 8. 9, 27. 1.

⁷ *Pol.* xxii. 5; xxv. 4; xxx. 5. 12; *cf.* xvi. 27; *Liv.* xli. 6. 8-12; xlii. 15. 1; xlv. 25. 6; *App. res Syr.* 44.

⁸ *Pol.* xvi. 34; xxii. 9, 15, 17, 18; *Liv.* xxxix. 24. 6, 33; xl. 2. 7.

⁹ *Liv.* xlii. 26. 2.

¹⁰ *Pol.* xxxii. 2; *Liv.* xxxiv. 62. 5; *App. res Pun.* 67-69.

unworthily by the Greeks themselves by the time that they brought it to the notice of Rome. Perhaps more weight may be put on the idea—still so firmly ingrained in the Roman nation at that time—of the more or less direct intervention of the Gods in public affairs; for if the Gods were prepared to punish the wrongdoers, and to reward the innocent with victory, it was unnecessary and indeed almost impious to relegate the decision to the judgment of any human. But after all the Romans cannot be absolved of allowing mere national prejudice to harden their hearts and blind their understanding: it hurt their pride to submit themselves to the opinion of any other people: they posed as superior to their environment. Had they carried out with sincerity their self-imposed mission of being protectors of the weak, not much harm would have been done, but, as it was, they only succeeded in stifling the sensible and humanitarian practice of arbitration.

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF FINAL -ς IN GREEK ADVERBS.

A SUFFIX -ς, the nature of which has not yet been satisfactorily explained, occurs in several categories of Greek words, in some, καλῶς, κακῶς, αἰθίς, permanent, in others, ἀμφί, ἀμφίς, 'mobile.' Brugmann's suggestion, *G.G.*³. § 259, that the suffix in both these cases is the same, is supported by οὔτω, οὔτως, which must be assumed to stand in the same morphological relation to οὔτος as καλῶς to καλός. Still the question arises why we have οὔτω and οὔτως side by side, like μέχρι and μέχρις, but never *καλῶ beside καλῶς. May the suffix in either case be, after all, of different date or origin, or both? The identity of the -ς with the suffix in δίς, πολλάκις, Brugmann, *ib.* § 295, considers doubtful, though on the face of it one would be inclined rather to class the 'mobile' -ς of μέχρις and πολλάκις together, against the permanent -ς of καλῶς, and analogical extension, Brugmann, *ib.* § 259, would be more reasonably assumed for the former than for the latter.

A similar -ς is found by Kretschmer, *Zur Geschichte der griechischen Dialekte, Glotta*, i. p. 55, in πρὸς, πάρος, beside πρό, προ-τί, pro, and in πός beside πο-τί. I propose to begin with an examination of this family of words. Formally we cannot well separate πρὸς and πάρος from παρά, πέρα, περί, Prellwitz, *Wb.*². p. 362, nor these again from πόρος; throughout we have obviously different case forms of the same stem. If on the one hand we compare φόρος with φαρέτρα, τόλμη *tolerare* with τάλας, τάλαντον, and, on the other, φόρος and δίφρος, Φαρήν, ἄρνός and πολύρρην, we see that there is no objection to taking both πρὸς and πάρος as nominatives, to which the abl. will then be *prōd, Lat. prō. Of this use of the nominative case we have an ex. in *trans*, Walde, *Lat. Etym. Wb.* p. 634; and instances of the same case in adverbial function are probably ἄπαξ, πύξ, Brugmann, *G.G.*³. § 167.

Another possibility, moreover, seems open to us. If, as Streitberg, *I.F.* iii. 305 ff. has made probable, pēs, πώς go back to original *pédos, *ποδός, may we not assume in similar relation to πορός, *πέρος, a hypothetical *πώρ, *πήρ? From consideration of the paradigm of ksham, χθών, gen. kshmás χθονός, dat. χαμαί, we may assume that in monosyllabic words oblique cases with the accent on the ending had the weakest grade of all in the stem: Gk. ποδός, ποδί and Lat. *pedis*, *pede*, therefore, show the introduction of the vowel of the nom. to avoid the difficult combination *bdos, etc., Hirt, *Ablaut*, p. 198, or the

o, e, represent reduced grades of $\bar{o}$, $\bar{e}$, Hirt, *ib.* p. 6. Now when the reduced syllable contains not a stop, like $\pi\acute{o}\delta\acute{o}s$, *pedis*, but a liquid, the consonant could be treated in two ways, as we see from a comparison of $\phi\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\alpha$, $\chi\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\iota$, *kshámi* with $\epsilon\phi\rho\eta\sigma\alpha$, $\delta\acute{\iota}\phi\rho\omicron\varsigma$, *kshmás*. Keeping this in view we can construct the following paradigm:

N. *pór, *pēr	> ? <i>Lat.</i> per.
G. *parós, *prós	> $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma$, $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$.
D. *parái, *prái	> $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\iota$, prae.
A. *parṃ	> $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$.
L. *pér, *péri	> $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$, ? per, $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$.

The question now arises in what relation we are to suppose the forms $\pi\rho\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}$ $\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}$ $\pi\acute{o}\varsigma$ to stand to the above paradigm. To say that to the ✓ per *por* a suffix -*ti* is added is not quite a satisfactory explanation. An examination of certain other 'irregularities' in Greek morphology will, I think, give the clue to a more scientific explanation of these forms. The variation between nom. and oblique cases in *Lat. iter itineris, femur feminis, iecur iecinoris*, Gk. $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\acute{\omega}\rho$ $\sigma\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\eta\pi\alpha\rho$ $\eta\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$, has made us familiar with the fact that a certain number of words had from the beginning, or as far back as we can go, a regular variation of -*r* stem in nom. with -*n* stem in oblique cases, Holgar Pedersen, *r-n stämme*, *K.Z.* xxxii. 240. Instances like Skr. $\check{\text{c}}\acute{\text{a}}\check{\text{k}}\check{\text{r}}\check{\text{t}}$, *caknás*, $\acute{\text{y}}\acute{\text{a}}\check{\text{k}}\check{\text{r}}\check{\text{t}}$, $\eta\pi\alpha\rho$, *iecur*, cf. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 432, show a dental beside the *r* in the nom. (cf. also *Lat. sal* < **sald*, J. Schmidt, *Pluralbildung der idg. Sprachen*, 182, 253). The inevitable result of this existence of different stems side by side in the same paradigm was the intrusion of the stem of the oblique cases into the nom. and vice versa. Examples of this confusion are numerous: *iter itineris, iecur iecinoris*, $\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho$ $\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma$, Pedersen, *ib.* p. 244, $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\acute{\omega}\rho$, O. Isl. *skarn*, Noreen, *Abriss der urgerm. Lautlehre*, p. 78. A further fact in connexion with these nouns is the existence beside them, often in the same language, of vowel stems from the same roots. Thus beside Skr. $\check{\text{c}}\acute{\text{a}}\check{\text{k}}\check{\text{r}}\check{\text{t}}$ we have Gr. $\kappa\acute{o}\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma$, *Lat. penna* < **petna* implies a gen., **petnos*, nom. **petr* beside Gk. $\pi\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\nu$, Eng. feather, Pedersen, *ib.* p. 245. Walde, *Wb.* p. 459. Beside $\upsilon\delta\omega\rho$ $\upsilon\delta\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$, O. Norse *vatn*, are -*o* stems in Skr. *sam-udra-s*, $\upsilon\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma$; beside *Lat. argentum* stands $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$, Pedersen, *ib.* p. 245, and beside Gothic *vepn* the Gk. $\omicron\pi\lambda\omicron\nu$ (so Pedersen, p. 258, with hesitation). We thus see that any original simplicity that may have existed in the paradigmata of these words has got thoroughly obscured; and, further, that the consonantal stem has often, in one way or another, been changed into a vowel stem, or had a vowel stem substituted for it (cf. Brugmann, *Archiv für lateinische Lexicographie u. Grammatik*, xv. p. 3 n. 2). In exx. like *mukhatás*, *agratas*, Whitney², § 1098 b, we may explain the -*tas* as an inorganic suffix due to the working of Analogy. Analogy, to be sure, is a serviceable and willing ally, but no unnecessary burden should be added to its already too heavy load. If we found in Gk. forms like * $\upsilon\delta\rho\alpha\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, * $\sigma\kappa\omicron\rho\alpha\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ doing duty as abl. gen. to $\upsilon\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma$, * $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\acute{o}\rho\omicron\varsigma$, we should, I think, be

entitled to look for their origin in the presence of the parallel nom. forms ὕδωρ, σκώρ, and analyse them respectively as *ὕδρητος, σκορητός, with the ρ of the nom. carried into the oblique cases as in δάμαρτος. And further, if we found obviously locatival forms like *ὕδρατί, *σκορατί, we should be justified in explaining them as similar mixtures of parallel paradigms. So if we found in Gk. a form *πρατί, and wished to bring it into connexion with πόρος, πρόσ (cf. Hirt, *Ablaut*, § 797), a glance at the parallel forms ὕδρος sam-udra-s ὕδωρ, ὄπλον vepn, etc., would surely afford a clue. Now Skr. prāti may doubtless be identified with Gk. προτί, but it may equally well represent *pr̥ti, an identification, by the way, which removes another supposed example of European o=Skr. ä in open syllable. If we can see our way to crediting Gk. with a *πρατί, and remember that at the same time there was also πρόσ with precisely the same meaning, the origin of the actual πρότι becomes immediately clear. But *πρατί is not the form we expect from a paradigm like that of ὕδωρ σκώρ, but *πατί. That both *πρατί and *πατί could very well have existed side by side in the same paradigm, the Lat. *iecinis* and *iecinoris* are enough to assure us. Then as soon as *πρατί had, under the influence of πρόσ, become πρότι, the change of πατί to ποτί was inevitable; and the proportion πρότι : ποτί :: πρόσ : χ could result in only one form, πός.

To all this argument the obvious objection will be: What grounds have we for supposing that a -nt stem parallel to πόρος, para- ever existed? In answer it might be fairly urged that the attested existence of so many parallel -o and -rn paradigms—ὕδρος ὕδωρ water vatn, πτέρον ρεννα, κράνος κέρας, ὄπλον vēpn—affords sufficient ground for the presumption that there were still others, this presumption being at the same time justified by our hypothesis explaining the facts. But apart from this, an -n stem to the √ per por may, I think, be found in πρίν. The vocalisation is difficult, but if we remember that πρεῖν is the Cretan form, and further that Cretan also has side by side πρέσγυς and πρείσγυς, we may perhaps hazard the conjecture that πρίν represents an original *πρέν, cf. Brugmann, *G.G.*³. § 11 An. 2, § 53 An. 2. A more certain proof of a -n stem, or rather of the mixture of -r and -n stems, to this √ is afforded by the Teutonic cognates, O. Icel. forn, M.H.G. vorn, O. Sax. firn, Kluge⁴ (*E.T.*) p. 85. The contamination of the two stems is precisely parallel to that in O. Icel. skarn : σκώρ, and constitutes what I consider remarkably strong evidence for the correctness of the hypothesis that the √ per por had a stem of the same type as that of ὕδωρ, etc.

In epic Greek we have in a large number of words the termination -φι, -φιν doing duty for inst. loc. and abl., Brugmann, *G.G.*³. § 478, *Monro, Grammar of the Homeric Dialect*², § 154 ff., *Delbrück, Vergl. Syntax*, i. p. 274 ff. The termination is attached to -o stems, δακρυόφι, ὀστεόφιν, ἰκριόφιν; to -ā stems, ἐτέρηφι, δεξιτερήφι, βίνηφι, ἡγορέηφι; to diphthongal stems, ναῦφι; and to -s stems, ὄχρεσφι, στήθεσφι, ὄρεσφι, *Monro, ib.* Further, we have also O 463, v 451, the termination -φισ in λικριφίς. Cf. *Giles, Manual*², § 323.

With this latter form of the suffix in Greek we should certainly identify the Skt. instrumental ending *-bhis*, which in its turn is an ablaut variation of the dat.-abl. ending *-bhyas* < **-bhjes*, Strachan, *B.B.* xiv. p. 173. Cf. Thumb, *Handbuch des Sanskrits*, § 232, who, however, seems to be unaware of the existence of *-φis* in Greek. *-φιν* again stands in relation to Skt. *-bhyām* < **-bhiēm*, Hirt, *der indogermanische Ablaut*, § 378. *-φis* and *-φιν*, then, are old case endings, and the origin of the form *-φι* is now clear. Forms like *ὄχεσφιν*, *ναῦφιν* = **vaḥobhyām*, *nāubhyām* were analysed *ὄχεσφι*, *ναῦφι* + the common *-ν ἐφέλκυστικόν*, and thus three case forms *-φι*, *-φιν*, and *-φis* came to exist side by side. The question arises whether *-φis* like *-bhyas* was originally in Gk. confined to the plural or not. Cases like *ἐτέρηφι*, Π 734, *δεξιτερῇφι*, τ 480, *βίηφι*, α 403, Monro, *ib.*, show that *-φι*, *-φιν* at any rate were used where the sense demands the singular. But *θεόφιν*, *δακνύφιν*, *μελάθροφιν*, so far as the vocalism of the stem goes, may equally well be plural and have taken the place of an earlier **θεόφis* etc., after the endings *-φι*, *-φιν*, *-φis* had ceased to be in living use. Cf. Thumb, *Handbuch*, p. 171. In K 458, *ἀπὸ μὲν . . . κυνέην κεφαλῇφιν ἔλοντο*, the sense undoubtedly calls for the plural: *κεφαλῇφι(ν)* then would formally be equivalent to *bālābhiṣ*. In *ὄχεσφι* again we have certainly a plural case form. The *-s* stem is otherwise found only in the plural, *ὄχεα*, Δ 4. 419, Pindar, *Ol.* 4. 20, *Pyth.* 9. 18: *ὄχεσφι* would then be parallel to Skt. *manōbhyaṣ*. *λικριφίς* itself can be nothing else than the inst. of an *-ι* stem **λίκρι-s* corresponding to *matibhiṣ*, cf. Prellwitz, *etym. wb.*² p. 266. The history of the *-φι* endings, then, we may suppose to have been this: *-φis* was originally plural as it is *λικριφίς* and as *-bhyas* is in Skt.; and *-φιν* was dual. Cf. Ebel, *Beiträge z.v. Spr.* ii. p. 70. After *-φι* had been evolved from *-φιν* as explained above, and these endings had dropped out of living usage, the *-s* forms in their turn were analysed *-φι* + a *-s ἐφέλκυστικόν*. Thus popular etymology made *-φιν*, *-φis* variants of one original form *-φι*, and absolutely identical in meaning. Which form was used on any particular occasion would depend entirely on metrical considerations. That *-φis* dropped out of use was due to the circumstance that the presence of so many forms with *ν ἐφ.* adaptable to metrical emergencies pointed to *-φιν* and not to *-φis* as the natural form to use where *-φι* was impossible. This disappearance of *-φis* in favour of *-φι* and *-φιν*, and the total confusion of the latter forms, could of course take place only after *-φis* had come to be felt as *-φι-s*, and a *-s* was at the disposal of the Greek language.

May we claim this *-s* of the instrumental plural as the starting point of forms like *μέχρις*, *πολλάκις*, etc.? The first objection to our doing so would probably be this: If *-φis* failed to maintain its ground against *-φι* and *-φιν* in the paradigm of the same noun, how can it be supposed to have affected forms like *μέχρι(s)*, with which it had no formal connection? An examination of the exx. shows that 'mobile' *-s* is confined to adverbs, *πολλακί-s*, *ἄχρι-s*, *ἀμφί-s*, *εὐθύ-s*, Rhod. *ὅπν-s*, *αἰθι-s*, *πέρντι-s*. The ending *-ιν*, on the other hand, apart from *ἐστι-ν*, *εἰσί-ν*, etc., is a nominal termination. For *πολλάκιν*, *ποσάκιν*, etc.,

peculiar to Doric dialects, cf. Brugmann, *G.G.*³. §§ 249, 296. 10. This division of labour between the two suffixes -ν and -ς, I think, sufficiently explains why, on the supposition that forms like λικριφί-ς furnished one starting point for 'mobile' -ς, this suffix, unlike -ν, disappeared from the noun paradigm. Instrumental plural forms are used in Skt. in adverbial function, *aktubhis*, *ḥānāis*, *ḥanakāis*, *pāracāts*, *tāvisībhis*, Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*², p. 409. Case forms of the dual do not appear to be used in adverbial function, and it is obvious that occasions for such use of the dual must have been rare. We are, therefore, entitled to assume that in the earliest Greek instrumental forms of the λικριφί-ς type were employed in adverbial function, while still standing side by side with the dual -φιν in the paradigm of the noun. -φιν forms were not used as adverbs, and so after these case forms had disappeared from the living language, the -ς of φις, now analysed as -φι-ς, was attached solely to adverbs, while -φιν was retained as a traditional form in the noun paradigm.

Above it is assumed that -φι forms were secondary and deduced from dual and plural -φιν and -φισ. The argument will not suffer if -φι is supposed to have been an original case ending of the singular, differing from the plural only by the addition of -ς to the latter. That the acc. sing. and plur. are related in the same way seems now to be an abandoned theory, but a theory, it appears to me, which derives support from at least one other pair of cases. In the -ο stems, the loc. end in -οι and -οισι in the sg. and plur. respectively, the Skt. form corresponding to the latter ending in *eṣu*. Now in Skt. all the plural cases of mas. and fem. nouns end in -s, with the exception of the gen. and the loc. The gen. termination has cognates in other languages, and is, so to speak, beyond the range of impeachment; but the fact that the loc. suffix in Gk. and Skt. differs only in the final vowel, and that, apart from that vowel, the case in both languages is merely the loc. sg. -ē, -οι+ς, makes it almost necessary to suppose that the -ι in Gk. and the -u in Skt. are later additions. For the existence of a -u suffix in Skt., the presence side by side of agnā and agnāu, bhārat and bhāratu, Thumb, *Handbuch*, § 421, seem to offer evidence. And if we compare πέρυτι and parut, bhāramasi and bhāramas, φέρομες, αἶες and αἶεί, udán and udáni, the evidence for an idg. -i suffix appears equally strong. Aṣveṣu and ἵπποισι then represent an original *ekōis+u, -i. We can now assume that the earliest Greek had a loc. sg. and a loc. plur. in -ο stems differing only in the addition of -ς to the latter. How this fact may have led to an adverbial 'mobile' -ς becomes now clear.

The use, principally in poetry, of the plural in sg. sense is familiar. Cf. Kurt Witte, *Singular u. Plural, Forschungen über Form u. Geschichte der griechischen Poesie*, and *Glotta*, i. 132 ff., Delbrück, *VI. Syntax*, i. p. 162. οἴκοι and οἴκοις, and many other pairs, sg. and pl., of words with local reference, were used in precisely the same sense, and the result was bound to be the 'detachment' of -ς. It was felt that the -ς could be left out or inserted at will, was, in fact, precisely parallel to ν ἐπελκ. Cf. Giles, *Manual of Comparative Philology*², pp. 287, 288.

The formation of the plural case ending by the addition of -s to the sg. is to be seen also, I believe, in the -o stem, dat. sg. -ōi, and the so-called inst. plu. -ōis, açvāis, ἱπποῖς, wilkaïs, Núvlanúis, cf. Giles, *ib.* § 323, Thurneysen, *B.B.* viii. p. 269, n. 2. From this plural form, whatever its original meaning may have been, we can, I think, derive a very important class of adverbs in -s. Bechtel, *Hauptprobleme d. idg. Lautlehre*, in discussing the long diphthong ōu, comes to the conclusion, p. 275, that Doric βῶs is the original form of the nom. sg. and not an analogical formation from the acc. sg. βῶν, and compares Lat. bōs. The Attic βούς he would attribute to the influence of βοφός, βόφες, etc. For Brugmann, on the other hand, *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik*, § 146 Anm., the only certain condition for the disappearance of the second component of ōu is the following -m of the acc. sg. Cases like dhārúṣ, θῆλυς, *fēlare*, at the same time induce him to allow simplification of ēi > ē before any consonant whatever, and partly in final position, agnāú, agnā, etc. J. Schmidt, again, *K.Z.* 27, 305, holds that ēi becomes ē before cons. and when final, while ōi and āi remain. In the discussion of these diphthongs a broad distinction should, I think, be made between those that are medial, as in dhārúṣ, θῆλυς, and those that are final, including here the diphthong followed by -m and -s, and for this reason that the surroundings of the medial diphthong are constant, while those of the final are subject to change. The importance of the variation of the following sounds in determining the appearance of at any rate one diphthong, ev, is well known; the preposition ἐνς before a vowel, Cret. ἐνς ὀρθόν, remains unchanged; before a consonant, ἐς τόν, Brugmann, *G.G.* 74, the second component disappears without a trace. A similar sandhi-variation I assume took place also in the case of the long diphthongs; and so instead of explaining βούς:βῶς as due to analogical influence, I would make βούς:βῶς a parallel to ἐνς:ἐς, so gāús, n. sg.: gās, n. pl. < *gāuns, and the retention of the two forms parallel to the -āu and -ā of the Skt. dual. The disappearance of the second component of a long -i diphthong we have in Lat. *rēs*, *rēbus*, Skt. *rās*, *rām*, *rāsu* < *rēi-. That a Skt. form *rāis has not survived I would attribute to an accident of the same kind as has given us Δία and Ζῆν, but νῆα and ναῦν, instead of assuming with Schmidt that in ēi the -i disappears before consonants and when final, while ōi and āi remain. If we assume rather that variation in the representation of long diphthongs is the result of the existence of 'sentence doublets,' as I have suggested βούς:βῶς is, then we immediately have a satisfactory explanation of Gk. adverbs in -ws. Just as we get from *gōús, according to the following sound, βούς or βῶς, so from the instrumental plural *néuōis we get νέοις or νέως, with, as we should expect, slurred accent, καλώς, etc. This adverbial ending is comparatively rare in Homer, *Monro*², p. 95, but the instrumental plural is used adverbially in Skt., *Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar*², § 1112, and the extension of -ws forms in later Greek need not excite more surprise than e.g. the almost universal use of the -s plural in modern English.

J. FRASER.

THE BATTLE-FIELD OF OLD PHARSALVS.

I.

AMONG the problems of ancient history of which no solution has yet been generally recognized as definitive is that of the battle-field where the struggle between Pompey and Caesar was decided. Colonel Leake's exposition¹ was rejected by von Göler² and Sir William Napier³; and the paper⁴ in which he endeavoured to vindicate it produced little effect. Napier and von Göler constructed theories which were vitiated by the misleading maps on which they worked. M. Léon Heuzey, the chief of the Macedonian mission which collected information for the contemplated final volume of Napoleon the Third's *Histoire de Jules César*, performed a valuable service by preparing, with the aid of an engineer officer, M. Laloy, the first trustworthy survey of the Pharsalian region; but his dissertation on the battle,⁵ published in 1886, was bitterly derided by Colonel Stoffel,⁶ who, however, appropriated his predecessor's maps without acknowledgment. About the same time Mr. Perrin published in the *American Journal of Philology*⁷ a valuable article, which, although it convinced many that the battle had been fought, as von Göler, Napier, and Long⁸ maintained, on the northern bank of the Enipeus, was necessarily written without any knowledge of the works of Heuzey and Stoffel. In the following year the latter published his continuation of Napoleon's history, and announced that he had discovered the site of the battle on the southern bank, adding that any man with a competent knowledge of war could find it for himself in half a day.⁹ It is to be regretted that he did not examine the views of the consummate military expert who differed from him; but he was ignorant of English, and was, perhaps, unaware that Napier had by anticipation condemned the premisses upon which his 'discovery' rested. His great authority, however, as a military topographer gave currency to his opinion; and it was not until 1896 that it was seriously challenged in an interesting article by Professor Postgate, prefixed to his edition of the seventh book of Lucan's *Pharsalia*. Nevertheless Stoffel continued to hold the field until 1907, when Dr. Kromayer brought

¹ *Travels in Northern Greece*, iv. 1835, pp. 477-84.

² *Caesars gall. Krieg*, etc. ii. 1880, pp. 149, 151-4.

³ G. Long, *Decline of the Roman Republic*, v. 1874, pp. 220-1.

⁴ *Trans. Roy. Soc. of Literature*, 2nd ser. iv. 1853, pp. 68-87.

⁵ *Les opérations mil. de Jules César*, pp. 104-35.

⁶ *Hist. de Jules César,—Guerre civile*, ii. 1887, p. 240, n. 1.

⁷ Vol. vi. 1885, pp. 170-89.

⁸ *Decline of the Roman Republic*, v. 213-21.

⁹ *Guerre civile*, ii. 241.

out his *Antike Schlachtfelder in Griechenland*. The rough draft of the present paper had been virtually completed before I saw Dr. Kromayer's book. With relentless logic he demolishes the theories of all those of his predecessors who agree with him in maintaining the claims of the southern against the northern bank of the Enipeus. But, like Stoffel, he does not seem to have known that Napier had ever discussed the question; and even in reply to the arguments of von Göler¹ and Long he has nothing to say.

It seems to me then that a paper which not only offers original remarks, but also represents and examines all the extant theories, may justify its existence. My principal object is to attract the criticism of a distinguished English scholar who is conversant with the whole history of the Civil War, and whose opinion, as he told me before I began to write, is opposed to my own, and also of Dr. Kromayer. If I have myself failed to find the truth, I may nevertheless in this way assist its discovery. I venture to express the hope that scholars who may notice this article will bear in mind that the case against the dominant theory, which places the battle-field on the southern bank of the Enipeus, has been argued by a military critic of the very first order—the historian of the Peninsular War—and that, if they think his reasons and those which I shall independently urge unsound, they will not ignore them.

II.

It is now universally admitted that the Enipeus was the river which bisects the Pharsalian plain, and which is called in M. Heuzey's map and in that of Stoffel the Little Tchinarli. In that part of its course which traverses the plain the river is between 60 and 70 metres broad: it is now sometimes quite dry in summer; and its banks, which are very steep, are 6 metres high.² I have not myself yet been able to explore the district; but, although fuller information is desirable about the country on the northern bank, and especially the rivulets which intersect it, Laloy's survey and the topographical descriptions of Leake, M. Heuzey, Stoffel, and especially Dr. Kromayer, have made it possible to dispense with personal exploration in estimating the various theories which have been already propounded,³ and in endeavouring to determine the main question,—whether the battle-field is to be looked for north or south of the river.

III.

The data furnished by Caesar are as follows. After leaving Metropolis he encamped on a suitable position in the open country (*in agris*)—that is to say, in the Pharsalian plain—intending, as the crops were nearly ripe, to await

¹ He gives reasons (pp. 288-9, *infra*) for rejecting von Göler's theory, but does not answer his arguments against placing the battle-field south of the Enipeus.

² L. Heuzey, *Les opérations mil. de J.C.* p. 105; J. Kromayer, *Antike Schlachtfelder*, etc. ii. 406.

³ Except perhaps that of von Göler. See p. 289, *infra*.

Pompey's arrival.¹ A few days later the united armies of Pompey and Scipio marched southward from Larissa and encamped on a hill.² Caesar on several successive days offered Pompey battle, drawing up his army first at some little distance from Pompey's camp, afterwards close to the hill: Pompey, on the other hand, formed his line on its lowest slopes (*ad infimas radices montis*)—or, according to Dr. Kromayer's interpretation of Caesar's words, in the plain below the hill, but close to his own camp³—apparently in the hope that Caesar would fight on unfavourable ground. Caesar, concluding that Pompey could not be induced to fight on equal terms, determined to break up his camp and keep on the move, with the object partly of facilitating his corn-supply, partly of wearing out Pompey's troops, who were not accustomed to hard marching, and of finding some chance of bringing him to action. He had actually struck his tents when it was observed that Pompey's army had advanced so far from camp that there seemed to be a chance of fighting on ground which was not unfavourable. It was afterwards ascertained that Pompey had been urged to fight by his whole staff.⁴ Pompey had 45,000 infantry as well as 2000 time-expired volunteers in line of battle: his right wing was protected by a stream, which Caesar does not name, but describes as *rius quidam impeditis ripis* (a rivulet with banks difficult to cross),—a description which leaves it doubtful whether the difficulty was due to the height of the banks or to swamps or other impassable ground in their immediate neighbourhood.⁵ Caesar adds that 'for this reason' [that is to say, because his right wing was protected by a stream with *impeditis ripis*] Pompey had posted all his cavalry, archers, and slingers on his left.⁶ Caesar's cavalry were on his extreme right. While the infantry on both sides were engaged Pompey's cavalry charged Caesar's, repulsed them, and began to turn Caesar's right on their right flank. Thereupon six cohorts of infantry, which Caesar had kept in reserve in anticipation of this movement, charged and routed Pompey's cavalry, who immediately took refuge on lofty hills (*montes altissimos*). His archers and slingers, who were thus left unprotected, were destroyed; and the six cohorts, continuing their charge, outflanked his left wing and attacked them in the rear. At the same time Caesar brought his third line into action; and the Pompeian infantry, attacked simultaneously in front and rear, turned tail. They, or some of them (for Caesar's words—*Pompeianis ex fuga intra uallum compulsis*—are naturally not precise), fled into the camp, but did not stop to defend it, and continued their flight. Their example was soon followed by the troops who, before the battle, had been left to defend the camp, and who now fled 'to lofty hills which adjoined the camp' (*in altissimos montes qui ad castra pertinebant*). Pompey, as soon as he saw the Caesarians inside, mounted a horse, galloped out by the rear gate, rode at full speed for Larissa, and presently made his way with an escort of 30 horsemen to the coast. After getting possession of the camp, Caesar began to throw

¹ *B.C.* iii. 81, § 3.

² *Ib.* 82, § 1; 84, § 2; 85, § 1.

³ See p. 282, *infra*.

⁴ *B.C.* iii. 84, §§ 1-2; 85, §§ 2-4; 86, § 1.

⁵ See p. 288, *infra*.

⁶ *B.C.* iii. 88.

up a contravallation round the hill on which the Pompeians had taken refuge; and, as the hill was without water (*quod is mons erat sine aqua*), they began to retreat along the heights¹ towards Larissa. Thereupon Caesar sent part of his troops back to his own camp, ordered part to hold Pompey's, and marched 'by a more convenient route' (*commodiore itinere*) to intercept the fugitives. After advancing 6 Roman miles he formed line of battle, whereupon the fugitives halted on a hill which was washed by a stream. Although it was now near night, he proceeded to cut off the hill from the stream by an earthwork in order to prevent them from getting water in the night. At dawn they descended into the plain and surrendered. Caesar then ordered fresh legions to come from camp to join him, sent those which were with him back to camp, and made his way on the same day to Larissa, which is about 27 Roman miles from the Enipeus.²

It will have been observed that Caesar mentions no place-name in connexion with the battle except Larissa. Appian, however, remarking that Pompey encamped opposite Caesar in the neighbourhood of Pharsalus, and that the two camps were 30 stades, or three Roman miles and three-quarters, apart,³ adds that the armies were drawn up between Pharsalus and the Enipeus;⁴ while, on the other hand, the author of *Bellum Alexandrinum*,⁵ Frontinus,⁶ Eutropius,⁷ and Orosius⁸ all agree that the battle was fought at Palaepharsalus. The author of *Bellum Alexandrinum*, however, in another passage speaks of 'the battle of Pharsalus';⁹ and Plutarch,¹⁰ Polyaeus,¹¹ and Suetonius¹² do the same.

Plutarch says that on the morning of the battle, before Pompey's offensive movement was discerned, Caesar was about to march to Scotussa¹³; that Pompey's camp was 'close to marshy ground' (*πρὸς ἐλώδεσι χωρίοις*)¹⁴; and that Brutus escaped after the battle by a gate leading to 'a marshy spot full of water and reeds' (*πρὸς τόπον ἐλώδη καὶ μεστὸν ὑδάτων καὶ καλάμου*).¹⁵

Frontinus¹⁶ states that Pompey 'posted 600 horsemen on his right flank close to the river Enipeus, which both by its channel and by its overflow made the locality impassable' (*Cn. Pompeius . . . dextro latere DC equites propter flumen*

¹ The MS. reading (*ib.* 97, § 2) is (*diffisi ei loco relicto monte uniuersi iuris eius* (Larisam uersus se recipere coeperunt). As this is nonsense, numerous emendations (H. Meusel, *Lex. Caes.* Tab. Coniect. p. 90), most of which are justly ignored by editors, have been proposed. The one commonly accepted is *iugis eius*; but Meusel (*C.I. Caesaris comm. de b.c.* 1906, p. 342) reads *iugis iis* on the ground that 'this hill [one of the hills on the "massif" of Karadja-Ahmet, selected by Stoffel] has no *iugum*.'

The uncertainty of the text matters nothing; for the fugitives would undoubtedly have retreated as far as possible on high ground in order to keep the tactical advantage which it afforded them.

² *B.C.* iii. 89, §§ 3-4; 93-8.

³ (Πομπήϊος) ἀνεστρατοπέδευσατο Καίσαρι περὶ Φάρσαλον, καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίων ἀλλήλων ἀπείχον (*B.C.* ii. 65).

⁴ (Πομπήϊος) παρέτασε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐς τὸ μετὰ ξυ

Φαρσάλου τε πόλεως καὶ Ἐνιπέως ποταμοῦ, ἐνθα καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἀντιδιέκβηκε (*ib.* 75).

⁵ Caesar . . . Palaepharsali rem feliciter gerebat (*Bell. Alex.* 48, § 1).

⁶ Cn. Pompeius aduersus C. Caesarem Palaepharsali triplicem instruxit aciem (*Strat.* ii. 3, § 22).

⁷ deinde in Thessalia apud Palaepharsalum . . . dimicauerunt (20).

⁸ hic exitus pugnae ad Palaepharsalum fuit (vi. 15, § 27).

⁹ Pharsalici proelii (*Bell. Alex.* 42, § 3). I assume that *Pharsalici* is the adjective of Pharsalus and not of Pharsalia (the Pharsalian district). But for my purpose the point is immaterial.

¹⁰ Caesar, 52; Cato, 55-6; Cicero, 39; Antonius, 8, 62; Brutus, 6; Otho, 13.

¹¹ viii. 23, § 25.

¹² Caesar, 43.

¹³ *ib.* 6.

¹⁴ *Divus Julius*, 35.

¹⁵ Brutus, 4.

¹⁶ *Strat.* ii. 3, § 22.

Enipea, qui et alueo suo et alluvie regionem impedierat . . . locavit), and that Caesar 'posted his left on marshes, in order to avoid being outflanked' (*C. Caesar sinistrum latus, ne circumnueiri posset, admouit paludibus*). Lucan's¹ testimony is substantially the same.

We have seen that four ancient writers, one of whom, the author of *Bellum Alexandrinum*, was in Caesar's confidence, locate the battle-field 'at Palaepharsalus'; and since the author of *Bellum Alexandrinum* in one passage puts it at Palaepharsalus and in another speaks of 'the battle of Pharsalus,' we are entitled to suppose that Appian, who was notoriously a bad geographer, may have used the word Φάρσαλος carelessly for Παλαιφάρσαλος. This supposition is not weakened but strengthened by the fact that three other ancient writers name Pharsalus as the site; for every one will admit that those who mentioned Palaepharsalus meant Palaepharsalus; whereas nothing is more likely than that Pharsalus—the name which was common to the old town and the new—should have been loosely used to designate the former. Unfortunately direct evidence as to the position of Palaepharsalus is wanting. Pharsalus was undoubtedly on the site of Fersala, about 3 miles south of the Enipeus. Stoffel² is inclined to place Palaepharsalus north of the river between Orman Magoula and Lazarbogha, where there are traces of ancient ruins; but this is a mere guess. M. Heuzey³ thought that he had found the site on Kontouri, a hill just south of the Enipeus and about 8 miles west-north-west of Fersala. But Mr. Perrin⁴ has made a serious attempt to solve the problem. Referring to a statement of Strabo⁵—that the Thetidium was 'near both the Pharsali, the old and the new'—he argues that 'the phrase . . . has no particular force and can with difficulty be accounted for if the two Pharsali were close to each other, or if either was very much nearer than the other to the Thetidium, or on the same line with it as the other. It is,' he continues, 'most naturally accounted for if Palaepharsalus and Pharsalus were approximately equidistant from the Thetidium. In that case, as Pharsalus lay at the extreme southern edge of the Pharsalian plains, Palaepharsalus would naturally be looked for towards the north or north-east.' Mr. Perrin then examines a passage in Polybius,⁶ from which it may be inferred that the Thetidium was 'on the right of the Enipeus, on a line running south of Scotussa from Pherae westward, and on a military route between Eretria and Scotussa. These details,' he observes, 'enable us to locate it [about 8 miles] N.E. of Pharsalus, nearly if not exactly where Colonel Leake [and M. Heuzey⁷] identified it with ruins then visible'; and he infers that Palaepharsalus

¹ at iuxta fluuios et stagna undantis Enipei
Cappadocum montana cohors et largus habenae
Ponticus ibat eques

(*Pharsalia*, vii. 224-6).

² *Guerre civile*, ii. 244.

³ *Les opérations mil. de J.C.* p. 133.

⁴ *American Journal of Philology*, vi. 1885, pp. 178-9.

⁵ ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρῃ ταύτῃ καὶ τὸ Θετίδειον ἐστὶ πλῆσιον
τῶν Φαρσάλων ἀμφοῖν, τῆς τε παλαιᾶς καὶ τῆς νέας

(*Geogr.* ix. 5, § 6). This passage alone proves, against the view of Leake, that Palaepharsalus and Pharsalus were not on the same hill, but that their sites were distinct. Moreover, as von Göler observes (*Caesars gall. Krieg, etc.* ii. 151), 'if Old and New Pharsalus had been so closely connected, no writer would have described the battle as "at Palaepharsalus," but simply as "at Pharsalus."'

⁶ xviii. 3, §§ 1-6.

⁷ *Les opérations mil. de J.C.* Pl. vii.

was north of the Enipeus and probably west of 'the main route between Larissa and Pharsalus.' Kiepert¹ places it actually on the road.

Mr. Perrin's arguments appear to me to establish a probability in favour of placing Palaepharsalus, which was, beyond question, entirely distinct from Pharsalus, north of the Enipeus. I engage to raise this probability to certainty.

Nobody will venture to reject the authoritative statement that the battle was fought 'at Palaepharsalus'; and nobody who accepts this statement will deny that Palaepharsalus must have been nearer to the battle-field than Pharsalus, and that the battle-field would not have been named after Palaepharsalus if it had been not only hard by Pharsalus but also separated from Palaepharsalus by the broad and deep river-bed.² But if the battle-field was between Pharsalus and the river, it was almost in contact with Pharsalus; and it is impossible to point to any spot in the neighbourhood on which Palaepharsalus could have been situated. We shall see presently that of the five theories which locate the battle-field on the southern bank the only one which can be defended with the least show of reason is that of Dr. Kromayer; and Dr. Kromayer is obliged to place Pompey's line of battle within a quarter of a mile of Pharsalus. How, then, can he account for the incontrovertible statement that the battle was at Palaepharsalus? He says quite reasonably that he does not know where Palaepharsalus was. But within limits he does know where it was not: he knows that it would be useless to look for it within a quarter of a mile—or a good deal more—of any point on his battle-field, or anywhere in the plain south of the Enipeus nearer than Mount Kontouri. And even if we provisionally accept Stoffel's theory, the difficulty remains.

IV.

Let us first consider the main aspects of the question without regard to topographical maps or to particular theories. All unbiassed commentators, I believe, will agree that any competent military critic who had the foregoing data before him would conclude that only one of them points to the conclusion that the battle-field was south of the Enipeus. The exception is the statement of Appian, which all the commentators who look for the site on the southern bank regard as an article of faith, and on which they resolutely take their stand. 'As,' says Dr. Kromayer,³ 'the identity of the modern Phersala with the ancient Pharsalus is certain, we may hold that there can no longer be any question about the scene of the battle, but that we must place it between the Little Tschinarli and Phersala.' But, as I have shown, we should not be putting any undue strain upon language if we supposed that by Pharsalus Appian may

¹ *Formae orbis antiqui*, xv.

² Stoffel does deny this by implication; and this is one of the weak points of his theory. Professor Postgate justly says (*Class. Rev.* xix. 1905, p. 259): 'No Roman writer that I have examined affords any indication whatever that he placed the battle at or

near Pharsalus or Fersala. You have to go to late Greek writers such as Plutarch, Appian, Dio Cassius, and Polyænus, to find this town apparently associated with the engagement.'

³ *Antike Schlachtfelder*, etc. ii. 408.

have meant Old Pharsalus. Indeed, what he meant matters little. I take my stand upon the authoritative and far more explicit statement that the battle was fought at Palaepharsalus, with which, as I have shown, the statement of Appian is irreconcilable. Every other indication in our authorities would lead us to believe that the scene was north of the Enipeus. We should certainly suppose that the rear-gate through which Pompey rode when he began his flight was the gate nearest to Larissa;¹ and we should doubt whether, in the presence of Caesar's cavalry, it would have been possible for Pompey to ride or lead his horse down the steep left bank of the Enipeus and up its steep right bank—each 20 feet high—without being caught. Moreover, Caesar's object was to bring Pompey to action as soon as possible.² We may fairly assume then that he would not have unnecessarily encamped in a position which Pompey would know that he could not even approach without heavy loss, and from which, if Pompey acted like a rational commander, it would be impossible to approach him without incurring the same fate. Again, Plutarch, as we have seen, states that on the morning of the battle Caesar was about to march to Scotussa. On the theory that the battle was fought south of the Enipeus he intended to cross a river whose banks were 20 feet high with all his equipage under the eyes of Pompey's army.

General von Göler and Sir William Napier separately and independently argued that the battle could not have been fought on the south of the Enipeus. Von Göler³ says that as Pompey came from the north, namely, from Larissa, Caesar may be supposed to have also encamped on the northern side of the Pharsalian plain, in order to prevent him from utilizing the resources of this rich region. M. Heuzey⁴ replies that 'in a civil war . . . in the midst of conquered provinces, which had been long reduced to submission, bases of operations were inevitably less fixed and had less importance . . . everything would be open to the conqueror, while the conquered could not even count upon securing a line of retreat. Caesar had himself . . . compromised his communications by quitting Italy for Epirus, and then Epirus for Thessaly.' Pompey's base, he adds, was not Larissa only; for, according to Appian,⁵ he had secured roads, harbours, and fortresses, by which he could draw supplies from all parts. The most important places for him to hold were the Gulf of Volo [the Sinus Pagasaeus, about 25 miles east of Pharsalus], and especially Demetrias on its northern shore. It was in order to secure the routes leading to this gulf that he determined to choose a position south-east of Caesar's camp, even at the risk of endangering his line of retreat to Larissa. Why, then, we may reasonably ask, did he retreat to Larissa, and thence to the sea, although the road leading to the gulf was twice as short? Cannot M. Heuzey see that nothing was easier than for Caesar, who was the first to reach the Pharsalian plain, to encamp in such a position that he could at once command the roads leading to Pharsalus

¹ See *American Journal of Philology*, vi. 1885, p. 182.

² *B.C.* iii. 84, §§ 1-2; 85, § 2.

³ *Caesars gall. Krieg*, etc. ii. 1880, p. 149.

⁴ *Les opérations mil. de J.C.* pp. 120, 122-3.

⁵ *B.C.* ii. 66.

and all places to which Pharsalus gave access on the south and to the Gulf of Volo?¹

Von Göler argues further that 'the Enipeus would have formed such a serious obstacle to the flight of Pompey's troops and have contributed so greatly to the breaking up of his army that Caesar would certainly not have omitted to mention it. Pompey's cavalry,' he adds, 'after their defeat fled immediately at full speed to the hills. If they had been obliged first to cross the river, the operation would have been very difficult, and it is nowhere mentioned.'² These objections, as we shall presently see, have been turned by M. Heuzey, Stoffel, and Dr. Kromayer; but, if I am not mistaken, they remain valid.

Long³ contends that if Pompey had crossed the Enipeus in order to encamp south of it, Caesar would have mentioned the fact, as it would have been a part of Pompey's arrangements for battle. I do not think that any fair critic who intimately knows the *Commentaries* will underrate this argument.

Napier's arguments, which were stated in a private letter, are summarized as follows by Long⁴:—'It seems impossible that a great general like Caesar should allow Pompeius to pass the Enipeus before him and cut him off from Pharsalus and Scotussa, and also from one of the roads to Thermopylae which endangered Caesar's troops in Greece.⁵ It is also impossible that so great a general as Pompeius would pass the Enipeus in the face of Caesar's army⁶ . . . moreover, Caesar does not mention Pompeius's passage of the river; he does not indeed mention his own, but there was no need of that: it was part of his march when no enemy was near him. Napier [also] asks how could Pompeius fly to Larisa by the Decuman gate, if the battle was fought where Leake places it. Caesar's troops were between him and Larisa. Also, how could the flying men of Pompeius cross the Enipeus and make for Larisa? They would have been cut to pieces before they could cross the river.'⁷

This last objection, as we have seen, has been turned by M. Heuzey, Stoffel, and Dr. Kromayer, all of whom suppose that the beleaguered Pompeians surrendered at the foot of Karadja-Ahmet, south of the river: but of course they

¹ Dr. Kromayer (*Antike Schlachtfelder*, etc. ii. 403), who also quotes Appian and infers that Pompey must have drawn his supplies from the Gulf of Volo as well as from Larissa, argues that his lines of communication must have extended northward and eastward and Caesar's southward and westward. No doubt Pompey had a *dépôt* on the gulf; but in answering M. Heuzey I have answered Dr. Kromayer. Is not the passage in Appian (ἀγορά δὲ Πομπηίου μὲν ἦν πανταχόθεν· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτῷ προδύκνητο καὶ ὁδοὶ καὶ λιμένες καὶ φρούρια, ὥς ἐκ τε γῆς αἰεὶ φέρεσθαι, καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης πάντα ἀνεμὸν αὐτῷ φέρειν) based partly upon a reminiscence of Caesar's description (*B.C.* iii. 47, §§ 3-4) of Pompey's resources at Dyrrachium:—*illi omnium rerum copia abundaret; cotidie enim magnus undique navium numerus conveniebat, quae commeatum supportarent, neque ullus flare ventus poterat quin aliqua ex parte secundum*

cursum haberent? Appian was not so accurate a writer that we must assume that he intended his statement to apply to Pompey's situation after he had reached the neighbourhood of Palaepharsalus.

² *Caesars gall. Krieg*, etc. ii. 1880, p. 152.

³ *Decline of the Roman Republic*, v. 216.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 220.

⁵ See Plutarch, *Caesar*, 43.

⁶ It is hardly necessary to say that the passage of the Trebia by the Romans before the battle of the Trebia and of the Aufidus by the Romans and the Carthaginians before the battle of Cannae prove nothing against Napier's argument. The circumstances in these two cases were utterly different from those in which Pompey and Caesar acted.

⁷ 'Napier,' says Long, 'makes some other objections,' about which Long is silent.

are all obliged to assume that the fugitives had intended to attempt the passage; and Dr. Kromayer¹ himself, in criticizing Mommsen, insists that it would have been impossible to cross the Enipeus in the presence of an enemy. Is it reasonable to assume that Pompey would have placed them in a position in which they might be driven to attempt the impossible?²

Colonel Leake, however, saw nothing absurd in supposing that the routed Pompeians had made good their retreat across the Enipeus; and it is only fair to let him speak for himself. 'What,' he asks, 'was to hinder them? The same route by which they came was still open to them; they had begun their retreat before Caesar attacked and took the fortified camp, which attack, with its consequences, must have occupied some hours. After such a battle, the legionaries of Caesar were not in the best condition to begin a long chase, even were it likely that Caesar should have permitted them to do so, after he had issued his commands that the adverse legionaries should be spared.'³

'What was to hinder them?' 'Nothing,' answers Long,⁴ 'except the impossibility of a defeated army retreating under such circumstances. But there was no retreat to Larisa even under the more favourable circumstances which existed on the real field of battle north of the Enipeus. When Caesar's third line advanced, the men of Pompeius could resist no longer, and they all turned and fled. This is what Leake names a retreat, but it was a disorderly flight, and [on Leake's theory] across a river, if the battle was fought south of the Enipeus.' After the battle Caesar's legionaries, who were in far better condition than those of Pompey,⁵ were as able to pursue as the latter to retreat: at all events they were capable of beginning one earthwork, constructing and completing another, and intercepting their enemies by a six miles' march.

M. Heuzey⁶ lays great stress upon the passage in which Dion Cassius⁷ says that Pompey had not made his camp on a suitable spot and had not secured a line of retreat (οὐδὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ ἐποίησατο οὐδ' ἀναφυγὴν οὐδεμίαν ἡττηθέντι οἱ παρεσκεύασε); but I suspect that Pompey knew his own business better than his rhetorical critic.⁸

Against the view which would discover the battle-field in the southern half of the Pharsalian plain it has often been urged that Caesar would not have described the Enipeus as a rivulet (*rius quidam*); but Stoffel,⁹ who knew how to carry war into the enemy's country, treated the objectors with scorn.

'A combien de discussions oiseuses,' he exclaimed, 'ne se sont pas livrés, soit les commentateurs qui n'avaient pas vu les lieux, soit les ignorants qui les ont visités, sous

¹ *Antike Schlachtfelder*, etc. ii. 410.

² See p. 287, n. 6, *infra*.

³ *Trans. Roy. Soc. of Literature*, 2nd ser. iv. 1853, p. 87.

⁴ *Decline of the Roman Republic*, v. 219.

⁵ *B.C.* iii. 85, § 2.

⁶ *Les opérations mil. de J.C.* p. 123. ⁷ xlii. 1, § 3.

⁸ Dr. Kromayer (*Antike Schlachtfelder*, etc. ii. 419-20) argues that 'from a strategical point of view the position [on Mount Krindir, south of the Enipeus,

which he believes Pompey to have selected for his camp] was not unfavourable'; for, although 'in case of a defeat his retreat to Larissa was, to be sure, cut off,' he could not have made good his retreat in any case. For him the alternatives were victory or annihilation. Besides, who in Pompey's camp admitted the possibility of defeat?

Obviously, whatever this argument may be worth, it is no answer to the objections stated in the text.

⁹ *Guerre civile*, ii. 243-4.

prétexte que le mot *rius*, employé là par César, ne peut vouloir désigner l'Enipée. César n'écrivait ni pour les grammairiens, ni pour les discoureurs de l'avenir; il écrivait comme homme de guerre et non comme géographe. S'il donne le nom de *rius* à l'Enipée, c'est que le jour de la bataille cette rivière n'avait pas plus d'eau qu'un ruisseau. Aussi ne fut-il frappé que de l'obstacle dû à l'escarpement des rives, "impeditis ripis," et de l'appui que cet obstacle donnait à la droite de l'armée romaine.'

It may be freely admitted that Caesar did not write for grammarians, and that he wrote as a soldier and not as a geographer: but he was a grammarian himself; and there is no necessary inconsistency between writing as a soldier and using words in a sense which is not absurd. 'RIUUS,' says Forcellini,¹ 'proprie et uniuersim est aqua fluens, a fonte vel flumine deducta, siue canali manufacto, siue naturaliter decurrens, non tamen ea quantitate ut amnis dici possit'; and he aptly quotes a couplet from Ovid (*Ex Ponto*, ii. 5, 21-2):—

ingenioque meo, uena quod paupere manat,
plaudis, et e riuo flumina magna facis.

Even assuming that the Enipeus on the day of the battle contained no more water than a rivulet,² would not Caesar have given to this famous river its familiar name? Let us examine his *usus loquendi*. If any one will analyze the passages which Meusel has collected in his *Lexicon Caesarianum*³ (s.v. *flumen*), he will find that Caesar mentions twenty-three rivers by name,—the Aliacmon, Apsus, Arar, Axona, Bagrada, Cinga, Danuvius, Dubis, Elaver, Garumna, Genusus, Hiberus, Liger, Matrona, Mosa, Rhenus, Rhodanus, Sabis, Scaldis, Sequana, Sicoris, Tamesis, and Varus; and that in every instance in which he mentions a stream without naming it either it was demonstrably small, or he had not seen it himself, or it was so insignificant that he probably did not know its name.⁴ He occasionally calls a small stream by the generic name of *flumen*, just as in one passage he calls small boats by the generic name of *naues*⁵: but I can find no evidence that any stream of respectable size was ever called a *rius*; and since it was Caesar's habit to name considerable streams, it is not

¹ *Totius latinitatis lexicon*, v. 1871, p. 247. Cf. S. P. Festi *De verborum significatione*, ed. C. O. Müller, 1839, p. 273.

² As Professor Postgate has pointed out (*M. Annaei Lucani de b.c. lib. vii.* p. xxxix), when Stoffel insists that the Enipeus had no more water than a brook, he contradicts Frontinus and Lucan—'two out of the three authorities on whom the identification [of the *rius* with the Enipeus] is based'—who both affirm that it had overflowed its banks. Yet Stoffel himself says (*Guerre civile*, ii. 251) that when it is merely a question of reporting facts Lucan 'shows himself one of the most faithful of historians.'

³ i. 1313-22.

⁴ The following are the streams which he did not name:—(1) the river (Dranse) which flowed past Octodurus (Martigny) into the Rhône (*B.G.* iii. 1, § 6); (2) the river (Stour) on the banks of which he defeated the Britons on the morning after his second

landing in Britain (*ib.* v. 9, § 3); (3) the *rius* which he crossed when he was marching in 54 B.C. to relieve Quintus Cicero (*ib.* 49, § 5); (4) the river in crossing which Indutiomarus was killed (*ib.* 58, § 6); (5) the river near which Labienus defeated the Treveri (*ib.* vi. 7, § 5); (6) the little stream at Avaricum (Bourges) (*ib.* vii. 15, § 5); (7) the two streamlets that encompassed Alesia (Mont Auxois) (*ib.* 69, § 2); (8) the river Aternus, near Corfinium (*B.C.* i. 16, § 2); (9) the *rius* which bounded the camp of Scipio when he was threatened by Gnaeus Domitius (*ib.* iii. 37, § 3); (10) the rivulets near Dyrrachium (*ib.* 49, § 4); (11) the *rius* whose identity we are discussing; and (12) the stream which washed the base of the hill on which the Pompeians, after the battle of Palaepharsalus, made their final stand.

⁵ *B.G.* vii. 61, § 5. Cf. my *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, 1899, pp. 763-5.

unreasonable to suppose that if Pompey's right wing had rested on the famous Enipeus, Caesar would have mentioned the fact.

But, it will be objected, Frontinus says distinctly that Pompey's right flank was 'close to the river Enipeus, which both by its channel and its overflow made the locality impassable.' He does: but Caesar does not; and the difference is considerable. Besides, on any theory the Enipeus was very close to the battle-field; and, assuming that Pompey's right flank rested immediately upon a rivulet, and not upon the Enipeus, the 'overflow' of the latter may have extended sufficiently far to give colour to Frontinus's statement; while if he erred, his mistake is easily explicable.¹ Every one must decide for himself whether it is more likely that Caesar would have departed from his constant habit and used an absurdly misleading word,² or that Frontinus made a very natural topographical mistake, which, for his purpose, was immaterial. Furthermore, this should be borne in mind:—if the *riuus* was not the Enipeus, the battle was not fought on the southern bank; if the Enipeus and the *riuus* were one, the battle may have been fought on the northern bank.

V.

Let us now examine, without repeating these general considerations, the various topographical theories.

1. Colonel Leake³ affirms that 'there can scarcely remain a doubt . . . that the camp of Pompey was on the heights . . . eastward of Férsala [that is to say, on the heights of Krindir], and that of Caesar at or near Hadjéverli, at the foot of the rocky height which advances into the plain three miles westward of Férsala.' Accordingly he believes that Pompey's line of battle extended, with its right resting on the Enipeus, along the road between Pharsalus and Larissa. The *mons sine aqua* he identifies with 'the mountain which rises immediately above the position of the Pompeian camp';⁴ the hill on which the Pompeians made their final stand with one of the hills near Scotussa; and the stream which flowed beneath it with that 'which Herodotus has named Onochonus.'

Stoffel⁵ objects that Pompey would not have had room to form his army on the days which preceded the battle on the lower slopes of the hill on which Leake supposes him to have encamped. Start, says Stoffel, from Mount Anavra—the westernmost of the heights which border the Pharsalian plain on

¹ Mr. Perrin (*American Journal of Philology*, vi. 1885, p. 186) argues that 'in Livy . . . who followed an account of the battle which certainly was not from so competent a witness as Caesar or Pollio [cf. H. Grohs, *Der Werth des Geschichtswerkes des Cassius Dio*, 1884, p. 69], there may have been expressions of local description which led Frontinus to call the stream covering Pompey's right the Enipeus:' at the same time he suggests (p. 189) that Frontinus's statement may be 'his own expansion and elucidation of

Caesar's "*riuus quidam impeditis ripis*,"; but, as he reasonably adds, the Enipeus, being 'the main river of the scene . . . would naturally suggest itself to one indifferent about and ignorant of the exact geographical details.'

² See p. 286, n. 4, *infra*.

³ *Travels in Northern Greece*, iv. 1835, pp. 481, 483.

⁴ *Trans. Roy. Soc. of Literature*, 2nd ser. iv. 1853, p. 87.

⁵ *Guerre civile*, ii. p. 242.

the south—and ride along their base. Not until you approach their eastern extremity—the hill of Karadja-Ahmet—will you find a site on which Pompey could have ranged 50,000 men in line of battle on the lowest slopes. Dr. Kromayer¹ (who defends Leake because he himself adopts one half of his theory) replies that Caesar does not say that Pompey's army was drawn up *on* the slopes of the hill on which his camp stood: according to Caesar, it was drawn up '*ad infimas radices montis* . . . and therefore,' says Dr. Kromayer, 'at the foot of the hill and in the plain.' When, he adds, Caesar remarks that on the morning of the battle Pompey had advanced, contrary to his custom, 'further from the rampart . . . so that there appeared to be a chance of fighting on ground which was not unfavourable' (*longius a uallo* . . . *ut non iniquo loco posse dimicari uideretur*), he makes it clear that the *iniquitas loci* consisted, not in the fact [alleged by Stoffel] that the Pompeians had previously formed upon the slopes of the hill, but in the fact that they had remained too close to their camp. I admit that Caesar's remark, *taken by itself*, might bear Dr. Kromayer's interpretation; but I am inclined to think that Stoffel understood the words *ad infimas radices montis* better than his critic. If Caesar had meant what Dr. Kromayer says, would he not have written *sub ipsis radicibus montis*?² He says that on the days which preceded the battle he 'formed his line at the foot of the hills occupied by Pompey' (*collibus Pompeianis aciem subiceret*).³ Compared with the statement that Pompey regularly formed his own line *ad infimas radices montis*, do not these words prove that Pompey's line was *on* the slopes of the hill?

Let us, however, admit, for the sake of argument, that Stoffel's objection was groundless. Still, it remains certain that the distance *in a straight line* from the point where, accepting Leake's identification of the *mons sine aqua*, Caesar must have begun his march to intercept the Pompeians to the point where he must have finally confronted them, is at least nine miles. That Leake uneasily anticipated this objection may be inferred from his having, in defiance of the *Commentaries*,⁴ supposed Caesar 'to have computed his distance of six miles from the banks of the Enipeus'! How he contrived to persuade himself that the fugitives succeeded in passing those banks unscathed, and that this extraordinary feat was ignored by Caesar, we have already seen.

2. Mommsen⁵ was in some measure impressed by von Göler's arguments, but nevertheless clung to the supposed authority of Appian. His theory was that Caesar encamped on the left bank of the Enipeus near Pharsalus; that Pompey 'pitched his camp opposite to him on the right bank . . . along the slope of the heights of Cynoscephalae'; that, 'as the armies before the battle lay three miles and a half from each other,' the Pompeians could 'secure the communication with their camp by bridges,' but that 'Caesar and his copyists are silent as to the crossing of the river, because this would place in

¹ *Antike Schlachtfelder*, etc. ii. 415.

² Cf. *B. G.* i. 21, § 1; 48, § 1; *B. C.* i. 45, § 6.

³ *Ib.* iii. 84, § 2.

⁴ Cf. J. Kromayer, *Antike Schlachtfelder*, etc. ii. 409.

⁵ *Röm. Gesch.* iii. 1889, pp. 424 and note, 428. (Eng. trans. v. 1894, pp. 258-9, and note, 263.)

too clear a light the eagerness for battle of the Pompeians apparent otherwise from the whole narrative'; that 'the battle was fought on the left bank . . . in such a way that the Pompeians, standing with their faces towards Pharsalus, leaned their right wing on the river'; that 'as soon as the obstinate resistance of the Roman and Thracian guard of the [Pompeian] camp was overcome,' the beaten Pompeians were 'compelled to withdraw . . . to the heights of Crannon and Scotussa, at the foot of which the camp was pitched,' and 'attempted by moving forward along these hills to regain Larissa' until they were forced by Caesar to halt and cut off 'from access to the only rivulet to be found in the neighbourhood.'

Who can wonder that Stoffel¹ characterized Mommsen's account of the battle as a 'récit de pure fantaisie'? It is hardly necessary to point out that Pompey would have found it as hopeless to bridge the Enipeus in the presence of Caesar as the latter found it to repair the bridges over the Allier in the presence of Vercingetorix² and the bridges over the Sicoris in the presence of Afranius;³ that neither Caesar nor his copyists could have had any motive for striving to conceal 'the eagerness of the Pompeians for battle,' especially as their eagerness was 'apparent otherwise from the whole narrative'; that even if the bridge could have been built the disorganized fugitives would have been captured or destroyed in attempting to cross it;⁴ that Pompey would not have expected on the days that preceded the battle that Caesar would be mad enough to attempt to cross the Enipeus in order to attack him; and that Caesar would not have crossed it on several successive days and 'formed his line at the foot of the hills occupied by Pompey' (*continentibus uero diebus ut progredereetur a castris suis collibusque Pompeianis aciem subiceret*);⁵ that if Pompey had attempted to cross the river on the morning of the battle in order to attack Caesar, Caesar would have destroyed his army before the battle could begin; and that Caesar distinctly says that he formed his line before the battle 'on approaching Pompey's camp' (*cum Pompei castris adpropinquasset*),⁶—an expression which he could not have used without absurdity if the camp had been 'on the slope of the heights of Cynoscephalæ' on the further bank of the Enipeus.

3. M. Heuzey differed on one important point from all the writers who agreed with him in placing the battle-field south of the Enipeus:—he refused to identify that river with the *riuus* on which Pompey's right wing rested. Accordingly he was compelled to identify it with the Tabakhana, a stream which rises just north of Fersala, and, flowing in a direction roughly parallel with the Enipeus and from 3 to 4 miles south of it, enters the river which Stoffel calls the Phersalitis, about 13 miles west by north of Fersala. This

¹ *Guerre civile*, ii. 252.

² *B.G.* vii. 35.

³ *B.C.* i. 50.

⁴ Mommsen argues (*Röm. Gesch.* iii. 1889, p. 425, note) that 'the retreat at least of their centre and their right wing was not accomplished in such haste

as to be impracticable under the given conditions,' but admits that the retreat of the left wing 'was not accomplished without severe loss.' But the infantry (*B.C.* iii. 94, § 2) fled all together.

⁵ *B.C.* iii. 84, § 2.

⁶ *Ib.* 88, § 1.

stream, which M. Heuzey describes as a 'large rivulet' (*gros ruisseau*), is, he says, 4 or 5 metres wide,¹ and 'everywhere difficult to cross.'² The battle-field is in his opinion indicated by 14 tumuli in the plain west of Fersala, almost all of which were excavated under his superintendence.³ At the bottom, below interments accompanied by coins and Byzantine pottery, were found layers of cinders mingled with charcoal and white dust, which M. Heuzey regarded as the remains of calcined bones.⁴ He admits that Appian, speaking of the monument which Caesar erected in honour of the brave centurion, Crastinus, implies that the Caesarians who fell were all buried together:⁵ but Caesar did not bury Pompey's dead; and M. Heuzey argues that the inhabitants must have done so. This hypothesis, he remarks, would explain how the tumuli are scattered: they were hastily erected wherever the fugitives fell.⁶ Pompey's camp, he maintains, can only be found at one spot:—'all this part of the chain [of heights which border the plain on the south] is a wall of precipitous rocks; it only opens at one point, about the middle, to form an amphitheatre of gently undulating slopes, called Khaïdharia. The position is just suited for a camping-ground.'⁷ The hill without water which the fugitives were obliged to abandon he identifies with the scarped plateau of Alogopati, which rises high above Khaïdharia on its south, and the hill, washed by a stream, on which they made their final stand, with Karadja-Ahmet. In other words, M. Heuzey, who places the battle-field more than 6 Roman miles west-south-west of the site which Stoffel selected, agrees with him in his choice of the hill washed by a stream!

But although to M. Heuzey this fact, which compels him to set Caesar's testimony aside, presents no difficulty, he admits that his theory is open to one objection. The Tabakhana, he remarks, 'instead of passing along the battle-field, cuts it in two.'⁸ This difficulty, however, is only apparent; for 'the configuration of its [the Tabakhana's] bed and that of the country which it traverses seem to prove that its waters no longer follow their natural and primitive course. Thessaly, and in particular the Pharsalian plain, present other instances of similar changes.'⁹

Yes, but deserted channels remain to attest them!¹⁰ If M. Heuzey could produce the faintest evidence, I should be willing to admit that the Tabakhana might have changed its course in any direction, not involving a miracle, which suited his convenience. He tells us, however, that Caesar's camp was on a spot, now covered by a wood, a little south of the village of Kousgounar, and 6 kilometres from Khaïdharia,—a distance which, as he points out, exactly corresponds to the 30 stades of Appian.¹¹ But what avails this correspondence when the

¹ Dr. Kromayer (*Antike Schlachtfelder*, etc. ii. 406) says that M. Heuzey's estimate is too high, and that the Tabakhana is only about 2 metres broad.

² *Les opérations mil. de J.C.* p. 132.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ *Ib.* pp. 114, 116.

⁵ ὁ Καῖσαρ . . . τάφον ἐξάλρετον ἀνέστησεν ἐγγυς τοῦ πολυανδρίου (*B.C.* ii. 82).

⁶ *Les opérations mil. de J.C.* pp. 117-8.

⁷ *Ib.* p. 133.

⁸ *Ib.* p. 134.

⁹ *Ib.*

¹⁰ *Ib.* pl. vii. The only instance in the Pharsalian plain is that of the Aikli.

¹¹ *Ib.* p. 135.

map shows that Caesar's army, before wheeling into line of battle, would have had to cross the *riuus* which, as M. Heuzey himself insists, is 'everywhere difficult to cross'? As for the tumuli, even supposing that the oldest interments which they contain could be proved to be Roman, the group whose contents are described by M. Heuzey is several kilometres north-west of the alleged battle-field, and therefore obviously far from the line of flight of the routed Pompeians.¹ Furthermore, as Dr. Kromayer² remarks, M. Heuzey places Pompey's camp in a valley between high hills although Caesar places it on a hill: he is constrained to assume that the decuman gate, through which Pompey fled northward to Larissa, looked southward; and the distance from his *mons sine aqua* to the place which Caesar reached *commodiore itinere* is not 6 but 9 miles *in a straight line*!

4. Stoffel, as we have seen, places Pompey's camp on one of the heights of Karadja-Ahmet.³ Let us provisionally accept his statement (with which I agree) that this is the only hill [south of the Enipeus] which corresponds to Caesar's description.⁴ But it does not appear that he took the trouble to examine the country north of the river: he does not, even for the sake of argument, admit the possibility that the battle may have been fought there. Let us see how he is obliged to twist and torture Caesar's text in order to force it, if possible, into some show of agreement with his own theory. Not only does he insist that Caesar designated the Enipeus as a 'rivulet,' but, whereas Caesar says that the Pompeians fled along the crest of the hills (*iugis iis* [or *eius*]), he tells us that their line of flight was marked by 'an extensive hollow' (*une large dépression de terrain*);⁵ and, whereas Caesar makes it clear that when he began the march by which he intercepted the fugitives he started from the earthwork which he was constructing round the waterless hill (*mons sine aqua*), Stoffel is obliged, in order to extend the length of his march to 6 miles, to make him go back without any necessity and start 'from the field of battle' (*du champ de bataille*).⁶ But the most interesting feature of the colonel's map is his delineation of the 'more convenient route' (*commodiore itinere*) by which Caesar marched. Would it have been more convenient first to cross the 'rivulet,' 70 yards wide with its steep banks 20 feet high, and then, after crossing four real rivulets on its right bank, to recross it in order to construct the earthwork which was designed to prevent the fugitives from getting water? And since, in order to get water, it would have been necessary first to descend the steep banks and then to reascend them in the presence of Caesar's troops; since, in order to retreat to Larissa, it would have been necessary to pass those same banks in despite of a victorious army, would the construction of the earthwork have been worth the trouble which it cost? Is it to be wondered at that (to say nothing

¹ Cf. J. Kromayer, *Antike Schlachtfelder*, etc. ii. 413.

² *Ib.* p. 412.

³ Stoffel affirms (*Guerre civile*, ii. 243) that at various points on the right of Pompey's alleged camp

the slopes of the hill show traces of having been artificially scarped, which, if it is a fact, does not prove that the work was done by Pompey.

⁴ See p. 281, *supra*.

⁵ *Guerre civile*, ii. 244.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 250 and pl. 17.

of the anticipatory objections of Sir William Napier and of General von Göler), Mr. Warde Fowler¹ should have remarked that Stoffel 'failed . . . to reconcile his view with Caesar's language'?

5. Last of all comes Dr. Kromayer,² whose theory is virtually a combination of the theories of Leake and Stoffel. Like the former he places Pompey's camp on Mount Krindir;³ like the latter he identifies the hill on which the Pompeians made their final stand with the easternmost hill of Karadja-Ahmet. He supposes that Caesar encamped about half a mile north of the Tabakhana and about two miles and one furlong north-west of Pharsalus; that Pompey's line of battle extended from the Enipeus, which it touched just east of the Larissa road, to a point about a quarter of a mile north of Pharsalus; that the hills to which his cavalry fled were south of Mount Sourla and about two miles east by south of Pharsalus; that the *mons sine aqua* was the hill just east of Mount Sourla, which, as he says, is itself inaccessible on its northern side; that the Pompeians fled thence to Karadja-Ahmet by a long and circuitous route, leading for about a mile and a quarter nearly due south and then gradually winding eastward and north-eastward; and that Caesar marched in the plain along the northern fringe of the hills to intercept them, and, turning Karadja-Ahmet, constructed his earthwork along and close to the southern bank of the Enipeus.

Dr. Kromayer finds no difficulty in supposing that Caesar called the Enipeus a *riuus* in chapter 88 and a *flumen* in chapter 97 without giving the slightest indication that *flumen* and *riuus* were the same. To him this style of writing seems quite natural, and 'is to be explained by the contrast between the broad bed of the river and the small amount of water in the summer.'⁴ He reminds us that Caesar calls the same hill a *mons* and a *collis* in chapter 85, and that the least insignificant of the *flumina* which he mentions in

¹ *Julius Caesar*, 1892, p. 298, note.

M. Heuzey (*Les opérations mil. de J.C.* p. 131) denies that Karadja-Ahmet, surrounded as it is by the Enipeus, can have been the *mons sine aqua*; but this is hardly a valid objection. Karadja-Ahmet is a 'massif,'—a mountain mass; and the particular hill on which, according to Stoffel (pl. 17), the Pompeians were grouped when Caesar began to throw up an earthwork round it, is without water.

² *Antike Schlachtfelder*, etc. ii. 417–20, 424. Cf. W. Drumann, *Gesch. Roms*, ed. P. Groebe, iii. 751.

³ M. Heuzey (*Les opérations mil. de J.C.* p. 131), in criticizing Leake's theory, objects that Mount Krindir is 'covered by sharp rocks, which make it impossible to encamp there.' Dr. Kromayer (*Antike Schlachtfelder*, etc. ii. 417, n. 1), admitting that M. Heuzey's observations are correct in so far as they refer to the summit and north-eastern declivity of Krindir properly so called—the highest and northernmost of the three low hills which are known by that name—points out that on the smaller hills and the plateau-like saddle which connects them with each other and with Mount Sourla there is excellent camping-ground.

Dr. Kromayer (*ib.* p. 418), remarking that Pompey must have drawn his water-supply from the Enipeus, and must therefore have made arrangements for the protection of his water-carriers, argues that one of Plutarch's statements is explained by the hypothesis that Pompey's redoubts (*castella* [*B.C.* iii. 88, §4]) were in the plain between his camp and the river. Plutarch, as we have seen (p. 274, *supra*), says that the camp was close to marshy ground, and that Brutus escaped by a gate leading to a marshy spot full of water. Dr. Kromayer regards this statement as a proof that Brutus had encamped in the redoubt nearest to the river. But Plutarch does not say that Brutus had his own encampment close to marshy ground; he only says that the Pompeian encampment was so situated. Anyhow his statement is obviously consistent with the view that the battle-field was north of the Enipeus.

⁴ W. Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, ed. P. Groebe, iii. 751, n. 4. Mr. A. G. Peskett (*Class. Rev.* xxi. 1907, p. 187) pleads that the Enipeus 'might at one time be a raging torrent, at another a thread of water, in other words, it might at one time be a *riuus*, at another a *flumen*.' Surely not on the same day!

chapter 49 is only 5 kilometres long.¹ I have already observed that Caesar uses the generic term *flumen* of small as well as of large streams; but there is not a single certain instance in which either he or any other writer describes a considerable stream as a *riuus*. Moreover, the dullest reader could not fail to see that the *mons* of chapter 85 was identical with or included the *collis*; whereas the most intelligent would infer *a priori* that the *flumen* of chapter 97 was different from the *riuus* of chapter 88.

I need not repeat objections which apply to Dr. Kromayer's theory in common with the other four. Nor need I insist upon the fact, which I have established,² that on the days which preceded the battle Pompey formed 50,000 men in line of battle on the lower slopes of the hill on which his camp stood, and that he could not have done so on the hill of Krindir. But one may reasonably ask whether Caesar would have said that the hills to which the Pompeian infantry fled 'adjoined the camp' (*ad castra pertinebant*),³ if, after abandoning it, they had been obliged to descend into the plain and move across it for 500 or 600 yards⁴ before ascending the *mons sine aqua*; how he could have said that the circuitous route which Dr. Kromayer traces, and which in its first stage led in a direction opposite to that of Larissa, was towards Larissa; and how he could have divined that the fugitives, if they took this route, intended to cross the Enipeus in the neighbourhood of Karadja-Ahmet, where its banks are far more difficult than higher up,⁵ or, indeed, that they intended to make for Larissa at all. Dr. Kromayer⁶ himself insists that it would have been impossible for them to cross the Enipeus in the presence of Caesar's army: why, then, did they not cross it higher up, as, on Dr. Kromayer's theory, they could have done before Caesar had time to intercept them? Why, indeed, did they attempt to retreat to Larissa at all, seeing that, as the doctor assures us,⁷ by the mere fact of crossing the Enipeus they had made such a retreat utterly desperate?

Still, if I were constrained to believe that the battle was fought south of the Enipeus, I should say that Dr. Kromayer's theory is on the whole less vulnerable than those of his rivals.

VI.

Except a pen-and-ink sketch-plan by Sir William Napier, mentioned by Long,⁸ and based upon erroneous data, the only attempt, so far as I know, that has been made to locate the battle-field on the northern bank is that of von Göler,⁹ who, also, as we have seen, was obliged to use an extremely

¹ *Antike Schlachtfelder*, etc. ii. 411, n. 3.

² See p. 282, *supra*. ³ See p. 273, *supra*.

⁴ See Dr. Kromayer's map (Karte 12).

⁵ L. Heuzey, *Les opérations mil. de J.C.* p. 105.

⁶ 'Diese Überschreitung ist aber eine Unmöglichkeit, wenn der Feind so nahe im Nacken sitzt' (*Antike Schlachtfelder*, etc. ii. 410).

⁷ *Ib.* p. 419.

⁸ *Decline of the Roman Republic*, v. 221.

⁹ *Caesars gall. Krieg*, etc. Taf. xv. Fig. 1. Virtually identical with von Göler's theory is that of Herr K. Seldner (*Das Schlachtfeld von Pharsalos*, 1883). This program is not mentioned in the British Museum catalogue; but its contents are summarized in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, xxxvi. 1885, p. 495.

misleading map. He placed the contending armies between Cynoscephalae and Pharsalus; but M. Heuzey¹ believes that the site which he had in view was the plain of Inéli, between the right bank of the Enipeus and the southern slopes of the hills which extend northwards towards Scotussa. If so, he identified the *riuus* with the rivulet of Orman-Magoula, which M. Heuzey contemptuously describes as a 'maigre filet d'eau . . . que nous avons traversé, au mois de juillet, en mouillant à peine le sabot de nos chevaux.'² In other words, M. Heuzey would argue that this streamlet could not have been called [*riuus quidam*] *impeditis ripis*. But hydrographical conditions were not everywhere the same in Caesar's time as they are now³: the Allier, for instance, which in 52 B.C. was not fordable before autumn,⁴ is sometimes reduced in summer in that part of its course which Caesar describes to a shallow stream; moreover, unless the testimony of Lucan, Frontinus, and Plutarch is to be rejected altogether, either the *riuus* or the Enipeus (if it was the *riuus*) had overflowed its banks.⁵ M. Heuzey, however, argues that if the hill on which the Pompeians made their final stand was near Scotussa, the ancient historians of the Civil War would not have forgotten to mention the battle of Cynoscephalae, which had been fought hard by.⁶ This argument may possibly impress some minds. But M. Heuzey appears to have been momentarily forgetful when he adds⁷ that, as on von Göler's theory Pompey's camp would have protected Scotussa, Caesar would have been unable to execute the movement which he made in order to intercept the fugitives. Surely he could have afforded to disregard Pompey's camp when he had captured it and when its former occupants and Pompey himself were in full flight!

Dr. Kromayer, who,⁸ unlike M. Heuzey, assumes that von Göler's site was opposite Pharsalus, observes that on his theory the battle-field was not between the Enipeus and Pharsalus, and that Pompey's right wing did not rest on 'a brook with steep banks' (*an einem Bach mit steilen Ufern*). But we have seen that the former objection is futile;⁹ and Dr. Kromayer mistranslates the words *impeditis ripis*. Caesar does not say that the *riuus* had steep banks: he only says that its banks were difficult to cross;¹⁰ Dr. Kromayer, however, also objects that in von Göler's plan 'the ridge along which the Pompeians retreated is not to be found'; that 'a hill [he means the *mons sine aqua*] which could be enclosed by an earthwork . . . cannot there be discovered, but only the

¹ *Les opérations mil. de J.C.* p. 125.

² *Ib.* p. 126.

³ See A. Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, i. 27; ii. 56; iii. 3; iv. 19-20.

⁴ *B.G.* vii. 35, § 1.

⁵ See p. 274, *supra*.

⁶ *Les opérations mil. de J.C.* p. 128.

⁷ *Ib.* p. 129.

⁸ *Antike Schlachtfelder*, etc. ii. 410. Dr. Kromayer's map misrepresents von Göler's meaning; for it would lead readers to believe that, according to von Göler, Pompey's army was drawn up across the *riuus* instead of resting its right wing upon it.

⁹ See pp. 275-6, *supra*.

¹⁰ Cf. *B.G.* vi. 34, § 2 (*palus impedita*); vii. 19, § 1 (*hunc [collem] ex omnibus fere partibus palus difficilis atque impedita cingebat non lator pedibus quinquaginta*); vii. 57, § 4 (*is cum animadvertisset perpetuam esse paludem quae influeret in Sequanam atque illum omnem locum magnopere impediret*).

If Caesar had been referring to the Enipeus, would he not have written *altissimis atque praeruptissimis ripis*? Cf. *B.G.* ii. 17, § 5; vi. 7, § 5.

featureless upland of Cynoscephalae';¹ that 'the plain at the foot of the hill, into which Caesar ordered the beleaguered Pompeians to descend, does not there exist, but only the narrow valley of Supli'; and finally that 'it is impossible to understand how Caesar could have got in front of the fugitives *commodiore itinere* and barred their retreat, as there can be no question of such a "more convenient route" in uplands which are everywhere undulating and intersected by small valleys.'² Of these objections the first two seem to me reasonable, though not conclusive, for might not the word *iugum* have been fairly used even of undulating uplands if the fugitives had moved along the line of their highest level,³ and is not Caesar's use of the word *mons*—for instance in his description of the battle of Lutetia⁴—sometimes rather vague? Moreover, the objections do not, apparently, apply to the eastern hills, between Scotussa and Orman-Magoula, which von Göler would seem to have had in view. In regard to the plain, Caesar does not say that it was interposed between Larissa and the hill on which the fugitives made their final stand: he only says that the fugitives, when they were about to surrender, descended into it; and the reader will find a plain west of Mount Karadagh marked on M. Heuzey's map. Whether Dr. Kromayer's last objection is valid against the western hills (between Scotussa and the Larissa road) I cannot say; but, as far as I can judge from the map, it does not tell against the heights between Orman-Magoula and Scotussa.

But the object of this paper is not to gain a controversial victory but to help in finding truth; and I will therefore point out the difficulties which seem to me to beset the search for the battle-field on the northern bank. I labour here under the disadvantage of not having yet explored the ground; and my remarks will be purely tentative. The country on the southern bank, as I have already remarked, has been minutely and lucidly described; but for the northern side, except the maps, we have only the general description of Baron Beaujour.⁵

¹ Dr. Kromayer means, as his plan (Karte 11) shows, the undulating hills between the Larissa-Pharsalus road and Scotussa. He refers to Baron F. de Beaujour (*Voyage mil. dans l'empire Othoman*, i. 1829, pp. 173-4), who observes that 'Entre ces collines [those of "les monts Cynoscéphales"] se prolongent de petites vallées, qui ressemblent de loin aux ondulations de la mer, quand elle est légèrement agitée.' Nevertheless the baron places the battle-field north of the Enipeus.

² Dr. Kromayer also makes these objections against the theories of Leake and Mommsen.

³ In regard to Caesar's use of the word *iugum* see H. Meusel, *Lex. Caes.* ii. 388-9. In *B.G.* vii. 67, § 5, *sumum iugum* was undoubtedly the ridge of very gently sloping heights little more than 40 metres above the plain. See my *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, 1899, pp. 780-1, and C. Jullian's *Vercingétorix*, 1902, pp. 379-82.

⁴ *B.G.* vii. 62, § 9.

⁵ See n. 1, *supra*. M. Heuzey's plan (Pl. vii.) shows no rivulet on the northern bank which can

possibly be identified with Caesar's *riuus* except that of Orman-Magoula. Stoffel's (Pl. 17) shows two small *riui* east and west of the Larissa-Pharsalus road and both within less than a quarter of a mile of it, but *not flowing into the Enipeus*. In Kiepert's *Formae orbis antiqui* (xv.) only the western of these is traced, entering the Enipeus a little more than half a mile west of the road; and the same remark is applicable to Dr. Kromayer's Karte 11, which is based upon the latest information available (see *Antike Schlachtfelder*, etc. ii. 447-8). Stoffel also shows two tiny rivulets terminating abruptly on the lowest slopes of the heights which ascend towards Scotussa and respectively about one mile five furlongs and two miles and a half east of the Orman-Magoula rivulet; while a rivulet which flows south of the Orman-Magoula railway station and joins the Orman-Magoula rivulet just north of the Enipeus and of the site which he selected for Pompey's camp is also marked in his map.

West of the road between Pharsalus and Larissa the battle cannot have been fought; for the only tract in which there is a hill corresponding to the description of that on which the Pompeians made their final stand is in the neighbourhood of Scotussa. M. Heuzey¹ maintains that if the site was north of the Enipeus it must have been in the plain of Inéli. In this case Pompey must have encamped on the lower slopes of the hills which rise towards Scotussa and Cynoscephalae; the *rius* (assuming that it was not the Enipeus) must have been either the Orman-Magoula rivulet or that which joins it just north of the Enipeus and of the site which Stoffel selected for Pompey's camp; and the 'more convenient route' by which Caesar marched to intercept the fugitives would seem to have been that along which Pompey, according to Stoffel, had marched from Larissa to the Pharsalian plain. The objection to this theory is that it apparently conflicts with the statement that the battle was fought at Palaepharsalus; for, as we have seen,² it is unlikely that Palaepharsalus lay so far eastward. If the plain of Inéli is to be discarded, the only alternative is to suppose that Pompey encamped on the lower slopes of the heights near the road between Larissa and Pharsalus; that the *rius* was one of the two small rivulets which are shown in Stoffel's map³ close to the road on its eastern and its western side; and that the *mons sine aqua* was one of the heights north of Tatar. On this assumption Caesar was probably encamped with his rear resting on the Enipeus and commanding the road; and 'the more convenient route' apparently skirted the undulating hills on their north.

Let us try to hold the balance fairly. If the battle-field was north of the Enipeus, we must suppose either that Appian—a notoriously careless geographer—made a mistake, or that by 'Pharsalus' he meant 'Palaepharsalus.' The latter assumption is quite reasonable, for the author of *Bellum Alexandrinum* used *Pharsalici* as a synonym for *Palaepharsalici*; this writer, Frontinus, Eutropius, and Orosius agree that the battle was fought at Palaepharsalus; and it is therefore, as we have seen, incredible that it could have been truly described as 'between [New] Pharsalus and the Enipeus.' Furthermore, we are obliged to assume that, owing to floods, the banks of a rivulet were virtually impassable, and that Lucan and Frontinus were mistaken in saying that Pompey's right wing rested on the Enipeus, unless, indeed, we admit that Caesar described that river as *rius quidam*. Lastly, we must take account of the objection (which, however, seems to me inconclusive) that north of the Enipeus neither a *mons sine aqua* nor 'a more convenient route' can be found.

On the other hand, if we accept the testimony of Lucan and Frontinus, we must suppose that either on the day of battle or shortly before the Enipeus was in full flood, and therefore unfordable. If so, Pompey could not have crossed it without a bridge, which he could not have built, and which, if it

¹ *Les opérations mil. de J.C.* p. 125.

² P. 275, *supra*.

³ *Guerre civile*, Pl. 17. Cf. J. Kromayer, *Antike Schlachtfelder*, etc. Karte 11.

already existed, Caesar would most certainly have mentioned. Or, if the Enipeus was fordable, Pompey would have been obliged to make a causeway¹ (which Caesar would also have mentioned) over the morass which both Frontinus and Lucan describe. Anyhow, if the battle-field was south of the Enipeus, we must suppose (1) that Caesar never mentioned this famous river although it played a most important part in the operations which he described; (2) that the four writers (including the only original authority whose work is extant) who affirm that the battle was fought at Palaepharsalus were mistaken; (3) that Caesar, who was anxious to bring Pompey to action, encamped south of the Enipeus although, in the opinion of a military critic of the highest class, it would have been folly for him to do so, and although he must have known that Pompey would not, unless he had wholly lost his judgement, attempt to cross it in his presence;² (4) that Pompey did, without any conceivable motive, commit this act of folly and dared to transport 50,000 infantry, 7000 cavalry, his slingers and archers, his baggage train, and an enormous camp equipage down steep banks 20 feet high, across a river 70 yards wide, and up steep banks of equal height,—an operation which would have been absolutely impossible unless his engineers had cut down the banks and constructed long sloping roads; (5) that Caesar looked passively on while his enemies were engaged in this equally rash and tedious operation, although he might have cut them to pieces before they could get across; (6) that he then permitted them to seize the road leading from the river to Pharsalus with its southward connexions and the road leading eastward to the gulf of Volo, although he could easily have preoccupied both; (7) that Pompey formed his army in line on several successive days on the slopes of a hill on which the men would barely have had room to stand if they had been packed as closely as sardines in a box; (8) that, although it was Caesar's otherwise invariable habit to name well-known rivers which affected his operations, although in his choice of words he was notoriously a purist, he described a famous river, 70 yards wide, of whose name he cannot be supposed to have been ignorant, as *riuus quidam*, and in another chapter called it a *flumen* without giving the least indication that *flumen* and *riuus* were one; (9) that Pompey, by fleeing through the rear gate of his camp, went out of his way, and that, although he had to cross the Enipeus, he was suffered to escape; (10) that Caesar described certain hills as 'adjoining' Pompey's camp, although in order to reach them from the camp it was necessary to descend into and move across a part of the Pharsalian plain; (11) that he described the first stage of his enemies' flight as 'towards Larissa,' although it was in exactly the opposite direction; (12) that the fugitives went far out of their way in order to attempt the utterly impossible feat of crossing the Enipeus where its steep banks were 20 feet high, in the

¹ Cf. *B. G.* vii. 58, § 1.

² It might conceivably be argued, against Sir William Napier, that Caesar would have refrained from opposing Pompey's passage of the Enipeus because he felt con-

fident of being able to defeat him more decisively in a pitched battle. But would Pompey have reckoned upon such forbearance?

face of a victorious enemy, although they might have crossed it unopposed higher up;¹ and (13) that Caesar made his weary soldiers undergo the laborious task of constructing an earthwork to cut them off from the river although, in order to get water, they would have been obliged first to descend and then to ascend those formidable banks.²

The battle of Palaepharsalus was one of the decisive battles of the world; and the discovery of its site would be a notable gain to historical scholarship. If the hills which skirt the Pharsalian plain are still so far undisturbed that they would disclose their secrets to the excavator,³ would not scholars in every European nation be glad to defray the cost? A small international committee, which Dr. Kromayer would, I hope, be willing to assist, could easily settle the details. I think that they would do well to set their labourers to work first on the north of the Enipeus. If they failed here, they might try the one site on the opposite bank which, even on the hypothesis that Caesar, Pompey, and Pompey's beaten army all behaved in a manner which to a great military critic appeared insane, is not absolutely inadmissible,—the little hill of Krindir.⁴

¹ I need hardly say, however, that if they had done so they would have been intercepted long before they could reach Larissa.

² Unless the river was in flood, in which case no one will argue that they would have dreamed of crossing it.

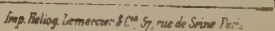
³ M. Heuzey thinks (*Les opérations mil. de J.C.* p. 113) that 'in a highly cultivated district, where the soil is annually disturbed by the plough, it would be impossible to reckon seriously upon the discovery of any material trace of the camps.' But such traces

would be visible below the 'terre végétale,' which alone would be disturbed by the plough. See Stoffel, *Guerre civile*, ii. 243, and my *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, 1899, pp. xxviii-xxx.

⁴ Dr. Kromayer (*Antike Schlachtfelder*, etc. ii. 421, n. 2) thinks that it would be worth while to excavate the two tumuli which are respectively one kilometre north-east of Fersala and one kilometre and a half north-west of Krindir, one of which, he suggests, may be the πολυάνδριον mentioned by Appian (*B.C.* ii. 82).

[NOTE.—The accompanying map is reproduced from Pl. vii. of M. Heuzey's *Les opérations militaires de Jules César*; and the symbols which illustrate the theories of Stoffel and Dr. Kromayer have been copied from their maps—Pl. 17 of *Guerre civile* and Karte 12 of *Antike Schlachtfelder* respectively.]

T. RICE HOLMES.



ON CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA. *STROMATEIS*, I. § 158.

IN 1894, when my friend Professor Joseph Mayor published in the *Classical Review* a series of emendations of the *Stromateis* (continued in 1895), I submitted to him emendations of some of the same passages, which gained his approval. I did not publish them because I thought he would be editing the parts of the text concerned. He has not yet done this, and there is one of the emendations which I should like to publish, because it perhaps gives a simple solution of what distinguished scholars have found a great difficulty.

The passage is *Stromateis*, Bk. I. § 158, p. 416 fin. (see Mayor's article, *Classical Review*, vol. viii., July, 1894): τοῦ γὰρ θυμοῦ τὸ μὲν φιλόνεικον μόνον ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ τοῦ κρατεῖν ἕνεκα τὴν δυναστείαν πεποιημένον, τὸ δὲ φιλόκαλον εἰς καλὴν καταχρωμένης τῆς ψυχῆς τῷ θυμῷ.

The difficult word is *καλὴν*, for which no satisfactory emendation has been offered. This passage, in which courage is associated with τὸ καλόν, is possibly a reminiscence of the well-known Aristotelian association of courage with τὸ καλόν in *Nic. Eth.* III. vi.-vii. Now Aristotle recognises as the principal form of courage the courage shewn where it is possible to make an effort to avert the danger (he is thinking of battle), as opposed to the fearlessness (cf. ἀδείης) which may be shewn in an incurable disease or inevitable drowning, and says accordingly: ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἀνδρίζονται ἐν οἷς ἐστὶν ἀλκὴ ἢ καλὸν τὸ ἀποθανεῖν. It seems probable therefore that we should read τὸ δὲ φιλόκαλον εἰς ἀλκὴν καταχρωμένης τῷ θυμῷ.

J. COOK WILSON.

A FEW NOTES ON ATHENAEVS.

THE following few notes owe their existence to the stimulus of Professor Tucker's *Adversaria* in the last number of the *Quarterly*.

23 A-B εἶρηται δὲ τὸ βρέχειν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πίνειν. Ἀντίφανης.
δεῖ γὰρ φαγόντας δαψιλῶς βρέχειν.

Εὐβουλος

A. Σίκων ἐγὼ

βεβρεγμένος ἦκω καὶ κεκωθονισμένος.

B. πέπωκας οὗτος; A. * πέπωκ' ἐγώ,

μὰ Δία τὸν Μενδαῖον.

Sicon, the chief speaker here, attributes his condition to the potent and seductive wine of Mende, which makes even gods forget propriety (Hermippus ap. Athen. 29 E) and of which Athenaeus writes, 129 D, ἐκλαμβάνει πάλιν ἡμᾶς θερμός τις καὶ ξωρότερος, οἶνων ὄντων ἡμῖν Θασίων καὶ Μενδαίων καὶ Λεσβίων. And to restore the passage, we must, if I mistake not, follow the clue afforded by the second speaker's words πέπωκας οὗτος; when compared with those used in a similar scene of Latin comedy. In the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus (829 sqq.) we have a dialogue between Palaestrio and Lurcio,¹ an under-cellarer (*subpromus*), who has been taking advantage of his opportunities to drink with his superior, Sceledrus.

PA. prompsisti tu illi uinum? LU. non prompsi. PA. negas?

LU. nego hercle uero: nam ille me uouit dicere:

neque ego heminas octo exprompsi in urceum.

neque ille calidum exhibit in prandium.

PA. neque tu bibisti? LV. *di me perdant si bibi,*

si bibere potui. PA. quid tam? LV. *quia enim absorbui;*

nam nimis calebat, amburebat gutturem.

PA. alii *ebrii* sunt, alii poscam potitant.

bono suppromo et promo cellam creditam!

The sense here then should be, 'You have been drinking, you rascal?' S. 'I have *not* been *drinking*. I had to gulp it down. It was Mendaean!' In the fourth line τὸν is meaningless, and all the letters of what we require are in Δία τὸν, which should be Δί' ὄντα. In line 3 οὐ is wanted before πέπωκ'.

¹Lurcio from *lurco*, 'a gourmand,' is a typical name, like Σίκων, an extravagant person, as Meineke has shown, quoting Themistius 34, p. 462, *τίνα*

Σίκωνα οὐκ ἀποφαίνει Σμικρίνην; (a skinflint). I note this, as Lindsay doubts the tradition.

For the lost verb I suggest ἡφάνικ' in the sense of 'putting out of sight.' Compare Lynceus ap. Athen. 132 A ἐν ὄσῳ δ' ἐσθίω, | ἕτερος ἐκεῖν' ἐν ὄσῳ δ' ἐκεῖνος, τοῦτ' ἐγὼ | ἡφάνισα: Alcaeus *ib.* 424 D Ἀλκαῖος ἐν Ἱερῷ γάμῳ κεραυνήσουσιν ἀφανίζουσιν τε 'away goes the liquor,' and Eubulus *ib.* 473 F, where the perfect occurs (quoted by Tucker, *supra* p. 203). My restoration would be then

πέπωκας οὗτος; Σ. <ἡφάνικ', οὐ> πέπωκ' ἐγώ,
μὰ Δί', ὅντα Μενδαῖόν <γ>.

79 C διαμενόντων καὶ μὴ ταχὺ διαλυομένων τῶν σωμαμάτων. σαρκῶν Tucker, building on σύκων. But βρωμάτων seems to account better for the variants, σύκων being a gloss.

349 C (from Machon)

δεινῶς ἀπάδων τῇ λύρᾳ βρυχώμενος.

Acceptance of Prof. Tucker's βρυχώμενος will require ἀπάδων to be ἀπ' ὁδόν. The neuter participle would not be so good.

380 E (Ephippus: Kock ii. 261) ἐνθ' ὄνων ἵππων τε στάσεις καὶ γεύματ' οἶνων. I think Meineke was right in beginning a fresh line with καὶ γεύματ' οἶνων. But the omission of τε leaves a rather clumsy asyndeton, while this asyndeton seems hardly a sufficient reason for an insertion by a copyist. I would propose ὄνων θ' ἵπποστάσεις.¹ The unusual application of ἵππόστασις to ὄνοι caused its corruption and the transposition of the τε. But the phrase belongs to a class of expressions of which the English 'brass fire-irons' is a typical example. A few may be cited: ἵπποβουκόλος (Eur. *Phoen.* 28): ἵπποκόμος τῶν καμήλων, Philostratus *Vita Apoll.* ii. c. 1: Ar. *Plut.* 819 βουθυτεῖ | ὦν καὶ τράγον καὶ κριόν: cf. *An.* 1232 θύειν τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις | μηλοσφαγεῖν τε βουθύτοις ἐπ' ἐσχάrais | κνισᾶν τ' ἀγνιάς. The last two quotations suggest that Ephippus is here writing burlesque.

385 C (Metagenes: Kock i. 705) ἀλλ' ὦ γαθέ δειπνῶμεν κᾶπειτά με πάντ' (πᾶν Cobet) ἐπερωτᾶν. νῦν μὲν seems the most likely supplement of the line. The correspondence νῦν μὲν κᾶπειτα need cause no difficulty. ἀεὶ μὲν . . . καὶ νῦν, Soph. *Ai.* 1 sqq. Cf. Kühner-Gerth, *Gr. Gr.* ii. 2. 271 (5). The post-position, to which the loss is due (δειπνῶμεν νῦν μὲν), is for the sake of emphasis.

424 A (Plato) Professor Tucker's πρόσθες completes the verse. But ὅσους may quite well be exclamatory, and in addition to this it might have ended the line, as in Aristophanes, *Lys.* 200 ὦ φίλταται γυναῖκες, ὁ κεραμῶν ὅσος! Bergk proposed ἐκλεπτέτην, bringing the line into connexion with another fragment of Plato, vi. 229 (Kock, i. p. 633). But this too is uncertain.

J. P. POSTGATE.

¹Cf. Valckenaer on Herod. 129, Lobeck, *Ajax*, p. 128, and *Rhematicon*, p. 346 (two references which I owe to Mr. Richards). I am aware, of

course, that ἵππων στάσις is in itself a perfectly proper phrase.

THE SENATE UNDER AVGVSTVS.

AT the Seventh Congress of German Historians held at Heidelberg in April, 1903, Prof. Eduard Meyer delivered an address on the subject of Augustus, in which he expressed his view that the restitution of the republic was a genuine act of renunciation. 'Augustus desired to dwell among his fellow-citizens not as a ruler but as a citizen, of course as the first among them all, as the princeps, like Camillus and the Scipios of old.' If with Mommsen you described the dual control of Caesar and Senate as a Dyarchy you ought not to forget that 'of the two the Senate in theory held complete predominance,' the Emperor was 'its executive, or as Tiberius expressed it, its servant, the Senate was the master (*dominus*).'

This opinion was naturally subject to considerable criticism. Prof. K. J. Neumann of Strassburg held that Augustus could not have conceived so unpractical a purpose. He merely guided the state through the first stage of an inevitable process of development which eventually resulted in the complete monarchy of Diocletian. It was a practical policy limited on all sides by the exigencies of the political position, a compromise tacitly arranged between Caesar and the Senate, who being wealthy and powerful landowners could not be thrust aside as Julius had attempted. Prof. E. Fabricius of Freiburg disputed from the opposite side Mommsen's theory of a Dyarchy in equilibrium between Senate and princeps, insisting that the Senate was in all important matters wholly dependent on the will of the Emperor.

This remarkable divergence of opinion among the foremost ancient historians of Germany has inspired Dr. Abele¹ to examine the actual part played by the Senate under Augustus. Proceeding chronologically through the period, he records the various *senatus consulta*, legal decisions and other activities of the senatorial body. In this matter he is not always fortified by direct authority. It frequently happens that what is here set down as a *senatus consultum* is merely referred to by Suetonius and Dio Cassius as the work of the princeps. It is perhaps unfortunate that a record of the functions of the Senate should thus in many cases rest solely upon such phrases as 'he commanded,' 'he enjoined,' 'he enacted,' the subject in each case being the princeps. But Dr. Abele is justified in reading his authorities thus. Both Suetonius and Dio write with the experience of the developed empire in their minds: they

¹ *Der Senat unter Augustus*, von Theodor Anton Abele. Ferdinand Schöningh. Paderborn, 1907.

are not always concerned to mark what was a *senatus consultum*, what was a *lex*, or to distinguish these from mere edicts. There are cases in which the growth of this tendency can be discerned even as between Suetonius and Dio; shewing that as time went on, even between the second and third centuries A.D., it was become less important to observe such constitutional niceties. A typical case of that kind occurs in Suetonius, *Vit. Aug.* 43. 'He sometimes employed even Roman knights for theatrical and gladiatorial exhibitions, but not after it was forbidden by a *senatus consultum*.' Dio, liv. 2, simply says, 'he forbade such exhibitions.'¹ Such instances seriously vitiate Dio's authority on constitutional points. Yet the fact remains that a great part of Dr. Abele's record is based upon inference.

Accepting the justice of the inferences and even allowing a margin for error, we find brought together here a remarkable and significant record of senatorial activity. In domestic politics it is the Senate that confers authority upon Augustus and upon the members of his house. When famine, flood and fire cause distress in Rome, the citizens besiege the door of the curia to compel the Senate to confer additional powers upon their champion. The Senate possesses, as of old, the right to dispense from the operation of laws, to define magisterial functions and to initiate legislation. In foreign affairs the sovereignty of the Senate is formally recognised. When ambassadors come from a foreign power they address themselves, as of old, first to a leading senator powerful enough to champion their cause. The leading senator is now of course the princeps. He sends them or introduces them to the Senate to state their case, and then it occasionally happens, as it happened with the Parthian embassy of 23 B.C., that the Senate leaves the decision to Augustus. When Augustus is abroad settling the provinces, he writes a report to the Senate. Judicially the Senate now acts as a high court. When Cornelius Gallus misconducted himself in the government of Egypt, a domain peculiarly Caesar's, his master recalled him and punished him by forbidding his entrance to Caesar's house or Caesar's provinces. The Senate thereupon impeached him without Caesar's will. When Volesus Messalla was guilty of cruelty in the senatorial province of Africa, the princeps, here acting as a senator, brought him for trial before the Senate.

Formally, then, the Senate was by no means reduced to impotence. But another point stands out from Dr. Abele's record. The activity of the Senate visibly decreases as time goes on, even during the life of Augustus, until these pages contain little but privileges for Gaius and Lucius, for Tiberius, Drusus and Germanicus, and until a committee of the Senate sitting in the Emperor's house is competent to conduct affairs. It is true that this impression is heightened by an accident for which Dr. Abele fails to allow. For the latter part of the period the text of Dio, upon whom we have to rely for the bulk

¹G. Ferrero, *Grandeur et Décadence de Rome*, is misled into making this an example of what he calls the 'semi-dictatorial' powers of Augustus, vol. v. p. 146.

of our information, becomes defective; and towards the end foreign wars claim most of the historian's attention. Moreover, the work of reorganisation is complete, the great machine is beginning to run smoothly. If we allow for this, the tendency is lessened, but it remains a distinct tendency justifying the view of Neumann, as given above, that the principate of Augustus was already in process of development, conscious or unconscious, towards monarchy.

Then comes the question, How far is Mommsen's term 'Dyarchy' appropriate to the system of government under the first emperor? That system was, and was meant to be, capable of various interpretations, and remains so to this day. Our answer must depend upon our habit of describing constitutions. Is the present government of England a limited Monarchy, or a Democracy, or a Triarchy of King, Lords and Commons? If, therefore, we are to describe the government of Augustus according to the letter, our answer must be that if it was a Dyarchy, it was a dual sovereignty, not of Princeps and Senate, but of Senate and People as of old, for the Senate still deliberated, the People still elected and legislated. It might be argued that into this dual sovereignty a third power was entering, even formally. After Actium it was ordained 'that in their prayers for the Senate and People the priests should pray also for Caesar' (Dio, li. 19). But if we choose our term according to the spirit, then undoubtedly Monarchy is the only appropriate definition. Not only had the princeps gathered into his hand all functions of the executive, but the deliberative was *de facto* subordinate to him, being indeed to a great extent chosen by him in his three revisions. When the deliberative organ becomes an advisory council selected by one man, and when the electing body merely registers the choice of that single person, then it is monarchy, however temperately conducted. In every sense Dyarchy is an unsatisfactory term.

Much importance attaches, then, to the *lectiones* by which Augustus reorganised his Senate; and on this particular point we have a curious conflict of evidence. Augustus himself says, 'I revised the Senate thrice' (*Mon. Anc.* 8) without indication of dates or the powers upon which he relied for the purpose. Suetonius says (c. 35) he restored the overgrown Senate 'to its original numbers and dignity in *two revisions*, the first by their own choice whereby they chose one another, the second by his own and Agrippa's.' In a subsequent chapter (37) Suetonius mentions a 'board of three to revise the Senate.' But in the course of Dio's record we have apparently no fewer than five *lectiones*: (a) in B.C. 29 in which Augustus τὴν βουλὴν ἐξήτασε and invited unqualified persons to retire, and then since only 50 availed themselves of the chance he compelled 140 more to retire (Dio lii. 42). (b) In B.C. 18 τὸ βουλευτικὸν ἐξήτασε when an elaborate system of cooptation was invented, which also broke down, compelling him to complete the business by choosing additional members up to 600 (liv. 13). (c) In B.C. 13 (liv. 26) 'Hereupon there was another revision (ἐξέτασις) of the Senate.' For many people pleading poverty and other reasons refused to serve. . . . 'So he revised (ἐξήτασε) them

all, he did not trouble about men over thirty-five, but those under this age who had the proper qualification he compelled to join the Senate.' (d) In B.C. 11 (liv. 35) Augustus made lists of all his property just like a private man καὶ τὴν βουλὴν κατελέξατο, and seeing that there was not always a full house he ordered that its decrees should be valid even when fewer than 400 were present. (e) In A.D. 3/4 when he appointed three commissioners to revise them (ἐξέτασται) (Dio lv. 13, Suet. 37).

Mommsen in this conflict of evidence throws Dio overboard altogether. Holding that a *lectio senatus* is part of a census '*re certe quamquam non iure*,' he concludes that the three *lectiones* spoken of by Augustus belong to the three years in which, according to his next words (*Mon. Anc.* 8), he held a census, i.e. 29/28, 8 B.C. and 13/14 A.D. Thus he accepts only one of Dio's five, the others he dismisses as unreal or unimportant. This view not only entails extraordinary perversity on the part of Dio, and rests upon a doubtful theory, but it implies that there were no fewer than seven *lectiones* in the course of the period, some of them extremely drastic and arousing violent opposition. This view Dr. Abele rightly contests. The *lectio* of A.D. 4 being performed by a triumvirate board might very well be omitted by Augustus. He therefore believes that the three *lectiones* mentioned by Augustus are those of 28, 18 and 11 B.C.

But the singular fact in this discussion is that Mommsen relegates to a footnote¹ and Abele altogether omits to mention the *lectio* of B.C. 13, the third of Dio's *lectiones* given above. In Shuckburgh's edition of Suetonius, *Vita Augusti* (1896), the same omission occurs on pp. 79 and 80 where the editor is following Mommsen, while in the Chronological Table prefixed to the book he includes this as the 'Third Reform of the Senate.' It is obvious that by the repair of this omission we alter the whole problem. It no longer seems possible to reconcile Dio's account with the *Monumentum* and we have to choose between Mommsen's plan of rejecting Dio's testimony wholesale, or picking out one of his *lectiones* as an error. The one to be rejected would probably be the fourth (d), because it is introduced casually (*uerbo tantum*—M.) and in connexion with a rearrangement of the rules about a quorum. Moreover, an examination of Dio's text shews that whereas in all the other four cases the word employed for the act of revision is ἐξετάζειν, in the fourth case he employs a different word καταλέγεσθαι. The use of the word ἐξετάζειν four times in so short a space certainly suggests that it is Dio's technical term for a *lectio senatus*.

In the *Monumentum* the Greek for *legi* is ἐπέλεξα. It will be found on examination that Dio uses καταλέγειν and καταλέγεσθαι in four senses: (1) as the technical term for enlisting troops=κατάλογον ποιῆσθαι, *dilectum habere*, e.g. lii. 27, liv. 25: hence (2) to enrol (a) act. καταλέγειν τινα εἰς τὴν ἱππάδα

¹ 'Quod deinde a. 741 Augustus curam egit, adolentes rerum apti et senatorium clauum habentes in

curiam adscribi ne recusarent (54. 26) pro recensu senatus accipi non debet.' *Res Gestae*², p. 35.

καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτικὸν liii. 17; (β) middle—in the account of the *lectio* of 18 B.C. τοὺς ἑξακοσίους κατελέξατο, i.e. he brought in or enrolled them, then as there was further discontent at his selection ἐξετασμὸν αὐθις ἐποιήσατο καὶ τινὰς ἀπαλλάξας ἄλλους ἀντικατέλεξεν = *sublegit*, Dio, liv. 14, so also προσκαταλέγειν = *sublegere*, liv. 26. (3) to make a list (in the general sense), e.g. lix. 9. 'But as the census of the knights revealed a deficiency τοὺς πρώτους ἐξ ἀπάσης καὶ τῆς ἑξῶ ἀρχῆς . . . κατελέξατο, and to some of them he granted the right to wear the senatorial dress even before they held any senatorial office.' (4) To recount, enumerate, give a catalogue of—(active) liii. 6, 12, *et passim*.

It is clear that the word καταλέγεσθαι is not the word used by Dio for a formal scrutiny or *lectio*, accepting some and rejecting others, nor would the word naturally bear the sense of ἐξετάζειν. It is clear also that καταλέγεσθαι τὸ βουλευτικὸν must have a different meaning from καταλέγεσθαι τοὺς ἑξακοσίους (*sc. εἰς τὴν βουλὴν*). I infer therefore that καταλέγεσθαι τὴν βουλὴν means perhaps to call the roll of the Senate, *recitare senatum*. The sentence now runs quite naturally 'senatum recitandum curavit et cum uideret iustum numerum non semper adesse, decreta etiam inter pauciores fieri iussit.' Even if this explanation be unconvincing the use of a word in this passage, distinct from the technical term for a *lectio* used in the four other passages, coupled with the fact that this passage is in other respects suspicious, should lead to the rejection of (d) rather than (c), and the conclusion that the three *lectiones* took place in 28, 18 and 13 B.C. It may be significant that these intervals of five or ten years precisely correspond with the renewal of his *imperium*. We thus get a scheme of lustra by which it appears that on each occasion there was either a *census* or a *lectio* or both:

B.C. 29/28 *imperium in X annos, lustrum, lectio senatus*.

B.C. 18 *imperium in V annos, lectio senatus*.

B.C. 13 *imperium in V annos, lectio senatus*.

B.C. 8 *imperium in X annos, lustrum*.

A.D. 3/4 *imperium in X annos, lectio senatus per III uiratum*.

A.D. 13/14 *imperium in X annos, lustrum*.

The year 11, it will be observed, lies outside this scheme.

While it is thus possible to reconcile the account of Dio with that of the *Monumentum*, it is not possible to accept the version of Suetonius. The beginning of his narrative suggests that he is speaking of the first *lectio* which reduced the number of the Senate from over a thousand to eight hundred. This, he says, was done in 'two *lectiones*, in the first of which a system of cooptation was employed, the second was performed by himself and Agrippa,' precisely reversing Dio's account of the first two *lectiones*. He goes on to repeat this reversal in the next sentence, referring here to the contemporary authority of Cremutius Cordus. It is evidently a simple mistake due to the system on which Suetonius compiled his biographies. He refers to a number of authorities, the *Monumentum* among them, flying from one to another in

his task of rearranging his facts '*non per tempora sed per species.*' Confusion of date and order are likely to arise in a work of this kind.

Next when we proceed to enquire by what right the princeps carried out these revisions, we are met with another conflict of evidence. Dio says of the first that he did it as censor, *τιμητευσας σὺν τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ*, lii. 42, which is of course a sheer blunder; for Augustus, as Dio elsewhere admits and Suetonius asserts, was never censor. Abele argues that all these *lectiones* were performed *ensoria potestate* and it is true that Augustus might hold *ensoria potestas* without being censor, as he held *tribunicia potestas* without being tribune. Dio's statement to this effect is explicit enough (liv. 10, *τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν τῶν τιμητῶν*). In this case he is supported as to the lustrum of 29/28 by an inscr. from the 'Fasti Venusini,' *C.I.L.* ix. 422, 'Imp. Caesar VI. M. Agrippa II. (cos); idem *ensoria potest(ate) lustrum fecer(unt).*' Neither Suetonius nor Augustus himself gives any direct indication of the powers by which *lectiones* were performed. But in the case of the census which is even more particularly the work of the censorship, Suetonius says (c. 27), 'Recepit et morum legumque regimen aequae perpetuum, quo iure quamquam sine censurae honore censum tamen populi ter egit: primum ac tertium cum collega, medium solus.' To which the *Mon. Anc.* (c. 6) supplies a direct negative. He never accepted this *cura morum legumque*, though it was offered three times. Suetonius says that it was *perpetuum*, Dio that it was for five years. The *Mon. Anc.* seems to state clearly enough (c. 8) its author's view of the powers by which he performed the census. The first was done 'in consulatu sexto,' the second and third 'consulari cum imperio,' conferred apparently for this purpose. In this singular conflict we should have no hesitation in rejecting the evidence of Dio and Suetonius where they are directly controverted by the words of Augustus. Again and again both these writers attribute to Augustus powers which he had, as he says, refused, and the explanation is simple. The decrees of the Senate were on record, the Emperor's refusal of them was not. Hence, it is only the first census which causes perplexity, for here Dio is supported by the inscription quoted above in saying that *ensoria potestas* was granted or assumed for this purpose. Moreover, the phrase of the *Monumentum*, 'in consulatu sexto,' is not a direct denial of *ensoria potestas* and may be only an indication of date.

Any satisfactory solution must explain not only the truth of what happened, but how our authorities came to make their mistakes and contradictions. It is not sufficient merely to reject the testimony of Dio and Suetonius. Such an explanation seems to lie in the fact that all these extraordinary functions were the subject of special *leges*. Now such a *lex* would not contain the words '*ensoriam potestatem habeto*,' but would define the tasks to be accomplished. With the task of *lectio* or *census* there would be bound up other censorial functions relating to *mores legesque*. Thus, in saying that he rejected the *cura morum* (c. 6) he adds, 'but what the Senate then desired me to arrange I accomplished by virtue of the tribunician power.' So here, while rejecting the

censoria potestas, he does what is required by the consular power. The law might be quoted briefly by historians as conferring the *cura morum* or the *censoria potestas*, and, as the duties assigned were after all undoubtedly performed, the historians would have no reason to question, unless they were very punctilious, that Augustus had accepted the office as well as the duties. That a *lex* was passed on such occasions is proved by Suet. *Tib.* 21, 'lege per consules lata ut (Tiberius) prouincias cum Augusto communiter administraret simulque censum ageret.' It is, then, a quibble when Augustus denies that he received *cura morum* and when he denies, as he appears to do, that he received *censoria potestas*. But it is significant that Augustus thinks it necessary even to strain the language in denying that he accepted certain offices. Antiquarian researches, devoted to the object of discovering the powers which resided in the old magistracies, had convinced him that censorial activities once belonged to the consulship, and since he desired to hold as few offices as possible, he held his *lectiones* and his censuses as consul or proconsul with consular power.

As to the *imperium* by which Augustus held his provinces, the elaborate discussions among modern historians about the proper description of it lose their importance when we reflect that it also was certainly defined by a law, or rather a series of laws. Dio himself has no technicality to describe it, but calls it variously ἀρχή, προστασία, ἡγεμονία. We know that such a law existed from citations of it in the *Lex de imperio Vespasiani* (C.I.L. vi. 930). For example, it granted the right *foedus cum quibus uolet facere*, which the Manilian law had granted to Pompeius under the Republic. We might indeed argue from republican practice that for a special *imperium* a law was necessary. Though its contents were undoubtedly enlarged as time went on (we know the sixth privilege of the *Lex de imp. Vesp.*, which grants dispensation from certain laws, to have been granted to Augustus in 24 B.C.), yet the basis of it was settled in 27. I believe we can even lay our fingers upon the place where the record of this law has dropped out of Dio's history. The opening words of c. 12, Bk. liii. are these: τὴν μὲν οὖν ἡγεμονίαν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ παρὰ τῆς γερονσίας τοῦ τε δήμου ἐβεβαιώσατο, meaning 'I have thus narrated how he got his imperium established by the senate and the people,' that is by a regular *lex*. But he has done nothing of the sort, he has not mentioned the people. Chapters 3 to 10 are filled by a speech of Augustus, obviously a free composition by Dio. Chapter 11 describes in a Thucydidean manner the varied feelings of the senate, concluding with the remark that the senate voted double pay to his bodyguard—a strange answer to a speech of resignation!—and the words: οὕτως ὡς ἀληθῶς καταθέσθαι τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐπεθύμησε. As often happens, the introduction of a speech has disturbed the original narrative, and on a close inspection the sutures are visible.

Even the *tribunicia potestas* was not conferred in a lump by any such formula as 'tribuniciam potestatem habeto,' but by a series of laws, as Abele shews—personal sacrosanctity and the right to sit on the Tribunes' Bench in

36 B.C.,¹ Dio xlix. 15, *Ius auxilii* in 30 B.C. (Dio li. 19), and the rest in 23 B.C. when it first begins to be reckoned as complete. The *ius relationis* mentioned separately in this latter year (liii. 32) is merely a part of the remaining tribunician functions.

On the general question of the policy of Augustus it is undoubtedly true that he was steering his way between the unsuccessful examples of Sulla, who retired, and Julius, who was careless to disguise his supremacy. But that the Senate was still too powerful to be thrust aside, it is difficult to believe, as we watch their cringing subservience to their new master. The proscriptions had almost destroyed the race of Brutus. There remained another motive for admitting the Senate to partnership, a motive so simple and practical that it almost eludes the notice of the constitutional historian. Until a new machinery could be created, until a competent civil service could be organised, the mere burden of administration was more than one man could bear. Almost throughout his life Augustus was travelling, fighting or superintending military operations. Who was to receive such deputations as came in 26 B.C. from Tralles and Cos, Laodicea and Thyatira, to say that their towns had suffered from earthquake and appeal for assistance? By degrees a civil service is organised and a bureau competent to deal with the despatches even of a meticulous governor like the younger Pliny. Then, as there is less need of the Senate, its importance steadily decreases. This is the explanation of the paradox that the more Augustus seems to retire from public offices the more business is absorbed into the imperial chancellery. We have the authority of Suetonius for asserting that the burden of empire was a motive for Caesar's resignation of the consulship in 23 B.C.—*taedio diuturnae ualitudinis*.

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¹Mr. Stuart Jones in his recent work on *The Roman Empire* (Story of the Nations, 1908) asserts, p. 3, that Augustus received in 36 B.C. the whole

tribunician power including *intercessio*. This does not correspond with the evidence.

AD APVLEIVM.

METAMORPHOSES.

iii. 2 (p. 52, 22 *Helm*): 'magistratibus eorumque ministris et turbæ miscellaneæ <frequentia> cuncta completa —.'

Praeter necessitatem '*frequentia*' inseruisse uidetur editor; de casuum diuersitate cf. iiii. 21, p. 91, 6 'onere uecturae simul et asperae uiae toti fatigati', ubi '*asperitate*' secundum Vulcanium scripsit Helm ('Aspera uia' i. 20, p. 19, 1; de 'fatigatus' c. gen. uide Oudend. p. 284-5).

iii. 2 (p. 53, 5): 'nam inter tot milia populi circumfundentis nemo prorsum, qui non risu dirumperetur, aderat.'

'circūfidentif' Fφ: an 'CIRCŪSEPIENTIS'? ii. 13, p. 35, 20 'frequentis populi circulo conceptus.'

iii. 18 (p. 65, 21): 'mucrone destricto in insani modum Aiæcis <saëuis> armatus, non ut ille uiuis pecoribus infestus tota lanauit armenta, sed longe fortius, qui tres inflatos caprinos utres exanimasti —.'

'saëuis' addidit Leo, quo reiecto malim 'sed longe fortius qui<dem>' (=quid), cf. ii. 25, p. 45, 17 'formido cumulator quidem'. In cod. Dorvilliano, teste v.d. Vliet, scriptum est q̄q̄, i.e. quiquem.

iii. 20 (p. 67, 13): 'omnibus abiectis amiculis ac tandem denique intecti atque nudati bacchamur in Venerem.'

'acten'; i.e. 'hactenus' Fφ: ubi nec ceterae uirorum doctorum coniecturae ueritatis speciem praebent et id quod proposuit Petschenig 'ac taeniis' diu explosum est, cum nec Lucius taenias gesserit nec Fotis nisi unam (τὸ σπρόφιον)—nam ut effeminatorum delicias cogitemus (Mus. Ruf. xix. p. 106, 16 Hense: οὔτε ἐσθῆσι πολλαῖς κατασκέπειν τὸ σῶμα οὔτε ταυνίαις κατελεῖν) nihil est quod cogat—in ipso uocabulo aliquem significatum non satis nobis cognitum suspicari licebit; nam et alius extat locus ubi 'hactenus' adiungitur adiectiuo cui inest uis priuatiua: vi. 18, p. 141, 22, turris ad inferos pergenti Psychæ suadet 'sed non <h>actenus uacua debetis per illas tenebras incedere', ubi qui uertunt 'bis dahin'¹ falluntur cum nec rediens illa uacua esse debeat (p. 143, 5); nec magis accommodate interpretatur Rönsch, *Itala u. Vulgata*,

¹ Fr. Norden, *Amor und Psyche*, Leipz. u. Berl. 1903.

p. 341, '*hactenus* mit einer Negation = *non amplius*'; subinepte enim 'non iam uacua per illas tenebras incedere' iubetur puella, quae nondum illic incesserit. Si liceret interpretari '*plane, prorsus*,' omnia quidem recte haberent, sed huius usus exempla mihi desunt.

iiii. 1 (p. 75, 6): 'deuius et *fructus* absconditus —'

'ptectus' Fφ, quod utrum delendum an emendandum esset, dubitauit editor; cf. tamen iii. 9 'obtectam protegunt' et imprimis ix. 18 'contectus atque absconditus'.

iiii. 25 (p. 93, 22): 'cum repente lymphatico ritu somno recussa . . . longeque uehementius afflictare sese—incipit.'

Suppleo '<longe> longeque', cf. xi. 3, p. 268, 17 'longe longeque'; vii. 2, p. 115, 7 'procul ac procul'; xi. 20, p. 281, 18 'diu diuque'.

vi. 14 (p. 139, 1): 'proserpunt . . . et longa colla porrecti saeui dracones —'

Hic si re uera lacuna est, potest intercidisae '*immensi*' (*Flor.* vi. p. 151, 3 Vl. '*immensi dracones*'), potest et aliud quid; dubito tamen an 'et' (7) ortum sit ex 'in' (ī): cf. ix. 13, p. 212, 18 'in enorme uestigium porrecti', xi. 11, p. 275, 10 'in canalem porrectum'.

vi. 27 (p. 149, 20): 'me—nauiter inscendit et sic ad cursum rursum incitat. ego—equestri celeritate quadrupedi cursu solum replaudens uirgini[s] delicatas uoculas ad<h>innire temptabam.'

Apulei stilus flagitare uidetur '<at> ego —'; inde etiam est, nisi fallor, quod x. 18, p. 250, 27 'domuitionem parat. spretis —' <at> Luetjohann, <sed> Helm restituebant.

vi. 32 (p. 153, 18. Postquam c. 31 quattuor puellae fugitiuae poenas proposuerunt latrones, quam alii *uiuam cremari* (1), alii *bestiis obici* (2) debere censebant, alii *patibulo suffigi* (3), alii *tormentis excarnificari* (4), tandem aliquis id genus uindictae inuenit quod omnia illa superaret simul et complecteretur: asini cadaueri uiua insueretur!):

'sic enim cuncta, quae recte statuistis, ambo sustinebunt, et mortem asinus, quam pridem meruit, et illa morsus ferarum, cum uermes membra laniabunt (= 2), et ignis flagrantiam, cum sol nim<i>is caloribus inflammari uterum (= 1), et patibuli cruciatum, cum canes et uultures intima protrahent uiscera (= 3), sed et ceteras eius aerumnas et tormenta (= 4) numerate; mortuae bestiae ipsa uiuens uentrem habitabit, tum faetore nimio nares <cruciente> aestu et inediae diutinae letali fame tabescet nec suis saltem liberis manibus mortem sibi fabricare poterit.'

'aestuet' quod pro futuro ceperat v.d. Vliet (in indice p. 284), diuisit Luetjohann, <cruciente> addidit, recte quidem copulam quae abesse uix potest

restituens, hoc uero minime nobis approbans; nam dum confert quae in Λουκίῳ, c. 25 leguntur ‘σκοπεῖτε δὲ, ὦ φίλοι, τῆς βατάνου τὸ δεινὸν, πρῶτον μὲν τὸ νεκρῷ ὄνῳ συνοικεῖν, εἴτα τὸ θέρους ὥρα θερμοτάτῳ ἡλίῳ ἐν κτήνι καθέψεσθαι καὶ λιμῷ αἰὲ κτείνοντι ἀποθνήσκειν καὶ μηδ’ ἑαυτὴν ἀποπνίξαι ἔχειν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλ’ ὅσα πείσεται σηπομένου τοῦ ὄνου τῇ τε ὁδμῇ καὶ τοῖς σκώληξι πεφυρμένη ἐὼ λέγειν, dumque graeca illa ‘θέρους ὥρα θερμοτάτῳ ἡλίῳ’ per ‘aestu’ reddita esse sibi persuadet, praeterquam quod duo tormentorum genera θερμότατον ἥλιον et σηπομένον ὁδμὴν in unum conflant (‘factore nimio nares cruciante aestu’), oblitus est per ‘ceteras aerumnas et tormenta’ ad supplicia prorsus *noua* pergi, ‘aestus’ autem quem uoluit dolorem iam inesse in illo poenae genere quod numero I signauimus; illic ‘ignis flagrantiam, cum sol nimiis caloribus inflammavit uterum’ esse quod in graeca fabella per ‘θέρους ὥρα θερμοτάτῳ ἡλίῳ’ indicatur. Itaque, seruato ‘et’, cetera complenda esse uidentur ut in Ouden-dorpiana editione leguntur ‘nares aestu<abit> et —.’

vii. 2 (p. 155, 6): ‘nam et praesidium fugae, quo uelocius frustratis insecutoribus procul ac procul abderet sese, eidem facile suppeditasse; equum namque illum suum candidum uectorem futurum duxisse secum.’

Lucius, cum Milonis hospitium accederet, eo consilio equum duxisse secum arguitur ut haberet quo uelocius se inde proriperet. Itaque ‘suum’, quod quo nunc legitur loco rebus non congruit, cum non sit uerisimile, qui nunc in pecunia furtum arguant, eosdem in equo legitimam possessionem statuere, transpono port ‘uctorem’; cf. iii. 26, p. 71, 15 ‘equum illum uectorem meum’; *ibidem* 22 ‘ille uector meus’; vi. 26, p. 149, 1 ‘quis enim uiantium uectorem suum (= quo uehatur) non libenter auferat secum’; vii. 3, p. 156, 16 ‘cum meo famulo meoque uectore illo equo’. In F ‘futurū’ refictum esse monet editor.

vii. 4 (p. 157, 9): ‘nec paucos humili seruiliue uitae renuntiantes ad instar tyrannicae potestatis sectam suam conferre malle.’

Frustra, puto, in his emendandis laborant uiri docti: non enim hic ‘ad instar’ interpretandum est ‘ad modum’, sed ‘instar’¹ proprie substantium est (Verg. *Aen.* vi. 866) quod pendet a uerbo ‘conferre ad’, designatque amplitudinem dignitatemque dum opponitur ‘humili seruiliue uitae’; cf. Gell. *N.A.* xx. 1. 39 ‘populus Romanus e parua origine ad tantae amplitudinis instar emicuit.’ Contra ‘instar’ (pendens a uerbo ‘deducere ad’), dum bonae rei opponitur, pro contemptae rei imagine est i. 25, p. 23, 9 ‘flore[m] Thessalicae regionis ad instar solitudinis et scopuli—deducitis’; formam solam indicat *Flor.* xii. p. 161, 9 Vl. ‘instar illi (psittaco) minimo minus quam columbarum.’

vii. 9 (p. 160, 18): ‘ueste<m>que lautiusculam proferunt, sumeret abiecto centunculo diuite.’

¹ Cf. Wölfflin, *Archiv. f. Lat. Lex.* ii. pp. 584, 586, 596.

Interpungo 'proferunt sumeret', cf. praeter locos ubi 'ut' omittitur post 'placere, orare, praecipere, pati' quaeque uerba hunc usum admittere solent ii. 16, p. 37, 21 'adripit poculum ac — porrigit bibam.' 'Diues' centunculus dictus non propter aureos quibus iam caret (p. 160, 11), neque ironice potius quam iocose ob colorum uarietatem, uide supra c. 5, p. 157, 26 'centunculis disparibus.'

viii. 1 (p. 176, 21): '— fuit Charite nobis, quae misella et quidem casu grauissimo — Manes adiuit.'

'nobis qui' (per compendium) Fϕ: corruptelae originem esse suspicor in sequenti 'quidem,' scribo itaque 'fuit Charite nobis [qui] misella —.'

viii. 5 (p. 180, 1): '(aper) retorquet impetum et incendio feritatis ardescens dente compulso, quem primum insiliat, cunctabunda rimatur.'

Oudendorp, quamquam de loci integritate dubius, 'dentem compellere' interpretatur 'frendere dentibus', Pricaeum reprehendens qui ad notissimam illam exasperationem dentium (cf. p. 179, 9) hoc referebat: utrum utri praeferas, uix deliberes, cum utrumque aequae respuat latinitas. Sed aut ego fallor aut uerum inest in nota marginali 'dentē c̄pulsū' scripsitque Apuleius 'dente[m] compulsum (*supinum*) quem primum insiliat, cunctabunda rimatur'; nam notae illae a prima manu in margine cod. F adscriptae, quas diligenter ponderandas nec temere spernendas primus monuit Weyman, etiam alibi ad emendationem nonnihil attulerunt: vi. 9, p. 134, 11 'furenter irati'; ix. 10, p. 210, 4 'caliculum', neque equidem dubitem etiam vii. 27, p. 175, 21 scribere 'deserto derelictoque' (pro 'deiectoque'), hoc enim uult anus: 'aut seruare magistrum tuum debuisti dorso receptum, aut manere et eandem cum illo sortem sustinere', neque spernendum est viii. 26, p. 198, 2 'ceraula' pro 'choraula'; comparetur etiam vi. 30, p. 152, 2 'praesidium perhibebimus' (nam sine dubio recte notam interpretatur editor) pro 'praestabimus' cum ix. 26, p. 223, 5 'auxilium meo perhibere domino.'

viii. 10 (p. 185, 13): 'Promissioni fallaciosae mulieris oppressus succubuit Thrasyllus.'

An forte 'Promissione'? Cf. iii. 9, p. 58, 26 'euictus tandem necessitate succumbo', v. 6, p. 108, 4 'ui ac potestate Venerii susurrus inuitus succubuit.'

viii. 17 (p. 191, 1): '— fletu cum clamore sublato maritum suum pastorem illum suppetiatum ciet.'

Quis pastor ille, cum omnes hi serui fugitiui pastores fuerint (viii. 1, p. 176, 21; 23, p. 194, 29)? Nempe is cuius tutelae mandatus fuerat asinus (vii. 15, p. 165, 8; 16, p. 166, 6); necessarium itaque uidetur 'pastorem illum <meum>.'

ix. 32 (p. 227, 7): '— et adsiduis pluuiis nocturnisque rorationibus sub dio et intecto conclusus stabulo continuo discruciabar frigore.'

'sub dio' non ad subiectum refertur—scripsisset enim Apuleius 'sub dio constitutus'—sed stabulo attribuitur; scribo itaque 'subdio'. Cf. *Corp. gloss. latt.* ii. p. 190 'Subdium *υπεθρον*', p. 463 'Υπαιθρος subdiuus'. Conferatur etiam *M.* v. 6, p. 107, 12 'perdia'; ix. 5, p. 206, 16 'pernox'.

ix. 39 (p. 232, 26): 'dep[r]ensis pro prandio lacrimis uacuasque manus complodens.'

'depensis' e Vulcanii coniectura dedit Helm, adnotauitque 'scilicet pranderat hortulanus'. Quod si maxime uerum esset—ex nullo enim eorum quos attulit locos id probatur, ne ex uerbis quidem quae p. 228, 20 leguntur 'sub ipsa mensa, quae reliquias prandii gerebat', cum et nondum finiti, praesertim opiparis (p. 228, 4) prandii reliquiae sint, sepositae scilicet ne incommodent; quin potius e uerbis quibus gallinam allocutus est hospes (p. 228, 10) 'nunc etiam cogitas gustulum nobis praeparare' in media re esse homines apparet—tamen Apuleio neglegentiam condonandam esse putarem: sed re uera et interrupti prandii dolore permotus et munerum (p. 227, 25) spe deiectus *suos casus* (p. 232, 25) ingemescit *uacuasque* (26) complodit manus. Sed quo minus de integritate paronomasiae 'deprensis pro *prandio*' dubites, simul ut appareat quo ineptiarum interdum deduci possit id quod uenustatis gratia inuentum est, en locos quos mihi notaui—nondum enim, quod sciam, omnes congesti sunt—adscribo: p. 18, 1 'lattice—lacteo'; p. 25, 9 'cupidinis meae—forum cupidinis'; p. 29, 1 'maga—magistra'; p. 45, 13 'desolatus ad cadaueris solacium' (cf. p. 106, 7 'solitudinis erat solacium'); p. 48, 19 'propheta sic propitiatus'; p. 73, 11 'sero quidem, serio tamen' (cf. *Flor.* p. 178, 15 Vliet 'serum—serium,' *Met.* p. 107, 15 'seria—sero'); p. 105, 15 'pareret—pateret'; p. 115, 7 'mellita—mollita'; p. 128, 18 'amores amarē coherceas'; p. 135, 20 'certa—miserta'; p. 135, 22 'conuocat—conrogatque'¹; p. 138, 2 'secundi (= alterius)—secundum (= prosperum)'; p. 149, 22 'ad cursum rursum'; p. 164, 7 'uino—uinculis'; p. 181, 12 'inuitta remansit in uitta(!)'; p. 190, 20 'memorandum—miserandum'; p. 200, 1 'fatigati—satiati'; p. 207, 25 'inclinatam dolio—dedolabat'; p. 238, 28 'quod nemo nouit, paene non fit'; p. 248, 10 'decor—dedecus'; p. 255, 4 'natam necatamque'; p. 261, 6 'de manibus—manante'; p. 284, 32 'neque ullum animal essem et inuinius essem(!)'; dubitari potest an etiam in 'sepiculae—saepicule' (p. 192, 18 et 21) luserit noster; *Apol.* p. 65, 12 'pinnae de penatibus'; p. 70, 23 'toto oppido et quidem oppido (= ualde)'; p. 76, 2 'omne uirus totis uiribus'; p. 113, 3 'ueneficium—beneficium'; *Flor.* p. 151, 18 (Vliet) 'aruum colere uel aurum colare'; p. 155, 11 'cum torno et coturno'; p. 160, 16 'pernix—perniciosa'; p. 170, 2 'coetum—coeptum'.

ix. 39 (p. 233, 17): 'nam et hic ipse iners asellus et nihilo minus <ferox> morboque detestabili caducus uix etiam paucos holerum maniculos de

¹ Fr. Norden pro 'conrogatque,' qui uir doctus plura huiusmodi in *Amoris et Psyche* editione sua restituit.

proximo hortulo solet anhelitu languido fatigatus subuehere, nedum ut rebus amplioribus idoneus uideatur gerulus.'

Collato viii. 23, p. 195, 16 'in hebeti pigritia ferocem' <ferox> Luet-johann, alia alii similia suppleuerunt; at ferocitas illic quidem emptorum insolenti curiositate (p. 195, 8) excitata erat, non autem fuit naturale transformati Lucii uitium, ut qui bono hortulano sane probum beneque moratum asinum se praebere nunquam desiisset; si quis uero mendacio militi imponere uoluisset perhibeat hortulanum, profecto imbecillitas et inertia, non ferocia, grauiori oneri imparem facit. Sententiam quidem, quamquam non dubito quin insciens fecerit, restituit codicis ϕ exarator vel emendator, 'que' post 'morbo' delens; 'nihilominus' enim non 'fürwahr' significat (Koziol, *Stil des Ap.* p. 313), sed 'praeterea, insuper',¹ cf. xi. 21, p. 282, 13 'nec minus'; *Flor.* xvi. p. 169, 15 Vliet 'nec eo minus'; *M.* vi. 18, p. 142, 13 'nec setius'; ix. 34, p. 228, 18 'nec eo setius'; Petron. 67 'sex pondo et selibram debet habere, et ipse nihilo minus habeo decem pondo armillam'. Sed ut F potius quam ϕ sequamur, legerim 'et nihilominus morbo <quo>que —', cf. xi. 28, p. 290, 2 'nec minus etiam'.

x. 23 (p. 255, 1): 'at illa, per absentiam mariti nata[m] puella[m], insita matribus pietate praeuenta desciiuit ab obsequio mariti eamque prodidit uicinis alumnandam, regressoque iam marito natam necatamque nuntiauit.'

Traditam lectionem 'natam puellam,' qua mire disturbantur omnia, non magis quam qui ante eum extiterunt editores, retinere ausus est Helm. At quamquam et hic et illi, licet uarie, extricauerunt quae intricatissima erant, tamen ipsum Apuleium reuera sic intricare uoluisset, ut non per participium 'natam puellam, *desciscens* ab obsequio mariti, prodidit' continuaret ordinem, sed interiecto enuntiato 'desciiuit —' sustineret, rursusque obiecto ('natam puellam') per 'eam' repetito instauraret, persuasum habere coepi postquam consimilem prorsus structuram eum amplexum esse comperi in *Apol.* 60 (p. 68, 23 Helm): 'testimonio Crassi, cuius oboluisse faecem uidebant, nec ipsi ausi sunt perlegere nec quicquam eo niti'.

x. 27 (p. 258, 8): 'Nec ille tamen iuuenis diutius uitam tenuerat, sed inter fictas mentitasque lacrimas uxoris pari casu mortis fuerat extinctus.'

Nolo quidem audacius, non possum tamen diffiteri admodum mihi placere 'inter fictas <lamentationes> mentitasque lacrimas', nam et scaenam auget et auctoris stilo congruit; cf. iii. 33, p. 101, 7 'maeretur fletur lamentatur'; viii. 13, p. 187, 13 'fletus uberes et lamentationes uarias'; viii. 31, p. 202, 4 'lamentatus lacrimis inefficacibus'; x. 25, p. 256, 16 'uariis lamentationibus defletam puellam'; xi. 5, p. 270, 3 'mitte iam fletus et lamentationes omitte', neque adlitterationis quam uocant sedulo sectatore indignum est.

¹ Ad hunc significatum transitio est in Cic. *ad Att.* 'neque eos solos—sed eos nihilominus', ubi 'nihilominus' = 'as well'.

x. 30, p. 261, 16: 'malum—inauratum dextra gerens <ei>, qui Paris uidebatur, porrigit.'

De pronomine, quod addidit editor, omisso, cf. *Apol.* 16, p. 19, 24 'hoc mihi aduersum te usu uenit, quod qui forte constitit in loco lumine conlustrato'; 102, p. 113, 13 'eminiscimini quod respondeatis, qui uos ita rogarit.'

xi. 12, p. 275, 15: 'Et ecce praesentissimi numinis promissa nobis accedunt beneficia et fata salutemque ipsam meam gerens sacerdos adpropinquat, ad ipsum praescriptum diuinae promissionis ornatum dextera proferens¹ sistrum deae, mihi coronam —.'

'ornatum sistrum' est (6, p. 270, 13) sistrum cui corona rosea cohaeret; at non coronatum sistrum deae erat destinatum—'deae' enim casum esse datiuum cogit oppositum 'mihi'—sed sistrum tantummodo, corona autem Lucio; itaque ne omnis interpretatio cesset, supplendum est '— ornatum dextera proferens sistrum, <sistrum> deae, mihi coronam —'.

APOLOGIA.

2 et 3 (p. 3, 5 *Helm*): Aemilianus apud Lollium Praefectum Urbis tanta pertinacia perhibuerat auunculi sui testamentum falsum esse, 'ut, cum Lollius Urbicus V.C. uerum uideri et ratum esse debere de consilio consularium uirorum pronuntiasset, contra clarissimam uocem iurauerit uecordissimus iste, tamen illud testamentum fictum esse, adeo ut aegre Lollius Urbicus ab eius pernicie temperarit. (3) quam quidem uocem et tua aequitate et mea innocentia fretus spero in hoc quoque iudicio erupturam, quippe qui sciens innocentem criminatur eo sane facilius, quod iam ut dixi, mentiens apud praefectum urbi in amplissima causa conuictus est. namque peccatum semel ut bonus quisque postea sollicitius cauet, ita qui ingenio malo est confidentius integrat ac iam de cetero quo saepius, eo apertius delinquit.'

Oudendorp, quem secutus est Helm, 'clarissimam uocem,' 'clarissimi iudicis uocem' interpretans, Casauboni emendationem 'clarissima uoce' reiecit: iniuria, opinor, cum Lollii uocem in iudicio ubi Maximus praesidet expectare non possit Apuleius, nedum ut in hoc iudicio, quod est de magia, uocem expectet de aliquo testamento pronuntiantem. At, inquiet, clarissima uox in *universum* iudicis uocem significat. Audio: sed quare illam 'erupturam' sperat Apuleius? an et Lollii 'erupit' cum pro sententia pronuntiaret 'testamentum uerum uideri et ratum esse debere'? Quae enim indignatio his uerbis inest? Nam sententiam quidem iudicis quin auditurus sit reus, non est quod dubitet. Sin Casauboni emendationem amplectimur, non tantum uerbum 'erumpere', ut accusatoris insolentiam designans, aptissime positum est, quam aequitate iudicis et sua innocentia fretus non curat reus neque timet, sed et adiectiuum 'claris-

¹ i.e. 'praeferens,' cf. 10, p. 274, 1 'potentissimorum deum proferebant insignis exuuias.'

sima', *qua ipsa insolentia notatur*—quod exemplis demonstrare supersedit emendationis auctor—proprio quodam et quaesito nitet colore; cf. Sen. *Dial.* v. (= de ira III), c. 24 'serui mei clarius responsum et contumaciorem uoltum'; *Apocol.* II. 'si honeste me inter uos gessi, si nulli clarius respondi'.¹

9 (p. 10, 6): 'an ideo magus, quia poeta? quis unquam fando audiuit tam <ueri> similem suspicionem, tam aptam coniecturam, tam proximum argumentum?'

<ueri>, quod addidit Krueger, non tantum disturbat partium aequabilitatem, si separatim scribitur, sin minus, adliterationem, sed superuacua est: 'similis' enim significat 'ueri'(similis, rei congruens'; cf. Gell. *N.A.* xviii. 1, 12 'captio magis lepida quam probum aut simile argumentum uideri debet.' [Epictet. ii. 20, 29 'φαντασία ἐλαίου ὁμοιοτάτη'; i. 16, 15 'ὁμοίως αὐτὰ ἐπαινέσαι,' sc. τὰ τῆς προνοίας ἔργα.]

36 (p. 42, 11): 'prome tu librum e Graecis meis, quos forte hic amici habuere sedulique, naturalium quaestionum, atque eum maxime, in quo plura de piscium genere tractata sunt.'

Recte Oudendorp adnotasse uidetur 'Prome ex libris meis librum aliquem, quemcunque uoles, modo *naturales quaestiones* contineat', neque equidem dubito quin sic etiam scribendum sit: 'sed *aliquem* naturalium quaestionum' ('seduli' ortum esse puto ex antecedenti 'sedulo'); optime enim 'aliquem' cum ridicula Apulei nostri uanitate congruit, tam doctrina sua librorumque conscriptorum copia gloriantis quam amicorum suique studiosorum admiratione, ne in iudicio quidem—ita enim 'hic' interpretor—uel aegre certe lectionem intermittentium, cf. 55, i. f. p. 63, 4 sqq., praesertim haec: 'ecce etiam liber offertur.' Nam uerba 'quos—habuere' sic intellego: amicos, dum iudices irent sessum agique inciperetur, quo taedium expectandi fallerent, in lectione fuisse occupatos: et quid lectu suauius quam immortalis ille Musarum alumni thesaurus. Primam indicationem 'librum e Graecis meis' corrigendo contrahit: 'sed aliquem', hanc rursus ita: 'atque eum maxime.'

55 (p. 63, 4): 'ea disputatio celebratissima est, uulgo legitur, in omnibus manibus uersatur, non tam facundia mea quam mentione Aesculapii religiosi Oeensibus commendata. dicite aliquis, si qui forte meminit, huius loci principium.—audisne, Maxime, multos suggerentis? ecce etiam liber offertur.'

Quo clarius enitescat illa quam modo denotauius Apulei uanitas—scilicet quod a multis audiet ('audisne *multos* suggerentis?'), ut modestiorem decet uix se ab uno aliquo auditurum confidit!—scribo: 'dicite aliquis', secundam personam imperatiui restituens, quae legitur etiam 56 (p. 64, 16): 'si qui forte adest eorundem sollemnium mihi particeps, signum dato, et audias licet quae ego adseruem.'

¹ Hos locos respiciant si qui adhuc de Apocolocyntoseos auctore dubitent.

FLORIDA.

ii. (p. 146, 20, v.d. Vliet) locus corruptus in mss. sic legitur: 'cum igitur eo sese aquila extulit, nutu clementi laeuorsum uel dextrorsum tanta mole corporis labitur, uelificatas alas quo libuit aduertens modico caudae gubernaculo; inde cuncta despiciens ibidem, pinnarum eminus indefessa remigia ac paulisper cunctabundo uolatu paene eodem loco pendula circumtuetur et quaerit, quorsus potissimum in praedam superne sese ruat fulminis uicem de caelo inprouisa, simul campis pecua simul montibus feras—cernens, eqs.'

In interpungendo secutus sum Aemilium Thomas,¹ nisi quod distinctionem, quam ille ante 'ibidem' transposuit, loco quo legebatur non remouit, 'cuncta ibidem' interpretans 'cuncta simul', cf. *Apol.* 80 (p. 88, 25 H): 'nam ut absurde facit qui tacere se dicit, quod ibidem dicendo tacere sese non tacet —', Oehler ad Tertull. *de fuga in pers.* 1. Neque minus consentientem me habet, dum hanc de loco fert sententiam: 'La faute doit résider dans *eminus*, dont il faudrait tirer un participe présent coordonné à *despiciens* et ayant pour complément direct *pinnarum indefessa remigia*.' Quod autem proponit 'remittens', nescio an laboris remissio eiusdem laboris pertinaciae ('indefessa') parum conueniat ideoque 'remittens' non habeat unde aliorum coniecturis 'imminuens' 'inhibens' praeferendum sit; neque etiam inuenio quomodo *remigia* inhibere, imminuere, remittere dicatur aquila, quae modo pro *uelis*, non pro *remis*, alis suis utebatur. Scripsit fortasse Apuleius: 'pinnarum eminens indefessa remigia', i.e. porrigens, cf. *Met.* 21 (p. 42, 12 H): 'duobusque infimis concludis digitis ceteros eminens [porrigens] et infesto pollice clementer subrigens,' ubi in marg. m. rec. adscriptum est 'eminus'. Conferatur et *Met.* vi. 15 (p. 140, 3 H): 'libratisque pinnarum nutantibus molibus—remigium dextra laeuaque porrigens.'

xviii. (p. 181, 23 (v.d. Vl.): 'contentus scire quod concupierat coepit nolle quod pepigerat, eqs.'

Paronomasiam seruauit ϕ 'cupierat—pepigerat' exhibens. Cf. supra ad *Met.* ix. 39.

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¹ *Bull. de l'Acad. roy. de Belgique* (classe des lettres, etc.), N. 5, pp. 288–298 (1902).

MANILIVS III 608—617.

QVEMQVE locum superat nascens horoscopus, ille
dena quater reuocat uertentis tempora solis
adcumulatque duos cursus iuuenemque relinquit. 610
at qui praecedit surgentis cardinis oram¹
uicenos ternosque dabit nascentibus annos
uix degustatam rapiens sub flore iuuentam.
quod super occasus templum est, ter dena remittit
annorum spatia et decumam tribus applicat auctis. 615
inferius puerum interimet, bis sexque peracti
immatura trahent natales corpora morti.

614 *templum* Fayus, *temptatum* GLM. *ter* M, om. GL.

615 *decimam tribus applicat auctis* GL, *decum* ceteris omissis M.

Mr Garrod's observation (*C.Q.* ii p. 181) that in Manil. iii 590-617 the sums of years allotted to man by the 12 temples of the sky appear to be a regularly descending series, where each succeeding number is formed by subtracting from its predecessor a figure which rises steadily from 1 to 11, will help towards the elucidation of the paragraph, though not along the route which Mr Garrod himself pursues. When he proposes to write *tricenos* for *uicenos* in 612, his conjecture is refuted by the next verse. Such language as 'uix degustatam rapiens sub flore iuuentam' is not used of men who die at the age of thirty-three. Nor could this objection be avoided by placing a full stop at the end of 612 instead of 613, for the powers of punctuation are limited.

In the text of 612-615, as I have given it above, there is now not a letter to be altered. The one conjecture admitted, Du Fay's *templum* (commonly assigned to Bentley), is necessary, certain, and received into all editions. The scribe thought he saw *temptum*, and he expanded this to *temp-ta-tum*; as in Liu. xlv 28 3, *nobilitatemplo* for *nobili templo*, the scribe thought he saw *nobilite* and expanded it to *nobili-ta-te*. The omission of *ter* from GL is a metrical interpolation consequent on this corruption; and M's advantage in essential integrity over the older and more accurate copies is once again

¹ *horam* codd., as usual. *hora* has two meanings, *hour* and *horoscope*, but here it can have neither. *aduersa respondens aetheris ora,*' but the true reading may be *ortum*.
oram is suggested by ii 793 'alter (cardo) ab

made manifest. The whole sequence of error has a close parallel in v 667: *tum quoque Manilius, totum quoque M, totum GL.*

The series of numbers, which begins at u. 590, is the following: horoscope 78; zenith 77 (u. 594 rightly understood by Dr Postgate *silu. Man.* p. 31); occident 75 (u. 596 rightly understood by Prof. Ellis *noct. Man.* p. 111); nadir 72 (*mensibus* in u. 598 corrected by Dr Postgate to *messibus*); superior trigon of horoscope 68; inferior trigon of horoscope 63; superior hexagon of horoscope 57; inferior hexagon of horoscope 50. Eight of the twelve are now accounted for, and we are arrived at u. 607; in 608-617, transcribed above, we expect to find the four numbers which will complete the series: 42, 33, 23, 12.

And there they are: not two or three of them only, but all four. *bis sex* is 12, *uicenos ternosque* is 23, the contents of 609 sq. are a periphrasis of 42, and the contents of 614 sq., *ter dena remittit | annorum spatia et decumam tribus applicat auctis*, are a periphrasis of 33. The words mean 'allows thrice ten circuits of years, and adds thereto a tithe in augmenting them by three': $30 + (\frac{30}{10} = 3) = 33$. *decumam tribus* (abl.) *applicat auctis* (dat.) is the same as 'tribus ea augendo applicat eis decumam numeri tricenarii partem.' The verb and the participle describe one operation from two points of view, as in Hor. *serm.* i 2 65 sq. 'poenas dedit . . . pugnis caesus' or Liu. i 37 1 'additur dolus, missis qui . . . uim lignorum . . . in flumen conicerent.'

The phrase may justly be accused of ambiguity; for if the past participle retained its temporal force and meant 'iam ante auctis' the sum would be $33 + 3 + \frac{30}{10} = 36$. But no less ambiguous is 592 sqq. 'octo tenor¹ decies ducetur in annos, | ni duo decedant. at, cum sub culmine summo | consistet, tribus hic numerus fraudabitur annis,' where 'hic numerus,' which in truth means 80, might just as well mean $80 - 2 = 78$, and has indeed been generally so interpreted. In 605 again the words 'ter uicenos geminat,' which signify 60, might also signify 120, as Du Fay, with a very absurd result, supposed; and at 596 the double sense of 'olympias' has caused much doubt whether the number meant was 75 or 76.

It surprises us that Manilius has here for once departed from the order of magnitude and has placed the eleventh member of the descending series before the tenth: 42, 23, 33, 12. But it is possible to imagine a reason why he should do this, and to discover an indication that this is what he did. Having yoked together in 599-602 the two trigons of the horoscope, and its two hexagons in 603-607, he now in 608-613 yokes together its two immediate neighbours, and in 614-617 the two immediate neighbours of the occident. If this arrangement deranges the numerical sequence, that is no great matter: symmetry gains on the one hand what it loses on the other. To rhetoric there is a gain not counterbalanced by any loss; for

¹ *octonos* codd., but the verb *ducetur* has then no subject, and *uiuetur* or the like will be required:

the years of closing and of opening youth are thus brought into juxtaposition, and *iunem* in 610 is answered by *iuventam* in 613. And the language of 613 and 614, even in the absence of the numerals, might suggest that a smaller sum is here preceding a greater: when *uix degustatam rapiens* is said of one temple and *remittit* of another, it is a natural inference that the latter is the more generous of the two.

A E. HOUSMAN.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

American Journal of Philology. Vol. 29. No. 2. 1908.

On the Source of Ben Jonson's Song ('Still to be Neat'), Kirby Flower Smith. *The Ancient Religions in Universal History*, Grant Showerman. *Notes on a Few Vestal Inscriptions*, Esther Boise Van Deman. *Notes and Suggestions on Lefebvre's Comedies of Menander* (Cairo, 1907), Robinson Ellis. *Hieremias di Montagnone and Catullus*, Arthur Leslie Wheeler. 'Εξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων, Edwin W. Fay. 'Υποκριτής and τραγῳδός in Schol. Dem. de Pace 6, Edward Capps. *A Critical Note to Col. 4. 1. 76 of the Behistan Inscription*, H. C. Tolman. Reviews: Hirzel's *Themis Dike und Verwandtes*, W. A. Heidel. Wageningen's *Album Terentianum and Scaenica Romana*, John W. Basore. Summaries of Periodicals. Brief Mention: On 'Punktuell,' as applied to the aorist, B. W. Smith's *der vorchristliche Jesus*, Schlachter's *Statistische Untersuchungen ueber den Gebrauch der Tempora u. Modi bei einzelnen griechischen Schriftstellern*, by the Editor, and C. W. E. M(iller). Obituary Note on F. Buecheler, the Editor. Correspondence: *The Viking Society for Northern Research*, George T. Flom.

Neue Jahrbücher für das Klass. Altertum, etc. 19. 10. 1907.

J. Kromayer, *Hannibal und Antiochos der Grosse*. The view taken of A.'s character typical of the injustice generally done to later Hellenism. The object of his war with Rome was the recovery of the kingdom over which Seleucus had reigned, the steps he took to achieve it were none the less well considered that he eventually proved, like Hannibal himself, unequal to Rome's tactics. Th. Birt, *Schreibende Gottheiten*. The first in Gk. lit. is Pindar's πότμος (Nem. 6. 13): cp. Θεός in Eurip. fr. 618 N (γράφει quite sound), Zeus himself fr. 508 N. Arcturus in the *Rudens* (from Diphilus?), Nemesis in Callim. Dem. 56 are recording angels: cp. Iris in the Brygos vase and the writing figure (?Nemesis) in the representation of Meleager's death, Baumeist. 991. The images in St. John's Revelation and the book of Enoch not unaffected by Hellenism. Parcae with books are Etrusco-Roman. H. Diels, *Ueber das neue Corpus medicorum*. Begun under the auspices of the Universities of Copenhagen, Leipzig and Berlin. The Greek portion will comprise 32 vols., of which 2 will fall to Hippocrates, 13 to Galen. L. Traube, *Nachruf auf Rudolf Schöll*.

21. 1. 1908.

F. Studniczka, *Adolf Furtwängler* (with two plates representing the reconstruction of the head of the Lemnian Athena). H. Lietzmann, *Die klass. Philologie und das Neue Testament*. Brief account of what has been done for the text, the vulgar Greek of the Roman-Hellenistic period (accidence and syntax), lexicography, the increased appreciation of the importance of the old Christian documents for the history of civilisation and religion. P. Perdrizet, *Die Hauptergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in Delphi*. No reason to doubt that Pausanias visited Delphi. The temple of Apollo. No signs of the famous chasm. A great quantity of specimens of old Ionic art yielded by this site, where one might expect Dorian influence to be predominant. The treasury of the Cnidians. U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff: *Der Menander von Kairo*. Description of

the contents of Lefebvre's publication. Points out that two pages at present assigned to the *Samia* really belong to the *Perikeiromene*. Gives some verse renderings of the former play and the *Epitrepontes*. R. M. Meyer, *Das Gleichnis. Anzeigen, etc.*: Raeder's *Platons philosophische Entwicklung* very unfavourably reviewed by O. Apelt; E. Samter *Die Toten im Hause*. Illustrations from Berlin and the Tyrol: Stobaeus' extract (44. 41) from a work of Nicolaus of Damascus.

21. 2. 1908.

R. Reitzenstein, *Horaz und die hellenistische Lyrik*. The odes can be justly appreciated only by observing points of feeling and technique which were, in the poet's time, modern (in most cases, Hellenistic). The first stanza of 1. 24 does not disturb the unity of that poem if we realise that Horace's contemporaries regarded that poem as a specimen of the *consolatio*. So 3. 22 simply gives bucolic setting to hunter epigrams such as we meet in the Anthology; 3. 13 (*fons Bandusiae*) is quite Alexandrine. The 'diua quae tenes Cyprum et Memphin' means 'thou that art at once Cypris and Isis.' Philodemus (xi. 44) illustrates 1. 20, where H. is certainly not asking Maecenas to bring his best wine with him. In 2. 20 *biformis* means 'who has assumed a new (second) shape': H. really wishes to become a swan, is not thinking of Ennius' *uolito uiuos per ora uirum*. F. Boll, *Die Erforschung der antiken Astrologie*. Importance of the MSS. recently catalogued by F. Cumont and the recent publication of various *inedita*. The subject has considerable bearing on the history of religion as well as our knowledge of the mathematical chronology of the ancients. F. Gerlich, *Die Technik der römisch-pompejanischen Wandmalerei*. Account of investigations undertaken under the auspices of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft zur Förderung rationellen Malverfahren*. Vitruvius' directions (7. 3. 7) interpreted in the light of these. Practical utility thereof recognised by the painter Böcklin, who secured by following them the advantage of being able to paint frescoes on plaster that had been applied fourteen days previously. Berger's views (esp. on Punic wax) refuted. 'We may now state definitely that the method adopted for wall painting at Pompeii was a modified fresco one, or, more accurately, one in which lime was used as a binding material.' Max Schneidewin, *E. v. Hartmann's Grundriss der Erkenntnislehre. Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: Witkowski's *Epp. privatae Graecae* favourably reviewed by K. Scherling. [22. 2 R. Schmertusch von Riesenthal, *Eine ungedruckte 'Isagoge' des Humanisten Cocinus zu Ciceros 'De oratore.'*]

Rheinisches Museum. 63. 1. 1908.

H. van Herwerden, *Lucianea* (based on Nilén's ed.). W. Süss, *Zur Komposition der altattischen Komödie*. The Aristophanic plays preserve the record of two original types, (a) one in which the chief character is a $\beta\omega\mu\omicron\lambda\acute{o}\chi\omicron\varsigma$ and serves to join a number of loosely connected scenes, the other (b) in which there is a debate between two people and a third person (slave or companion) plays the part of $\beta\omega\mu\omicron\lambda\acute{o}\chi\omicron\varsigma$. Class (a) perhaps regularly ended with a scene of conviviality or general merry-making, (b) perhaps regularly began with an introductory scene between two slaves. Th. Birt, *Buchwesen und Bauwesen*. The book-roll in the Ionic capital and frieze. Trajan's column intended to represent a pillar with a book rolled around it; cp. the Delphic serpent-pillar, itself suggestive of the *scytale*. F. Reuss, *Hellenistische Beiträge*. 3. Clitarchus not contemporary with Alexander. He shews a knowledge of Timaeus, and his geography points to a period after Patrocles' investigation of the Caspian. Some evidence of the use of Eratosthenes. P. Jahn, *Vergil und die Ciris*. Gives tables to shew that it is probable that Ovid knew our *Ciris* and that Prop. and Tib. knew one at least similar to ours. The possibility of V.'s authorship and use of it in the earlier parts of his undisputed works (*i.e.* until he got weary of it) illustrated by a collection of his 'self-loans' in *Georgics* 4. 158-222. Catal. 11 and 12 look like the work of the author of the *Ciris*; the tradition that assigns all three

to V. is therefore not without support. The introd. to the Ciris would tally with V.'s position after he had composed some of the Catalepta. H. Ehrlich, *Die epische Zerdehnung*. Circumflexed contracted vowels of all kinds in closed syllables, and in open syllables where they result from at least one long vowel or a diphthong, may reckon as of more than 2 morae. The process also applies to long diphthongs ($\bar{a}u$, $\bar{a}v$) before a consonant, vowels that acquire the value of 3 morae by compensatory lengthening ($\kappa\eta\eta\nu\alpha\iota$), circumflexed monosyllables. H. Rabe, *Aus Rhetoren-Handschriften*. 5. Interesting extracts from a Vat. MS containing new fragments of Euripides (Pirithous, Melanippe, and Bellerophon), a *chria* of Susarion, etc. *Miscellen*. J. M. Stahl, *Methana bei Thukyd.* In 5. 45. 2 the isthmus not the town is meant, hence ἐς Μέθαρα τὴν (sc. γῆν) μεταξὺ, etc., is grammatical enough. F. B., *Procopiana*. F. von Velsen, *Zu Horaz Serm.* 2. 1. 86. *Tabulae* the copy of the libel produced in court, *soluentur* '(the offence) will be atoned for, wiped out.' J. H. Lipsius, *Zu Val. Flacc.* Finds in the double version of 2. 213 *sqq.* in V a proof that the MS from which it was copied had 25 lines per page, which is exactly what is assumed for that of S: probably therefore both V and S came from one original. F. Rühl, *Q. Curtius über den indischen Kalender*. In Curt. 8. 9. 35 *dies* denotes Indian *tithi*, *orbem impleuit* means 'finished its course.'

Mnemosyne. 36. 1. 1908.

S. A. Naber, *Platonica* (from vol. 35). Pp. 217B-220A. M. V. *Ad Iliad*, H 195-199 vv. 197-9 alone interpolated: δέδιμεν refers not only to Ajax, but also to his comrades. C. Brakman, *Apuleiana* (from vol. 35). A. G. Roos, *J. C. Reiskii animadversiones ad Arriani Anabasin* (from copies of his notes preserved in the library at Copenhagen). P. H. D., *Emendatur Stat. Ach.* 1. 87. For *undabit* read *mutabit*, 'dye' (Theb. 7. 71, 9. 257, 359, etc.). H. v. Herwerden, *Ad noua fragm. in libro Berliner Klassikertexte*, V. 2. J. C. Naber, *Observ. de iure Romano*. 99. Compensatio quotuplex. M. Valetton, *De nonnullis Demosthenis et Aeschinis controuersiis*. 1. De pace Philocratea. Opposes Beloch's views: the first Athenian embassy did not come to any definite understanding with Philip as regards the fate of Phocis. We may infer from Dem. F.L. 144 that Aesch. himself persuaded the people to rescind the law to which he refers in F.L. 63 *sqq.* as evidence that he could not have spoken at the second assembly. Ctes. 71 shows that speeches were made at this meeting. Philip did buy dilatoriness of the second embassy, but Dem. was guilty of malicious statements—e.g. when he charged Aesch. with the responsibility for the death of Cersobleptes. 2. De bello Amphissaeo. Thinks that Aesch. did good service in diverting the attack of the Amphictyons from Athens, though it is quite possible that, once the danger was over, he did his best to secure for Philip the chief command of the Amphictyonic army. S. A. N., *Valckenarium*. P. H. Damsté, *Ad Ciceronis orationem pro M. Caelio adnot. critt.*

36. 2. 1908.

J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum*. In *Praec. reip. gr.* 823B read ἐπιφθονος παρασήμοις. J. Vürtheim, *Italica*. Consideration of various passages of Verg. and Ovid. Halaesus of Aen. 7. 723 *sqq.* is in Ou. F. 4. 74 the founder of Falerii. Seruires tells us he was praised in the songs of the Salii of Veii. Ou. Am. 3. 13. 35 connects him with the worship of Juno at Falerii. But this worship, as described l.c. by Ovid, is not specially Greek (in spite of l. 31). At Rome, Falerii, Tibur, and in Picenum we find a Sabine goddess called Juno Curitis, and at the first three of these places we also find Salii: there seem to be traces of an originally Sabine ritual, having reference to human fertility, which spread to regions of Etruria, Latium and Campania. It was concerned with a male deity (presiding over a college of priests such as the Satei or Lupercles, evoking by dance or song or other means the productive powers of the earth, of man, etc.), and a Juno who wears a goat-skin. The Dioscuri seem to have

been regarded by the people as healing gods (? hence the use of *ecastor*, *edepol*): Juturna, connected with them by Dionysius and Plutarch, may have been a medicinal fountain. H. van Herwerden, *Ad Porphyrogentii excerpta de sententiis ex Polybio*. Conjectures on pp. 154-221 of Boissevain's edition. J. van Wageningen, *De pyxide Caeliana*. Explanation of Cic. *Cael.* 69. When the story of the poison episode got abroad someone sent Clodia a box with the inscription *pyxidis Coeliaca*, with a pun on *caeliana* and a reference to the use of *κοιλιακὸς* in reference to pains of the stomach. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum*. In *de Stoic. rep.* 1048 E read τὸ δὲ τοὺς γενομένους ἀγαθοὺς ἄλλως κρίνειν ἢ κατ' ἀρετὴν καὶ ἰσχὺν οὐδέν ἐστι. J. C. Vollgraff, *Thucydidea*. Text of Bk. 8. P. H. Damsté, *Ad Lygdami Elegias*. Defence of text in 1. 8, 4. 11 sqq. (but *at tamen* for *et t.*): in 3. 9 *permisso* for *-menso*, 4. 45 Bacchus a gloss (? *mollis*), 5. 22 *ruraque* for *duraque*, 6. 40 *fleuit in* for *fleuiste*. In the Panegyric l. 181 read *nec* for *non* ('still, spite of the difficulties, I will try'). C. G. Vollgraff, ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ ΕΝ ΔΙΜΝΑΙΣ. The temple near the theatre of Athens which is ascribed to the sixth century is that of Dionysus, ἐν λίμναις. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum*. Six passages emended. S. A. Naber, *Platonica*. Emendations of passages from the Phaedrus, Alcibiades 1 and 2, Hipparchus, Rivalet, Theages, Charmides, Laches and Lysis.

Archiv für lat. Lexikographie, etc. 15. 3. 1907.

W. Konjetzny, *De idiotismis syntacticis in titulis urbanis*. 1. De congruentia. 2. De syntaxi casuum. 3. De syntaxi pronominum. 4. De syntaxi uerborum. 5. De reliquis syntaxeos partibus. O. Hey, *Zu den Gerundivkonstruktionen*. *Relinquendos existimavi*, etc. in the younger Pliny. L. Havet, *Das Verbum eluare*, 'sich zu Grunde richten.' Its existence proved for six Plautine passages. But *helluo*, *helluari* are not connected with it, spite of Verrius Flaccus' deriv. of these words from *eluere*. M. Pokrowskij, *Zur lat. Stammbildungslehre*. *Proletarius* from **proletus*, 'a citizen with children.' Confusion of suffixes (-ali-, -ario-, -aneo-; -bili-, -li-; -iā-, -iē-, -io-). Many cases quoted as ex. of the transition in later times of 3rd conj. verbs to the first are really only cases of the confusion of pres. indic., pres. subj. and fut. ind. C. Weyman, *Manere = esse*. So in the poets (e.g. Sil. 12. 116); later, no distinction between them. The editor, *Aus dem Latein des Vergilerklärers Donat*. R. v. Planta, *Ein rätomanisches Sprachdenkmal aus dem zwölften Jahrhundert*. Text from a page of an Einsiedl MS., on which a Romance translation is written between the lines of a Latin sermon. Commentary and discussion of its provenance. A. Zimmermann, *Noch einmal die Etymologie von secus*. A. Klotz, *Klassizismus und Archaismus*. Examination of Statius' archaisms. The wish to avoid the commonplace, ordinary expression leads to the imitation of recognised models; and the taste for the archaic is only a step further on the road that led to Classicism. Tacitus a good example of this. *Miscellen*: A. Klotz, *Ultuisse*. A defence of its appearance in the MS. of Alcius Avitus ep. 72, partly on rhythmical grounds. A. Zimmermann, *Noch einmal donec*. An inscription which ends *ut cum coniuge suo ponatur quam donec* proves the existence of a form *quandonique* (*quandonec*) between the forms *quandone* and *quandoque*. R. Meister, *Zu Coripp. laud. Iust.* iv 354. Defends the text in l. 350 and Mommsen's conj. *carniferas animas* in 354; proposes to read *mortis poena futura* at the end of the line. H. Jacobsohn, *Mytilius*. Read *Mytilio*, not *Mitylo*, etc., in *Trogus Prolog.* 25. *Brutes*. Another ex. of the word in No. 255, *Suppl.-vol.* to *Corpus V. Contumelia*. Connected with *temerare*, 'to dishonour.' P. Germann, *Die sogenannten Varronischen Sentenzen*. The 'Papirianus' of the Trin. Coll. (Dublin) MS. is a corruption for the name of Seneca's teacher, Papirius Fabianus. R. Samter, *Quinqueuir*. A new explanation of *recoctus scriba ex quinqueuiro* of Horace. LITTERATUR 1906, 1907. Among books noticed are Löfstedt's *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der späteren Latinität*, Pichon's *Études sur l'histoire de la litt. lat. dans les Gaules: les derniers écrivains profanes*, and *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*.

Rivista di Filologia e d'Istruzione Classica. Vol. 36. No. 2. 1908.

Horatian Trifles, Luigi Valmaggi. Notes on Epode 2. *Achaioi, Argeioi, Danaoi in the Homeric Poems*, Carlo Oreste Zuretti. Disputes the validity of the conclusions which A. Della Seta draws from his statistics of the occurrences of the proper names 'Αχαιοί, 'Αργεῖοι and Δαναοί, Τροίη and 'Ιλιος, 'Αθήνη and 'Αθηναίη, Πάρις and 'Αλέξανδρος in the Homeric poems. *The Federal Assemblies of the Achaeans*, Gaetano de Sanctis. Discussion of the differences between σύνοδος and σύγκλητος. *Quid Asinius Pollio de quibusdam suae aetatis scriptoribus senserit*, Maximus Lenchantin de Gubernatis. Examination of the literary criticisms quoted by the ancients from Pollio. Pollio's asperity was due in part to his chafing under the restrictions of the imperial régime. Book Reviews: De Sanctis's *Storia dei Romani: La conquista del primato in Italia*, L. Cantarelli. Schubert-Hüter's *Sophokles Antigone* and Cauer's *Odysee (Part II.)*, Placido Caesareo, *Tebtonis Papyri* (II.), G. Fraccaroli. Rasi's *Le Epistole di Q. Orazio Flacco*, Scheindler's *Herodot. Auswahl*, Cauer's *Ilias* (sch. ed.), Leon. Leveghi's *Christ's Odisea* (sch. ed.), A. Balsamo. Pöhlmann's *Grundriss der griech. Geschichte* (ed. 3), Niese's *Grundriss der römischen Geschichte* (ed. 3), Chabert's *Histoire sommaire des études d'épigraphie grecque*, Foucart's *Sénatus-Consulte de Thisbé*, Mahaffy's *The Silver Age of the Greek World*, G. de Sanctis. B. Powell's *Erichthonius and the three daughters of Cecrops*, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* (1906), D. Bassi. De Marchi's *Apologisti Cristiani*, P. Rasi. Achille Beltrami's *Le tendenze letterarie negli scritti di Frontone*, L. Valmaggi. Getzlaff's *Quaestiones Babrianae et Pseudo-Dositheanae*, Arnaldo Beltrami. Harry's *Aeschylus Prometheus*, Angelo Taccone. C. Pascal's *Seneca*, Giarratano's *Blossii Aemilii Dracontii Orestes*, F. Calonghi. Summaries of Periodicals, Domenico Bassi.

Vol. 36. No. 3. 1908.

The oldest Samnite Generals, Gaetano di Sanctis. A reply to Beloch's attack (in *Studi storici per l'antichità classica*, I. i.) on the traditional account of the names of the Samnite generals in the wars with Rome. *Stylistic inexactitudes in Tacitus*, Luigi Valmaggi. The vagueness of Tacitus's expression is examined with special reference to the following points: 1, Free use of collectives; 2, Substitution of plural for singular; 3, Substitution of a 'whole' for a 'part'; 4, Change of subject; 5, 'Contamination' (Fusion of different expressions). *Bacchylides's relationship to Simonides*, Angelo Taccone. Bacchylides was the son of a brother or a sister of Simonides. *A Tzetzes-scholium on Ar. Nub.* 187-190, C. O. Zuretti. *A probable echo of a Rhodian tradition in Livy*, Vincenzo Costanzi. A critical examination of Livy's narrative of the defeat of Pausistratus (37. 10), which bears traces of having come from Rhodian sources (? Zeno and Antisthenes). *On the Inscription C.I.L. v. 7537*, Frederico Eusebio. Rectifications. *A Greek expression for a Superlative*, Carlo Pascal. On πόνου πόνων Aesch. Sept. 851 sq., etc. *Ea quae apud Pseudo-phocylidem Veteris et Novi Testamenti vestigia deprehenduntur*, Arnaldus Beltrami. *Parmenides*, viii. 5 (Diels I². 118), Aurelio Covotti. L. ἡ δὲ τελεστον. *On the Composition of the Acts of the Apostles*, Vincenzo Ussani. *The judgment of the two Ciceros on the poem of Lucretius and the comparison with Sallust's Empedoclea*, Giacomo Giri. On Cic. ad Q. Fr. II. 9. 3. 'Crataeis flumen,' Gabriele Grasso. The Catona would best suit the indications in Homer. *The 'two dishonours of Telemachus'*, Giovanni Setti. Disquisition on Od. 2. 45-50. *A descriptive catalogue of the Herculeanum papyri: an experiment*, Domenico Bassi. General observations and specimen descriptions of papyri. *An unknown metrical epitaph*, Georgio Pasquali. A half-metrical Greek Christian composition. *Hyperides*, Epitaph. § 41, Augusto Balsamo. Leopardi's and Blass's correction εἰ γὰρ θρήνων for οὐ γ. θ. is defended. *Cod. Ticin. 68 and the pseudo-Pliny's de vir. illustribus*, Giovanni Ferrara. This MS. is more important than has been supposed. *Unknown Latin Manuscripts at Lucca*, Augusto Mancini. Notes on seven MSS. Reviews: A. Elter's *Donarem pateras* (four Bonn programmes), Achille Beltrami. Funaioli's *Grammaticae Romanae fragmenta*, Luigi Valmaggi. Giarratano's *Commentationes Dracontianae*, Binder's *Die Abfassungszeit von Senekas Briefen*, and M. L. De Gubernatis's *Virgilio e Pollione*, Ferruccio Calonghi. Summaries of Periodicals, Domenico Bassi.

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